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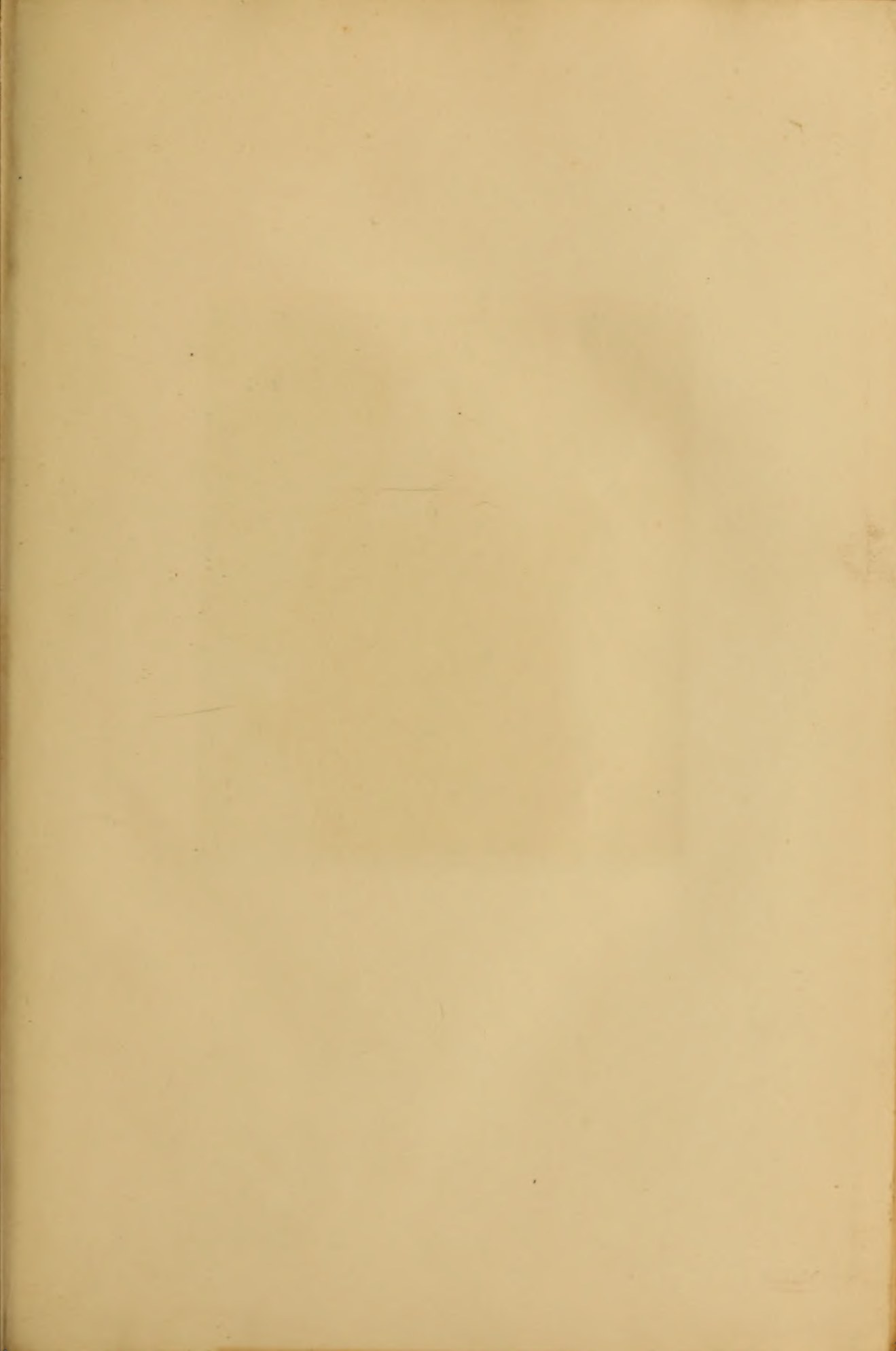
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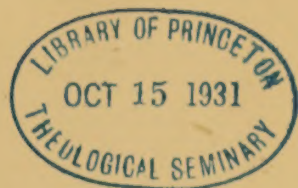
WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.

FIRST PROVOST OF THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA

ÆT. 30.

From the original painting by Benj^d West, in the collection of the
Historical Society of Penna^a

S. A. GEORGE & CO. PHIL^a



LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

REV. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.,

*First Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.
First President of Washington College, Maryland. President of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia. President of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America
Secretary of the American Philosophical Society, etc., etc.*

WITH COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM HIS WRITINGS.



BY HIS GREAT GRANDSON,
HORACE WEMYSS SMITH.

*Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Editor of the "Miscellaneous Works of Richard Penn Smith," of "The York-Town Orderly Book,"
"Andreana," etc., etc.*

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
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YOUTHFUL VENERATION
FOR
MY GREAT-GRANDFATHER
MADE HIM THE
ALPHA OF MY LIFE.

AGE AND FILIAL AFFECTION HAVE MADE MY GRANDCHILDREN THE OMEGA.

I Therefore Dedicate these Volumes to
RICHARD PENN AND RUSSELL MOORE SMITH,

WHOM I LOVE,

HOPING THAT THE BRIGHT FAME OF OUR ANCESTOR

MAY BE TO THEM

THE GUIDING INSPIRATION

OF

THEIR LIVES.

PREFACE.

REMEMBRANCE of a majority of mankind perishes at their death. The tomb in closing over their mortal remains separates them forever from the busy world. Another body has been consigned to the dust out of which it was framed ; another

“Soul, exiled and journeying back to-day,”

has completed its pilgrimage in the flesh. Another life, like a falling star, has glittered and suddenly gone out. Death is indeed oblivion. In some deep-loving heart, a silent and a sweet forget-me-not may linger ; but time soon effaces this last memorial, and no relic then remains on earth of the life that once has been. Yet it is not so with the great actors on this world's stage. They cannot be accounted dead as common men die, whose remembrance is buried with them. In their deeds and works they beget a second and a mightier existence, which fills like air the universe of mind. Their good or bad qualities excite the admiration or disgust of future generations ; their achievements form the most attractive materials of history, and furnish the poet with the noblest themes of song. Yet all fame cannot be considered precious. There is the glittering and delusive brilliancy as well as the pure and steadfast flame ; and when we sit in judgment on the

dead, reviewing their actions, but often knowing nothing of the motives that produced them, or the chances that gave a development different from that at first intended, how difficult does it become to award a fair and righteous verdict! Frequently biography displays but the skeleton of the subject, in which we look in vain for the full exposition of the man. More frequently it is an unqualified panegyric, overloaded with details which interest no one beyond the writer of the book.

Upon the death of my father, the late Richard Penn Smith, A. D. 1854, I found among his papers this note from the late WILLIAM RAWLE, Esquire,* the oldest of that name, and the first President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It had been written by that excellent man and accomplished lawyer in execution of a scheme of large usefulness, which, in the year 1826, he planned and marked out, and which assigned to particular standing committees that he was authorized by the Society to appoint, certain duties designed to preserve and to present the history of men and of events that had done honor to Pennsylvania, whether in its Aboriginal, its Swedish, its English, or its Independent condition:

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, January 2d, 1826.

DEAR SIR:—As President of the Historical Society, I hereby appoint you one of the committee to collect biographical notices of persons distinguished among us, and I request you to take, as one of your subjects, your grandfather, Dr. William Smith. Besides the mention of personal anecdotes relating to him, it will give you an opportunity to notice the provincial politics in which he took so active a part, and also much of the literary history of the colonies.

Your sincere friend,

WILLIAM RAWLE.

RICHARD PENN SMITH, Esq.

* Mr. Rawle died A. D. 1836.

I wish, indeed, that my honored father, whose vocation was letters, and who was qualified beyond the common for the office of Dr. Smith's biographer, had been able to find time for this pious labor. But literary engagements of a constantly pressing kind prevented his doing that which he felt was a duty, sooner or later, by some of Dr. Smith's descendants, to be performed.

In the course of survivorship, the task has fallen upon me. I have devoted myself through many years to the work, and have discharged it thus far, and in this first volume, as well as my moderate abilities would allow. The second volume will follow, without much delay, if my life and health are spared.

The book to which I have been most indebted in preparing this work is the second volume of the "Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church," in which are found many letters of Dr. Smith; transcripts made in England under the direction of the late Rev. F. L. Hawks, D. D., and recently, with many other documents of value, given to the Church in those beautiful volumes of the Rev. William Stevens Perry, D. D., now the honored Bishop of Iowa. The high office which Dr. Perry at present fills is of course one where his usefulness will be of a kind quite different from that which marked him in the office where he so long, previously to coming to it, labored. But the preservation of the Church's history, and the history of those holy and humble men of heart that through the ages all along have been her servants, is a high and holy office too; and it would be difficult to overestimate the value of Dr. Perry's services in this department of ecclesiastical labor.

To a manuscript "History of Parishes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland," by the Rev. Ethan Allen, I have to acknowledge great obligation.

I must acknowledge my obligation also, in many cases where, from abridging, enlarging or modifying it, I have not indicated a quotation, to the very useful "History of Philadelphia," by Thompson Westcott, Esquire, still in a course of publication through a weekly paper.

Of parts of the writings of my father, as of Dr. Smith himself, I have made frequent use, without other acknowledgment than this; as I have generally so altered them as to make them accommodate themselves to the history I am writing.

I am under obligations to the Right Reverend the Diocesan of Pennsylvania, Dr. Stevens, who has assisted me, not only by permission to consult his valuable library, but by information or right judgments imparted to me by conversation on certain matters connected with portions of my book, where my own knowledge was defective or my impressions uncertain.

To the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, of the Senate of our State, I have been much indebted. The monograph entitled "*Ebenezer Kinnersley, and his Connexion with Early Discoveries in Electricity*"—delivered some time since in Boston, afterwards in Providence, R. I., as also in this city, and fully reported in the Boston and Providence papers—I regard as a most careful, accurate and valuable paper on an ancient and recondite topic closely connected with the fame of the old College of Philadelphia.

I must also express my thanks for his counsel and encouragement to the steady friend of nearly my whole life,

the Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster, lately the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania; the learned lawyer, the eloquent advocate, the true, generous and faithful MAN. Had his acute and accomplished mind and his elegant pen found leisure in the midst of his ceaseless professional labor to devote themselves for a short time—as without venturing to propose the office, I have sometimes wished they could—to writing the life of Dr. Smith, different indeed and far better would have been the character of these volumes. But I have done what I could.

I have also to acknowledge much courtesy in the preparation of my book from Mr. Lloyd Smith, the learned Librarian of the Philadelphia Library; from Ferdinand J. Dreer, Esq., from William Kent Gilbert, M. D., from Robert Coulton Davis, whose immense collections of autographs have been most kindly opened to me, and have liberally contributed to the profit of my readers.

I ought perhaps to tender my thanks to other persons; but it is possible that in the long term which has passed since I began my work, the names of some of my many benefactors have escaped me.

I do not suppose that in a work so large as mine I have escaped falling into occasional errors. To any one who will communicate errors to me in a kind spirit, I shall be obliged. And any errors, in whatever spirit communicated, I shall endeavor to correct.

The portrait of Dr. Smith, which is prefixed to this volume, is from an original by Benjamin West, which I had the pleasure to present to the Historical Society of our State, on its coming, some years ago, into the hall which, by the wise liberality of the Managers of the Penn-

sylvania Hospital, that Society now occupies. That hall was originally built to receive a large historical picture called *Christ Healing the Sick*, presented by West to the Hospital; in his day, as now, admirably managed by representatives of that venerable and honored "Religious Society of Friends," of which West himself was a member. It seemed to me that an original portrait of Dr. Smith, by the great artist himself, would be a suitable memento for such a place. The history of the picture is not without interest. I give some notice of it in an appendix. (See Appendix VI.)

H. W. S.

FALLS OF SCHUYLKILL,
December 10th, 1878.

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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

REV. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN, YOUTH, AND EARLY EDUCATION—DUNCANS OF CAMPERDOWN—EMIGRATES TO AMERICA—COLLEGE OF MIRANIA—EARLY PUBLICATIONS—PROLOGUE—DR. FRANKLIN TO DR. SMITH—ACQUAINTANCE WITH DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON—DR. FRANKLIN TO DR. SMITH—CALL TO THE ACADEMY OF PHILADELPHIA—DR. SMITH TO THE TRUSTEES—ACCEPTS THE PROVOSTSHIP—GOVERNOR DE LANCEY—DR. SMITH TO GOVERNOR DE LANCEY—DR. FRANKLIN TO DR. SMITH—SAILS FOR ENGLAND.

WILLIAM SMITH, D.D., first Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, was by birth a Scotchman, born upon the banks of the river Don, within a few miles of Aberdeen, in Aberdeenshire. His father was a gentleman of some means, living upon a country estate which he had inherited from his father, James Smith, who was the first of the family born in Scotland. The following genealogical account of his ancestors (which is a matter of record in the University of Aberdeen) has been kindly furnished by a gentleman* connected with that institution, and I have every reason to believe it correct, as I have the same in the manuscript of Dr. Smith from 1630 down :

John Smyth, afterwards *Smith*, a descendant of *Sir Rodger Clarendon*, son of Edward the Black Prince; born in the year 1500; sheriff of the counties of Essex and Herts, in the thirtieth year of the reign of Henry VIII. He married Agnes Charnock, of an ancient Lancaster family, succeeded by their son,

* James Webster, Esq.

Sir William Smith, who died in 1631, leaving an only son,
William Smith, who was born in 1620, and the father of
James Smith, who was born in Scotland in 1651, a noted astronomer,
and father of
Thomas Smith, born in Aberdeen in 1692, and married Elizabeth
Duncan, of the Camperdown family, by whom he had issue,
William Smith (the subject of this memoir), who was born September
7th, 1727, baptized in the old Aberdeenshire Kirk, October 19th
of the same year, and
Isabella Smith, born 1728; who died single, at the family seat, Falls
of Schuylkill, Pa., 1802.
Thomas Smith, by a second marriage, with a Miss Margaret Campbell;
had issue
Charles Smith, who came to America, but returned to London, where
he died;
Thomas Smith, who likewise came to America, where he filled a promi-
nent place in the history of Pennsylvania, became Judge of the
Supreme Court, and died in 1811; and
James Smith, who sailed for America, but was lost overboard.

The family of Duncan of Lundie, from whom the wife of Thomas Smith was descended, is known as that of Camperdown, and is of remote antiquity; it was originally designated of Seaside, and there is an authenticated heraldic tradition which accounts for the crest, a dismantled ship, now borne over the arms of Camperdown. A member of the family, who lived some two hundred years ago, having been supercargo on board a vessel bound from Norway to his native place, Dundee, was overtaken by a tremendous storm, in which the ship became almost a complete wreck, and the crew were reduced to the utmost distress. Contrary, however, to all expectations, they were enabled to navigate their crazy, crippled bark into port, and the parents of the thus fortunately rescued son immediately adopted the crest alluded to, in commemoration of the dangers their heir had so providentially escaped from.

The first of the name of whom I can get any account is Alexander Duncan, Esq., of Lundie county, who married a daughter of Sir Peter Murray, Bart., of Auchentyre; he had issue,

1st. Elizabeth (who married Thomas Smith in 1724);

2d. Adam, born 1725, who early in life adopted the naval profession and afterwards was celebrated as the hero of Camperdown.

I find the following notice of him in "Burke's Peerage:"

Adam Duncan, having adopted the naval profession, entered into that service about the year 1746, under Robert Haldane, then captain of the Shoreham frigate. In three years afterwards we find young Duncan a midshipman, on board the "Centurion," of fifty guns, a ship ordered to be equipped to receive the broad pendant of Commodore Keppel, who was appointed commander-in-chief on the Mediterranean station. In 1755 Mr. Duncan obtained his lieutenancy, and was appointed to the "Norwich," a fourth-rate, commanded by Captain Barrington. On the 21st September, 1759, he was advanced to the rank of commander, and in the year 1761 made post-captain, and appointed to the "Valiant," of seventy-four guns, in which ship, under the broad pendant of Admiral Keppel, he acquired considerable reputation at the capture of the "Havannah." In 1789 Captain Duncan was promoted to be Rear Admiral of the Blue, and, passing through the intermediate grades, was appointed, 14th February, 1799, Admiral of the White. During the greater part of this interval, however (up to the year 1795), singular as it may appear to posterity, the great merits of Admiral Duncan continued either unknown, or at least unregarded. Frequently did he solicit a command, and as frequently did he experience disappointment. It has even been reported that this brave man had it once in contemplation to retire altogether from the service, on a very honorable civil employment connected with the navy; at length, however, the cloud burst, and Admiral Duncan was constituted, in 1795, Commander-in-chief in the North seas. He accordingly hoisted his flag on board the "Prince George," of ninety-eight guns, but afterwards removed to the "Venerable," of seventy-four. In this command he had the honor of achieving a splendid victory off Camperdown, 11th October, 1797, over the Dutch fleet under Admiral De Winter, and was elevated to the peerage, 30th October, 1797, in the dignities of Baron Duncan of Lundie, and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown. His lordship had a grant at the same time of a pension of £3,000 per annum for the life of himself and his next two successors in the peerage. He married Henrietta, second daughter of the Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas, of Arniston, lord-president of the Court of Session, and niece of Henry, first Viscount Melville, by whom he had issue.

Creations.—Viscount and Baron, 30th October, 1797. Earl, 12th September, 1831.

Arms.—Gu., a representation of the gold medal conferred upon the first viscount by George III., for the victory off Camperdown, ensigned with a naval crown, and subscribed "CAMPERDOWN," between two roses in chief, and a buglehorn in base, ar., strung and garnished, az.

Crest.—A dismasted ship, ppr.

Supporters.—Dexter, a female figure, crowned with a celestial crown, a scarf across her garments, resting her exterior hand upon an anchor, the other holding a palm branch; sinister, a sailor, holding in his

exterior hand the union flag, with the tricolored flag wrapped round the staff.

Mottoes.—Above the crest, “Disce pati;” under the shield, “Secundis dubiisque rectus.”

Seats.—Camperdown, Forfarshire, and Gleneagles, Perthshire.”

Adam Duncan came to America, and I have been informed spent some time with Dr. Smith, while he resided at the corner of Fourth and Arch streets. This must have been about the year 1763 or 1764.

In a short account of his life, Dr. Smith mentions having entered the parish school at the age of seven and remaining until March, 1735, when he was taken charge of by the Society for the Education of Parochial Schoolmasters. Where this school was situated I am not able to ascertain, but he was instructed under their care until the beginning of the year 1741, when he entered the University of Aberdeen, and resided there for the full term of years required for his first degree, which he received in March, 1747, and left the institution.

I find him in London under date “January 31st, 1750,” when he published *A Memorial for the Established or Parochial Schoolmasters in Scotland, addressed to the great men in Parliament, etc. By William Smith, as Commissioner of said Schoolmasters.* In July of the same year he wrote and published *An Essay on the Liberty of the Press.*

The following is the first note in his handwriting I have found:

October 30th, 1750. Published in the *Scot's Magazine* for this month a scheme for augmenting the salaries of Established or Parochial Schoolmasters in Scotland, dated at Abernethy, November 5th, 1749.

The whole of the year 1750 he passed in London, and I have every reason to believe that during that time he acted as clerk for the Honorable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Mr. Smith's efforts in regard to the schools in Scotland do not appear to have been successful, and the project itself was soon after abandoned. On the 3d day of March, 1751, he embarked for New York, accompanying as tutor two young gentlemen who were returning to their native country. He bore with him strong letters of recommendation to Governor de Lancey from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been the governor's preceptor at

the University of Cambridge. On the 1st of May he landed in New York city, and took up his residence in the house of Colonel Martin, on Long Island, as tutor to his two children, whom he had accompanied from England. Here he remained until August, 1753. While he resided here I find nothing that he published except an Essay upon "Education," which appeared in a New York newspaper on November 7th, 1752; a "New Year's Ode" on January 1st, 1753; and a pamphlet entitled *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*. This was intended as a sketch for a proposed college in New York. The principles laid down in this pamphlet were eventually used by Dr. Smith himself in the subsequent establishment of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. He says he received his publication from the hands of the printer on April 1st, 1753, and sent a copy to the Rev. Richard Peters, at Philadelphia, and to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was at that time President of the Board of Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School of that city, a charitable school which had greatly prospered since its foundation four years before, and which had received a charter from the Provincial Government on the 13th day of July, 1753. At this date he does not appear to have met with either Dr. Franklin or Mr. Peters.

The *Idea of the College of Mirania** was printed by J. Parker and W. Weyman, in New York, at the desire and expense of some gentlemen in that city, for private distribution. This motto and preface were appended to it in the London edition of 1759:

"*Quid Leges sine Moribus vane proficiunt.*"—HORACE.

The "Preface" begins thus:

The following idea of a seminary of learning, adapted to the circumstances of a young colony, was drawn up and published at the desire of some gentlemen of New York, who were appointed to receive proposals relative to the establishment of a college in that province; and as it contains a pretty exact representation of what the author is now endeavoring to realize in the seminary over which he has the honor to preside in another colony, he thought that it might be no improper introduction to the subsequent account of that seminary.

In a performance written in so early a period of life, and designedly offered as a plan for improvement, the reader will not look for perfection.

* The *Idea of the College of Mirania* was republished in both editions of Dr. Smith's Sermons in London, and in the Philadelphia edition.

In this edition, however, some redundancies are retrenched, and some faults corrected, into which want of experience, hasty publication, and too easy assent, had drawn the author.

The annexed prologue was published with the pamphlet:

PROLOGUE

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN AT THE OPENING OF THE COLLEGE
OF MIRANIA.

It comes! it comes! the *promis'd æra* comes!
Now Gospel Truth shall dissipate the glooms
Of Pagan Error—and with cheerful ray
O'er long-benighted realms shed heavenly day.
Hark! the glad Muses strike the warbling string,
And in melodious accents thus they sing:
“Woods, Brooks, Gales, Fountains, long unknown to Fame,
At length, as conscious of your future claim,
Prepare to nurse the *philosophic thought*,
To prompt the *serious* or the *sportive* note!
Prepare, ye *Woods*, to yield the Sage your shade,
And wave ambrosial verdures o'er his head!
Ye *Brooks*, prepare to swell the Poet's strain,
Or gently murmur back his am'rous pain!
Haste, O ye *Gales*, your spicy sweets impart,
In music breathe them to the exulting heart!
Ye *Fountains*, haste the inspiring wave to roll,
And bid *Castalian* draughts refresh the soul!”

'Tis done—woods, brooks, gales, fountains, all obey;
And say, with general voice, or seem to say,—
“Hail, Heaven-descended, holy Science hail!
Thrice welcome to these shores; here ever dwell
With shade and silence, far from dire alarms,
The trumpet's horrid clang and din of arms;
To thee we offer every softer seat,
Each sunny lawn and sylvan sweet retreat,
Each flower-verg'd stream, each amber-dropping grove,
Each vale of pleasure and each bower of love,
Where youthful nature with stupendous scenes,
Lifts all the powers, and all the frame serenes—
Oh! then, here fix—earth, water, air, invite,
And bid a new Britannia spring to light.”

Smit deep, I antedate the golden days,
And strive to paint them in sublimer lays.

Behold ! on periods, periods brightening rise,
 On worthies, worthies crowd before mine eyes !
 See other Bacons, Newtons, Lockes appear
 And to the skies their laureat honors rear !
 Amidst undying greens they lie inspir'd,
 On mossy beds, by heavenly visions fir'd ;
 Aloft they soar on Contemplation's wing
 O'er worlds and worlds, and reach th' Eternal King !
 Awak'd by other suns, and kindling strong
 With purest ardor for celestial song,
 Hark ! other Homers, Virgils touch the string,
 And other Popes and Miltons, joyous, sing ;
 Find other Twit'nams in each bowery wood,
 And other Tibers in each sylvan flood !

Lo ! the wild Indian, soften'd by their song,
 Emerging from his arbors, bounds along
 The green Savannah, patient of the lore
 Of dove-ey'd Wisdom, and is rude no more.
 Hark ! even his babes Messiah's praise proclaim,
 And fondly learn to lisp Jehovah's name !

Oh ! Science ! onward thus thy reign extend
 O'er realms yet unexplor'd till time shall end ;
 Till deathlike ignorance forsake the ball,
 And life-endearing knowledge cover all ;
 Till wounded slavery seek her native hell,
 With kindred fiends eternally to dwell !
 Not trackless deserts shall thy progress stay,
 Rocks, mountains, floods, before thee shall give way ;
 Sequester'd vales at thy approach shall sing,
 And with the sound of happy labor ring ;
 Where wolves now howl shall polish'd villas rise,
 And towery cities grow into the skies !
 "Earth's farthest ends our glory shall behold,
 And the new world launch forth to meet the old."

Upon receiving this publication, Dr. Franklin writes the following letter to Dr. Smith :

PHILADELPHIA, April 19th, 1753.

I received your new piece on Education, which I shall carefully peruse, and give you my sentiments of it, as you desire, by next post.* If it

* The above is copied from the original among the "Smith Papers." But Dr. Franklin, in his autobiography, at this point inserts the following :

"I believe the young gentlemen, your pupils, may be entertained and instructed

suits you to visit Philadelphia, before your return to Europe, I shall be extremely glad to see and converse with you here, as well as to correspond with you after your settlement in England; for an acquaintance and communication with men of Learning, Virtue and Public-Spirit, is one of my greatest enjoyments. I do not know whether you ever happened to see the first Proposals I made for erecting this Academy. I send them enclosed. They had (however imperfect) the desired success; being followed with a subscription of Four Thousand Pounds, towards carrying them into execution. And as we are fond of receiving advice, and are daily improving by experience, I am in hopes we shall, in a few years, see a perfect institution!

I am very respectfully, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

MR. WILLIAM SMITH,
Long Island [near New York].

Provost Stillé, in a memoir of Dr. Smith, speaks of the effect that this pamphlet had upon Dr. Franklin and upon Mr. Peters, and I am satisfied from the correspondence that the trustees of the Academy were determined to secure the Doctor's services from the time they had seen this publication.

While living in New York Dr. Smith had formed the acquaintance and was on the most intimate terms with the celebrated Connecticut divine, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, the father and first President of the College of New York. It appears that two years before, Dr. Franklin had consulted Dr. Johnson about a plan of education for the college, and urged him to undertake the presidency of it, which proposal, although it was in many respects agreeable to the Doctor, he finally declined.

About this time Dr. Johnson had written a work on Ethics,

here, in mathematics and philosophy, to satisfaction. Mr. Alison (who was educated at Glasgow) has been long accustomed to teach the latter, and Mr. Grew the former; and I think their pupils make great progress. Mr. Alison has the care of the Latin and Greek school, but as he has now three good assistants, he can very well afford some hours every day for the instruction of those who are engaged in higher studies. The mathematical school is pretty well furnished with instruments. The English library is a good one; and we have belonging to it a middling apparatus for experimental philosophy, and propose speedily to complete it. The Loganian Library, one of the best collections in America, will shortly be opened; so that neither books nor instruments will be wanting; and as we are determined always to give good salaries, we have reason to believe we may have always an opportunity of choosing good masters; upon which, indeed, the success of the whole depends. We are obliged to you for your kind offers in this respect, and when you are settled in England, we may occasionally make use of your friendship and judgment."

which was published in London. To this Dr. Smith appended a "Philosophical Meditation and Religious Address to the Supreme Being, for the Use of Young Students in Philosophy."

The life of the Rev. Dr. Johnson has been twice written and published: first by the Rev. T. B. Chandler, and latterly by the Rev. Dr. Beardsley, in which will be found the correspondence and full account of these transactions.

On May 3d the following letter was written by Dr. Franklin to Dr. Smith:

SIR: Mr. Peters has just now been with me, and we have compared notes on your new piece. We find nothing in the scheme of education, however excellent, but what is in our opinion very practicable. The great difficulty will be to find the Arastus,* and other suitable persons in New York, to carry it into execution; but such may be had if proper encouragement be given. We have both received great pleasure in the perusal of it. For my part, I know not when I have read a piece that has so affected me—so noble and just are the sentiments, so warm and animated the language—yet, as censure from your friends may be of more use than praise, I ought to mention that I wish you had omitted not only the quotation from the *Review*,† which you are now justly dissatisfied with, but all those expressions of resentment against your adversaries, in pages 65 and 79. In such cases the noblest victory is obtained by neglect, and by shining on.

Mr. Allen has been out of town these ten days, but before he went he directed me to procure him six of your pieces, though he had not and has not yet seen it. Mr. Peters has taken ten. He proposed to have written to you, but omits it as he expects so soon to have the pleasure of seeing you here. He desires me to present his affectionate regards to you, and to assure you that you will be very welcome to him. I shall only say to you that you may depend upon my doing all in my power to make your visit to Philadelphia agreeable to you. Yet, methinks I would not have you omit bringing a line or two from Mr. Allen. If you are more noticed here on account of his recommendation, yet as that recommendation will be founded upon your merit, known best where you have so long resided, their notice may be esteemed to be as

* The name given to the principal or head of the ideal college, the system of education in which hath nevertheless been nearly realized, or followed as a model, in the College and Academy of Philadelphia, and some other American seminaries, for many years past.

† The quotation alluded to (from the *London Monthly Review* for 1749) was judged to reflect too severely on the discipline and government of the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and was expunged from the following editions of this work.

much "*on the score of something you can call your own,*" as if it were merely on account of the pieces you have written. I shall take care to forward your letter to Mr. Miller by a vessel that sails next week. I proposed to have sent one of the books to Mr. Cave, but as it may possibly be a disappointment to Mr. Miller if Cave should print it, I shall forbear, and only send two or three to some particular friends. I thank you for your information concerning the author of the dialogues. I had been misinformed; but saw with concern, in the public papers last year, an article of news relating that one Mr. Fordyce, the ingenious author of *Dialogues on Education*, perished by shipwreck on the coast of Holland, in returning home from his tour to Italy. The sermon on the "Eloquence of the Pulpit" is ascribed, in the *Review* of August, 1752, to Mr. James Fordyce, minister at Brechin.

I am, with great esteem, sir,

Your most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Addressed to Mr. WILLIAM SMITH,
Long Island.

Free: B. FRANKLIN.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the College, held on the 25th of May, "*It being proposed that Mr. William Smith, a gentleman lately arrived from London, should be entertained for some time upon Trial to teach Natural Philosophy, Logic, etc., in case he will undertake the same, it was agreed to, and Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters are desired to speak with him about it.*"*

Dr. Smith must have visited Philadelphia shortly after the date of the above, as we will see by the following:

Dr. Smith to the Trustees of the Philadelphia Academy.

PHILADELPHIA, June 5th, 1753.

GENTLEMEN: Having received the utmost satisfaction in visiting your academy, and examining some of its higher classes, I could not be easy till I had testified that satisfaction in the most public manner. The undeserved notice many of you were pleased to take of me during my short stay in your city, and the honor the academy (when I first went into it) did me, in making one of the youth speak a copy of verses, which I lately wrote to promote the Interest of Science in a neighboring Province, might claim my most grateful acknowledgments. But what I now offer is a Tribute paid to merit of a more public nature. A few private Gentlemen of this city have in the space of two or three years projected, begun, and carried to surprising Perfection, a very noble

* Minutes of the Trustees, page 40.

Institution ; and an Institution of that kind, too, which in other countries has scarce made such a figure in the space of some centuries, though founded by Kings and supported at public Expense. Prosecute, Gentlemen, yet a little longer, prosecute your generous Plan, with the same spirit ; and your own Reputation, with that of your academy, shall be established, in spite of every obstacle, on a Bottom immortal, and never be shaken. A succession of good men and good citizens shall never be wanting in Pennsylvania to do Honor to your memories, and diffuse spirit and happiness through the country. The virtues to be chiefly inculcated on your youth, in order to obtain this end, you know better than I. They are, however, modestly hinted in the following Poem,* from a mouth that cannot fail to give them new Importance.

The Performance is far inferior to the subject ; but an Apology will not mend it, as I can have *no time to improve it during my stay in America*. I beg your acceptance of it as it is at present, together with my promise of rendering it more worthy the subject when more leisure shall enable me so to do. That success of your undertaking may exceed your most sanguine Hopes, is my earnest Prayer, as it is my firm persuasion that such a fair Beginning cannot fail of the most lasting good consequences.

I am, gentlemen, with great sincerity and esteem,
Your most obliged humble servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.

By this it will be seen that Mr. Smith anticipated an early return to England. He must have received and accepted an offer from Messrs. Franklin and Peters, provided some arrangement could be made for his support. This and to obtain holy orders were the sole objects of his visit.

The next date at which I locate him is on October 1st, under which date he writes the following letter to Governor de Lancey:†

* The poem here spoken of was published with this letter by Dunlap in quarto ; a copy is in the Philadelphia Library, No. 3032.

† This James de Lancey was the son of Stephen de Lancey, a French Huguenot gentleman from Caen, in Normandy, who fled from persecution in France. Settling in New York in 1686, he married a daughter of M. Van Cortlandt, and was thus connected with one of the most opulent families in the province. He was also an active member of the House of Assembly during the administration of Governor Hunter. His son James was sent to Cambridge University, England, for his education, and bred to the profession of the law. On being elevated to the bench, such were his talents and application, he became a profound lawyer. While at Cambridge he attracted the attention of his tutor (afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury), and upon Mr. Smith leaving London for America, the then archbishop gave him letters of introduction to de Lancey, who was then the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New York. From this introduction a friendship and intimacy arose, which continued until the death of de Lancey, in the year 1760, July 30th. He died suddenly from an attack of asthma,

NEW YORK, October 1st, 1753.

HONORED SIR : When your grandson engaged me to dine with your honor to-day, I had forgot that I had several days ago engaged myself to Mr. Walton, who has asked some of my friends on my account. I hope, therefore, this will excuse me to your honor for to-day, as I shall take the first opportunity of waiting on your honor for your commands before I embark for England.

Your honor's most obedient,
And most humble servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

To the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor,
Present.

On October 13th he sailed for England.

Dr. Franklin to Dr. Smith.

PHILADELPHIA, November 27th, 1753.

DEAR SIR : Having written you fully, *viâ* Bristol, I have now little to add. Matters relating to the academy remain in *statu quo*. The trustees would be glad to see a rector established there, but they dread entering into new engagements till they are got out of debt ; and I have not yet got them wholly over to my opinion, that a good professor, or teacher of the higher branches of learning, would draw so many scholars as to pay great part, if not the whole of his salary. Thus, unless the proprietors (of the province) shall think fit to put the finishing hand to our institution, it must, I fear, wait some few years longer before it can arrive at that state of perfection, which to me it seems now capable of ; and all the pleasure I promised myself in seeing you settled among us, vanishes into smoke.

But good Mr. Collinson writes me word that no endeavors of his shall be wanting ; and he hopes, with the archbishop's assistance, to be able to prevail with our proprietors.* I pray God grant them success.

My son presents his affectionate regards, with,

Dear sir, yours, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I have not been favored with a line from you since your arrival in England.

being found by one of his little children sitting in his library in the last agonies of death. He was buried in Trinity Church-yard.

* Upon the application of Archbishop Herring and P. Collinson, Esq., at Dr. Franklin's request (aided by the letters of Mr. Allen and Mr. Peters), the Hon. Thomas Penn, Esq., subscribed an annual sum, and afterwards gave at least £5,000 to the founding or engrafting the college upon the academy.—Note by Franklin.

CHAPTER II.

ARRIVES IN LONDON—ARCHBISHOP HERRING TO DR. SMITH—ADDRESS TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN REGARD TO THE GERMAN PROTESTANTS—ARCHBISHOP HERRING CONCERNING THE GERMAN EMIGRANTS IN PENNSYLVANIA—DR. SMITH ORDAINED DEACON AND PRIEST IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

ON the 1st of December Dr. Smith landed in London, and mentions writing a letter to Archbishop Herring, giving a circumstantial account of the death of Sir Danvers Osborne, Governor of New York. To which he received the following answer; the original is in the Maryland Church Papers, from which copies of everything connected with Dr. Smith have been kindly furnished by the Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, S.T.D., of Baltimore:

Archbishop Herring to Dr. Smith.

CROYDEN HOUSE, December 10th, 1753.

SIR: I thank you for your particular account of the sad accident in New York. It was very happy for the city that its government devolved on the Chief Justice, who, I promise myself, will recommend himself by the care in his Lieutenantcy to further favor from the King.

I have read over your Mirania, and am pleased with the Design. It is a very comprehensive one, and if you cannot execute the whole you must go as far as you can. When you form it into a plan for public use, you will cut off some of those Luxuriences which perhaps are more of amusement than instruction. You see I am somewhat free with you. I shall be glad to find that the schemes for yourself are like to succeed, being confident you will do your duty conscientiously.

Your friend,

THOS. CANTAU.

TO DR. WILLIAM SMITH,
London.

On December 13th Dr. Smith addressed the following letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

LONDON, December 13th, 1753.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN: For many years past incredible numbers of poor protestants have flock'd from divers parts of Germany & Swit-

zerland to our Colonies, particularly to Pennsylvania. Their melancholy situation, thro' want of instructors & their utter inability to maintain them, with the distressing prospect of approaching darkness & idolatry among them, have been represented to their fellow-protestants in Europe in the most moving terms.

Indeed it is deeply affecting to hear that this vast branch of the protestant Church is in danger either of sinking into barbarian ignorance, or of being seduced at last from that religion for which they and their fathers have suffered so much. And should ever this be their misfortune, their Liberty itself, with all their expected use to these nations, will be entirely lost. Besides this, their having no opportunity of acquiring our language, & their living in a separate body, without any probability of their incorporating with us, are most alarming considerations.

In these circumstances, the Scheme you have engaged in, to send instructors among these people, is of the greatest importance. The influence of a faithful clergy to form the social temper, to keep up a sense of religion, & guide such a people in their duty, is obvious. Nor is the institution of Schools for the education of their children a point of less, but perhaps still greater, importance.

Without Education it is impossible to preserve a free government in any Country, or to preserve the Spirit of Commerce. Should these Emigrants degenerate into a state little better than that of wood-born savages, what use could they make of English privileges? Liberty is the most dangerous of all weapons, in the hands of those who know not the use & value of it. Those who are in most cases *free* to speak & act as they please, had need be well instructed how to speak and act; and it is well said by *Montesquieu*, that wherever there is most Freedom there the whole power of Education is requisite to good Government. In a word, Commerce & Riches are the offspring of Industry & an unprecious property; but these depend on Virtue & Liberty, which again depend on Knowledge & Religion.

But further, Education, besides being necessary to support the Spirit of liberty & commerce, is the only means for incorporating these foreigners with ourselves, in the rising generation. The old can only be exhorted and warn'd. The young may be instructed and form'd. The old can neither acquire our Language, nor quit their national manners. The young may do both. The old, whatever degree of worth they acquire, descend apace to the grave, & their influence is soon lost. The young, when well instructed, have their whole prime of life before them, & their influence is strong & lasting.

By a common Education of English & German Youth at the same Schools, acquaintances & connexions will be form'd, & deeply impress'd upon them in their cheerful & open moments. The English language & a conformity of manners will be acquired, & they may be taught to feel

the meaning & exult in the enjoyment of liberty, a home & social endearments. And when once these sacred names are understood & felt at the heart;—when once a few intermarriages are made between the chief families of the different nations in each county, which will naturally follow from School-acquaintances, & the acquisition of a common language, no arts of our enemies will be able to divide them in their affection; and all the narrow distinctions of extraction, &c., will be forgot—forever forgot—in higher interests.

In the day of danger should any attempt be made to seduce our Germans, all the endearments of acquaintances formed in the open moments of youth & joy, rushing upon the heart & resuming their early place in it, will teach every one to reason thus—

“What! shall I draw my sword, & perhaps sheath it next in the
 “bosom of my dear friend & school-fellow? shall I commence the
 “deadly foe of him who once bore my fault & the punishment due to
 “it? of him who once was the dear partner of my soul & all my
 “youthful sports? of him whose more practised arm once snatched me
 “from death, when, sporting in the limpid wave & launching beyond
 “my depth, I was borne by the headlong current to instant fate? can I
 “forget him with whom I received the first impressions of virtue, &
 “reasoned so oft upon the difference of governments, & the excellency
 “of our own, inculcated upon us in so many lessons?”—Or, perhaps,
 a dearer tie, with eloquence irresistible, claims to be heard in words like
 these—“What! shall I divide myself forever from him, whom, tho’
 “born of English parents, I introduced as my dear school-fellow to my
 “father’s house, which gave rise to an acquaintance that issued in his
 “marriage of my sister? he, in return, brought me acquainted in his
 “family. The eyes of his cousin thrill my heart with emotions not to
 “be described. Her every look is animated kindness towards me—I am
 “full of dear hopes—And shall I desert them and be miserable? no; I
 “will not.—Hence traitor! quickly from my sight, thou that persuadest
 “me to it, or the sword thou wouldst have me draw against my best
 “friends shall this instant open a passage to thy insidious heart. I
 “know no enemy but thee who striv’st to seduce me from my happi-
 “ness, which is wrap’t in those my relations & acquaintances.—What
 “tho’ they are English, & I of a different extraction from them? so am
 “I from thee & thy busy countrymen. The generous people among
 “whom I live have admitted me to an equal share of their high privi-
 “leges, & I can have no interest which they have not:—*I feel* I am
 “happy in what I enjoy at present; what can I more? but, by the
 “change thou striv’st in vain to make me risk, I can only hope to
 “be so.”

It was intermarrying in this manner that saved the infant Roman State from a dreadful war, & occasioned the incorporation of two different nations. And the neglecting to concert proper measures for more

frequent intermarriages between the *Scots & Picts* hindered them from ever incorporating; so that it was a fatal resolution which Buchanan tells us the latter entered into—*Providendum ne peregrini secum post miscerentur*. The nations pursued one another with inextinguishable hatred till the *Picts* were totally extirpated.

But besides these advantages already mentioned, by means of a right education of the vulgar, such a spirit may be promoted thro' all ranks, as is best suited to the particular genius of every government in our colonies. Every government has its fundamental active principle, as every man is thought to have his ruling passion, as the spring of his actions; & therefor, as Mons. de *Montesquieu* well observes—"The laws of education being the first impressions we receive, & those that prepare us for civil life, each (school or) particular family should be governed according to the plan of the great family that comprehends the whole."—Nor is this all. Education, when thus uniformly conducted thro' a whole country, in subordination to the public sense, may not only be made to preserve the grand principle of government, whatever it is, but also to mend or change a wrong principle.

Thus, if the spirit of a people is too pacific, as in some of our colonies, it may be gradually changed by a right institution of the laws of education. Means may be contrived to fire the boy-senator by displaying the illustrious actions of the greatest heroes in the sacred struggle for freedom. He may be rationally convinced that without self-defence society cannot long subsist in the centre of aspiring foes.

On the other hand, if the spirit of a people is too martial or barbarous, as was the case of Numa's Romans, such a spirit, by means of education, as well as by his religious Polity, may be softened & tempered. Youth may be taught to relish the softer arts, & take enjoyments in peace & virtuous industry, far superior to those that are falsely look'd for in the unbounded licentiousness of war. They may be early taught to abhor offensive war, & to esteem a brave & steady self-defence (& that too after all possible forbearance) all that is consistent with the general ties of humanity. Indeed there is little danger any of our colonies should be soon seized with the madness of heroism, which has deluged the earth with so much human blood. The heart must have been long petrifi'd & train'd up in deeds of violence, before one can think of attacking peaceful, unsuspecting neighbors, thro' mere lust of rule, without being eternally pierced with all the unsufferable pangs of wounded humanity!

It was by a scheme of polity similar to this sort of education, that the wise *Numa* blended a vast mixed multitude into one social body. When he was called to the administration his country was in a condition as unformed & feverish as the most uncemented of our colonies. Like them, infant Rome had opened her sheltering arms, inviting alike the poor & rich, the industrious & idle, the good & the profligate, of all

countries to her embrace. Thus her small territory was soon deluged with a promiscuous multitude, differing in all things, language, manners, & extraction.

The great lawgiver saw this, & knew how great address as well as labor would be required to form his infant country. This made him shrink from the toils of government (now-a-days so passionately courted) & earnestly desire to close his days in his philosophic retirement. At length, however, he was prevailed upon to sacrifice *private ease to public good*. Quitting his little farm, he came to his high station, breathing *justice*, breathing *peace*, breathing *piety*; merciful of disposition, serene of temper, beneficent of heart, plain & sanctified of manners, the favorite of heaven. He well knew that a small territory of people vigorously & uniformly pursuing a common interest, is a body far stronger & more powerful, than the greatest numbers, dissipated, uncemented & differing in all pursuits. Hence he made it the invariable object of his administration rather to incorporate the mixt multitude, & form their temper to a correspondence with that sort of government he proposed among them, than to acquire any accession of territory or people. With this view he dexterously employed the mild & social aspects of religion to tame & humanize the savage nature, to open the reserved heart, & wake public affections. And indeed the religion he instituted was marvellously adapted to these beneficent purposes. Consisting of many public festivals, it frequently congregated the people & brought them acquainted. In these festal moments of mirth & sacrifice, they felt their hearts open towards one another; distrust & reserve were laid aside; strict friendships were formed, & the social flame catch'd from breast to breast.—Then would they talk, exultant, of *freedom, prosperity, a common-weal, & a common-country*! And while these sacred names rushed upon their thoughts, every narrow distinction gave room & was at last totally expelled by them. Difference of manners, language, & extraction, was now no more. Every one saw himself leagued with his neighbor, wherever born, in the common interest of Rome, & looked down with contempt on every mean distinction that would drive this interest from the heart. The rising generation acquired a conformity in all things. No distinction remained but between a virtuous and vicious citizen. No contest but between *Romans & Romans* concerning their pre-eminence in public worth.—*Cives cum civibus de virtute certabant*.

From what has been said, it appears that, in the present circumstances of the people under consideration, nothing but a common education of youth, can obviate the inconveniences justly dreaded. It is only this that can incorporate them, by teaching them a common language, giving rise to acquaintances & intermarriages, influencing their genius; & pre-

serving, forming, or altering the principle of Government among them as public weal requires.

The next things are the method of education, the government of the Schools, & the means of supplying & maintaining them in proper masters.

The method of education is a point too important to be handled in the bounds of this letter, & shall be the subject of a separate essay. It is obvious that it must be calculated rather to make good subjects than what is called good scholars. The English language, together with writing, something of figures, & a short system of religious & civil truths & duties, in the *Socratic* or *catechetical* way, is all the education necessary to the people. These things therefore must be left open to everybody without price; but all other less necessary branches of literature may have quarterly fees laid upon them, to prevent the vulgar from spending more time at school than is necessary. It is generally thought that the knowledge of *ethics*, civil & religious, is not to be acquired without languages, & laborious discussions, for which the bulk of mankind has neither leisure nor capacity. But nothing can be a greater mistake than this; & it is to be feared nothing has contributed more to the present general corruption of morals. Can it be possible that those great Truths & Duties, the knowledge & practice of which God intended as the means of making man happy & keeping Society together, are any other way above the vulgar reach, than as they have been made so by the imaginary distinctions & perplexing reasonings of men themselves? No. These truths & duties are founded on the most simple principles, the most obvious relations, & from thence may be deduced at no great expense of Time or Genius, without the aid of learned languages and laborious researches. The general principles of our common Christianity may, in a very short Compass be laid before youth, & the truths & duties thence resulting press'd home upon them as truly amiable for their own intrinsic beauty & happy tendency. The use & end of Society, the different forms of Government, the excellency of our own, with all the horrors of civil & religious tyranny, may be displayed to them; and from thence all social duties might be deduced, by a chain of the most clear & natural consequences. All this might be taught at leisure hours by a good master, during the 3 or 4 years the people otherwise spend in learning to read, write, &c.; & it is hardly to be conceived how much such early impressions would contribute to make good men as well as good subjects. It is of little importance to Society how many *recluses* should know the theory of *ethics*, when they seldom launch into busy scenes of real life; but the virtue & practice of the vulgar is the strength of the State, so that without making these topics, above mentioned, a part of education, such schools will be wanting in the main point, the forming good Subjects.

2. With regard to the Government of the Schools, it is of the greatest

use, in smaller Societies, where it is practicable, to have all places of Education uniformly govern'd by one sett of men, that so youth may be everywhere trained up in subordination to the public Sense. This trust can only be executed by men residing on the spot, & therefore 6 or 7 principal Gentlemen in Pennsylvania may be appointed Trustees-general for providing foreign protestants in that & other Colonies, with Ministers and Schoolmasters.

One or more of these Trustees, is once every year to visit all the Schools & examine the Scholars, giving a small premium to one or more boys, born of German Parents, who shall best deliver an oration in English, or read an English Author, nearest to the right pronunciation. Let another premium be given to that boy, whether English or German, who shall best answer to some questions concerning religious & civil duties, on the plan already sketched out.—And now, what a glorious Sight will it be to behold the Proprietor, governor, or other great men, in their summer Excursions into the country, entering the schools & performing their part of the visitation. This will be teaching indeed like those ancient Fathers of their Country, who deign'd to superintend the execution of the laws they made for the education of youth, as the rising hope of the State.

But further, as the success of all Schools depends on good discipline, & keeping up emulation, these Trustees-general should substitute six deputy-trustees for every School, 3 of them being English, & 3 Germans, for the sake of forming more connexions. These deputies should visit the Schools & bestow premia as above, one every month, transmitting an account of such visitations to the Trustees-general, & these last sending once or twice a-year an account of the whole state of the Schools to the Society in London. This scheme cannot fail of helping up discipline & emulation.

3. The Masters for such Schools can only be found & educated in America. They must understand the English & high Dutch, with Mathematics, Geography, Drawing, History, Ethics, with the Constitutions & interests of the Colonies. Now, strangers cannot be thus qualified. For tho' they understood both languages, we could not be sure of their principles; nor would they for several years know the Genius of the people, or correspond with the general Scheme of Polity in the education of youth; nay, they might be sent from the *palatinate* or *Switzerland* to counterwork it, & defeat the desired Coalition. Clergymen, Schoolmasters, Physicians, &c., have a natural influence over the people in the Country, & the constant importation of strangers of these professions is impolitic. Such Men should be educated under the Eye of the public in the colonies where they are wanted; & thus we will not only be certain of their principles, but also have them complete masters both of the English & German languages.

It is a happy circumstance, in Pennsylvania in particular, that there

is a flourishing Seminary, where such men may be educated ; & happier still that the hon^{ble} proprietary is to make a foundation for maintaining & educating constantly some promising Children of poor Germans as a Supply of well-principled Schoolmasters, that must be acceptable among their friends.

4. With regard to the maintenance of these instructors, that must come in a great measure from you. 'Tis true monies already collected in Holland, England, & Scotland will be no more than sufficient for a fair beginning ; but you cannot fail of success in your application to the public Charity, to enable you to prosecute your Undertaking—an undertaking of far greater importance to the British—the Protestant Interest—than can be well imagined at this distance.

Figure to yourselves upwards of 100,000 Strangers settled in our territory, chiefly by themselves, & multiplying fast ;—Strangers indeed to everything of ours ; strangers to our Laws and manners ; strangers to the sacred sound of liberty in the land where they were born, & uninstructed in the right use & value of it in the country where they now enjoy it ; utterly ignorant & apt to be misled by our unceasing enemies & surrounded with such enemies to mislead them ; &, what is worst of all, in danger of sinking deeper & deeper every day into these deplorable circumstances, as being almost entirely destitute of instructors, & unacquainted with our language, so that it is scarce possible to remove any prejudices they once entertain. Nay, such prejudices may be daily increased among them, unknown to us. They import many foreign books ; and, in Pennsylvania, have their Printing houses, their newspapers, and of late their Bonds & other legal writings, in their own language. In courts of Judicature, Interpreters are constantly wanted, thro' the vast increase of German business, & may soon be wanted in the Assembly itself, to tell one-half the Legislature what the other half says.

If these things alarm our ears, it will also awaken our pity to think we hear the following daily lamentations of these poor people—

“Alas ! how long shall we be the most miserable of mortals? Driven
 “from our friends & natal soil by the fiery scourge of persecution, we
 “committed ourselves to the mercy of the Seas, & sought a better home
 “in an unknown corner of the World. We penetrated the howling
 “wilderness, & sat down in places before untrod by Christian foot,
 “where only savage beasts prowled round us, content to suffer the
 “worst of difficulties, for the sake of religious liberty & a good con-
 “science. But, O deplorable situation ! we are again threatened with
 “all those dangers from which we fled. On the one side Popery, & on
 “the other heathen-ignorance, make dreadful approaches towards us.
 “The French-Germans, well supply'd with missionaries, are our near
 “neighbors ; and if we should escape their snares, who shall save our
 “Children—Our Children ! O piercing thought ! did we mention our

“Children? These helpless innocents are the rising hopes of a large
 “branch of the Protestant interest, coming forward into the world like
 “grasshoppers in multitude. Upon their instruction it greatly depends
 “whether our heathen neighbors, in whose original soil we dwell, shall
 “at last embrace the truth, & flourish long in all that exalts, all that
 “embellishes Society; or whether, on the other hand, a great part of
 “the new world shall fall either back to its original barbarism or under
 “the dreary reign of popery. But alas! we see our dear little ones,
 “whose fate is to decide this, rising round us like wild branches, with-
 “out one hand to form or guide them. Their tender Souls ripen only
 “in ignorance & are exposed an early prey. We ourselves are unable
 “to instruct them, and are moreover obliged to face the piercing North,
 “or sultry South, toil all the day long, & to provide for their infant
 “calls of hunger, without having one moment to spare for the nurture
 “of their tender Minds.”

This is the alarming situation, & these the moving lamentations of those unhappy Emigrants. To you, ye noble Patriots! they address themselves. To you their helpless Children lisp their tender plaint thro’ my Pen. And surely we ought to regard them from Motives of honor, humanity & good policy. These people are now become British subjects, & have many shining virtues. Their industry & frugality are exemplary. They are excellent husbandmen & contribute greatly to the improvement of a new Country. They possess a vast tract of our territory, & by proper instruction, might be made a great support of trade & agriculture in our Colonies, & thus encrease the riches & strength of Britain.

What a patriot work must it then be, to contrive means for making them flourish long with ourselves in well-ordered society; to incorporate & mingle them in equal privileges with the sons of freedom; to teach them to value & exult in the conscious enjoyment of these privileges, & make a provision for improving their natures and training them up for eternal scenes!

This is not the work of any particular party. It is a British work. It does not regard a handful of Men of this or that denomination, happily escaped the jaws of persecution; but its success is to determine whether an incredible number of fellow-protestants, of many different denominations, shall fall into the grossest ignorance; shall be seduced by our indefatigable rivals; shall live in a separate body; shall turn our trade out of its proper channel by their foreign connexions, & perhaps at last give some of our Colonies laws and language;—Or, whether, on the other hand, they shall adopt our language, our manners, our interests, & incorporate with us in one enlightened happy Society.

Upon the whole, those who delight in Offices of Charity, could never have found a more useful or meritorious way of bestowing it than upon the instruction of such a vast encreasing multitude of young & old

Subjects, in order to make them good men & useful members of the community. The effects of such a Charity will be felt thro' many a brightening Æra, & roll'd down in a tide of happiness, gently diffusing itself to glad the hearts of unborn millions, in the untutor'd parts of the earth.

Thus, instead of hearing the sound of lamentation & sorrow among a vast people, wandering without Shepherds in a dry & barren land, we shall hear the voice of Joy among them. They & their posterity, thro' long-succeeding generations, shall be happy & enlightened; so that, in the sublime strains of the Prophet, The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice & blossom as the rose.

I hope to be a pleased spectator of part of this happiness; and if I have been too much warm'd with the prospect of it, take it as a sure pledge that I will decline no labor, as oft as you honor me with an opportunity of helping to bring it about. I am,

My Lords & Gentlemen,

Your most faithful, humble Serv't,

WILL. SMITH.

Upon this paper, a copy of which seems to have been sent to Archbishop Herring, his Grace made an endorsement thus:*

The Design of helping the German Emigrants in his Majesty's Colonies seems as great and as necessary to be put in Execution as any that was ever laid before the British Nation, and the neglect of it may occasion such mischief to us as is inconceivable and may probably be Irreparable.

To recomm'd it therefore to the Publick, is on All accounts not only expedient but necessary; And the method of doing it will be in as short and comprehensive a way as possible.

1.—To State the Fact and make it Clear by Authentic Truths, that such Numbers of Germans have emigrated as are reported; if not so many, what the Numbers are.

2.—To Inform the world where in particular they came from; what was the cause of their Removal; of what sort the People are as to Religion, Tempers, Circumstances, Occupations, &c., and for what Reasons they quitted their native Country.

3.—To point out their present place and Situation; the Country and People which they border upon; in what Manner they Subsist at present; what provision is made for their due Government, and what for the exercise of their Religion. These things and others of equal consequence being *clearly and precisely* known, they will all of them probably

* From the Smith MSS., endorsed "Archb'p Herring's Remarks on the Scheme for Instructing the German Emigrants."

furnish convincing Arguments that they are Objects highly worthy our Attention. It will then be necessary to be as exact in Pointing out the Methods which become us as *Christians*, as *Men*, as *Beings*, to pursue, in order to lay the foundation of their becoming a good People and usefull Subjects of our Colonies and Government.

How it may be requisite to show :

1.—What has been done for them? How incomprehensive the Means of private Collections are to Attain fully so Great and desirable an End, which seems worthy the Immediate care of some Parliamentary Provision.

2.—To suggest a Method of ranging & sorting the great number of People, so as to render them Governable and tractable in a right way by dividing them into districts under the inspection of proper Magistrates, the easy controul of Laws, and the Institution of Christian Pastors and Schoolmasters.

3.—To show the necessity of a regular Education form'd upon a Large and Generous plan of religious Liberty, consistent with the national Establishment of the Mother Country, to instill and propagate the notion that these Germans are to become one with us, and that it were best for both to have, in time, one common Language. This will be the natural effect of a common Education, which of course leads men on to Friendships, Intermarriages, and a general blending of Interests. Care should be taken that there be no affectation, in their Education, of aiming at high degrees of science, but that their Religion be plain and Practicable, and such as all Christians agree in; and that their knowledge be suited to their occupation. There will be room enough left under these general regulations to attend to any distinguish'd genius.

The Arguments to enforce this good Plan will be drawn, not from general considerations, but the particular interests of our Colonists, which would bleed under the Mischief, if such a Number of Sober and useful protestant People be Abandoned to be made the Prey of French Papists and Jesuits, or become Mixed with the Tribes of Indians who are under the pay and influence of the French.

From Dr. Smith's diary I make the following extracts :

December 21st, 1753. I was ordained deacon, in the palace at Fulham, by Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, at the request and in the presence of Dr. Thomas Sherlock, then Bishop of London, but in a very declining state of health.

23d. I was ordained priest, at the same place and at the same request, by Dr. Richard Osbaldeston, Bishop of Carlisle.

26th. Started to the North, to see my honored father.

31st. Preached in the kirk in which I was baptized.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE GERMANS IN AMERICA—DR. CHANDLER'S LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES—BISHOP OF OXFORD TO DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON—SPANDENBERG—DR. FRANKLIN TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH'S RETURN HOME—DR. SMITH TO DR. CHANDLER—TREATY WITH THE INDIANS—SAURS' ATTACKS UPON THE TRUSTEES OF THE GERMAN SCHOOLS—DR. SMITH TO DR. PETERS.

MARCH 15th, 1754. Under this date Dr. Smith mentions being at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The purport of this meeting will be explained in the correspondence which follows. A number of worthy noblemen and gentlemen in England being now apprehensive that the ignorance of the German emigrants, settled in Pennsylvania, etc., might render them liable to be led away from the British interests by French emissaries, and being also greatly desirous to give them means of continuing the free exercise of that religion among them, for the free exercise of which they migrated from the land of their nativity to these parts, the said noblemen and gentlemen for these reasons formed themselves into a society, and requested Dr. Samuel Chandler, an English Dissenter of prominence and whom they made their Secretary, to address a letter to certain gentlemen in Pennsylvania, appointing them their trustees, etc. Dr. Chandler accordingly wrote a letter as follows (a manuscript copy of which, made by Dr. Smith, is in the possession of Dr. J. H. Brinton, his great-grandson, to whom I am indebted for much of the information in this work):

LONDON, 15th March, 1754.

To the Honorable James Hamilton, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania; William Allen, Esq., Chief Justice; Richard Peters, Esq., Secretary of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Franklin, Esq., Postmaster-General; Conrad Weiser, Esq., Interpreter, and the Rev. William Smith.

GENTLEMEN: The number and destitute circumstances of the German Protestants settled in Pennsylvania and Maryland, have engaged some very worthy gentlemen to form themselves into a Society for their relief, and particularly to provide them with a few German ministers and some English schoolmasters, that the elder among them may not be destitute

of needful instruction, and the younger may be brought to the knowledge of the English language ; that they may become better subjects to the British Government and more useful to the Colonies, where Providence has now fixed their habitation.

The Society consists of the Right Hon. Earl of Shaftesbury ; Right Hon. Lord Willoughby, of Parham ; Right Hon. Sir Luke Schaub, Bart. ; Right Hon. Sir Josiah Van Neck, Bart. ; Thomas Chitty, Esq., Thomas Fluddyer, Esq., Aldermen of the City of London ; Benjamin Amory, LL.D., James Vernon, Esq., John Bance, Esq., Robert Fergusson, Esq., Nathaniel Paice, Rev. Dr. Birch, Rev. Mr. Caspar Weiststein, Rev. Mr. David Thomas, minister at Amsterdam, and myself, whom they honored to appoint as their secretary. His Majesty and her Highness the Princess of Wales have with truly royal and princely generosity contributed to the encouragement of this design, and the Church of Scotland has made a very liberal collection toward promoting the same excellent work ; and we are endeavoring to obtain a further supply by means of a subscription from some benevolent noblemen and gentlemen of the city of London. Thus, from our first beginnings, we are encouraged to hope that we shall gather a sum sufficient for assisting these poor Protestants for some few years in the above-mentioned instances, till they are brought into a more regular state, and better able to take care of themselves and their families. The honorable Society, earnestly desirous to apply the moneys they collect in the most effectual manner for his majesty's service, the benefit of the Colonies, and the welfare of these poor people, could think of no method so likely to carry on these salutary views as the opening a correspondence with some worthy gentlemen of knowledge, interest, and experience in Pennsylvania ; and as they know of none in whose honor, integrity, and prudence they can better confide, gentlemen, than in yours, they have unanimously, with the advice of the honorable proprietor, resolved that you be desired to accept of the inspection and management of the whole charity as their trustees in Pennsylvania, and particularly to assist with your encouragement and counsel the Rev. Mr. Michael Schlatter, whom the Society has ordered, with a yearly salary of £100 sterling, under your direction, to be their supervisor and visitor of the schools they have agreed to erect in the following places, viz., Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Skippack, and Hanover, where, as they are informed by a letter from the worthy secretary to the honorable proprietor, now before me, the Germans are being settled. The intention of the schools is to instruct their youth in the English language and the common principles of the Christian religion and morality. The schoolmasters for these schools should understand both the German and the English languages, and we are encouraged to hope by Mr. Schlatter that proper persons for this purpose may be found in the province, the choice of which we must beg leave to devolve upon you, as we have an entire confidence in your

disposition to promote so good a work, and judgment in the conduct of it. The yearly salary of each of these masters we are willing to allow for some years in any sum not exceeding £20, and the proportion to each we beg you would determine for us; and, indeed, that you would transact the whole of this important affair, as you shall judge it most expedient to accomplish the good intentions that are before us. As to German ministers, we have as yet appointed none, because, as you are well acquainted with the circumstances of the Germans settled among you, we are willing to act with your advice, which will in great measure determine us as to the numbers that shall be sent over, the places they shall settle at, and the stipend that shall be yearly allowed them. This advice, therefore, we earnestly request, and indeed that you will be so good as to send us such information, from time to time, of what may be proper for us to do the most effectually to secure the good ends we aim at, and of the success that shall attend the measures we take in concert with you if it shall please God happily to prosper them. The account transmitted to me as their secretary shall be regularly laid before them, the honorable Society.

We are sensible, gentlemen, that such a correspondence will occasion you some trouble; but when we consider the importance of the service, the benevolence of your dispositions, and the worth of your characters, we promise ourselves your kind assistance in a work which we know must have your entire approbation and best wishes. As for myself, 'tis my great pleasure I have so honorable an introduction to the acquaintance of gentlemen, whose characters I so honorable esteem, and on whose friendship I should place the greatest value.

I have the honor, in the name of the Society, to be

Your most humble servant,

S. CHANDLER.

Favored by the hand of the

REV. WILLIAM SMITH.

A letter which follows shows the impression made by young Mr. Smith on Dr. Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.*

DEANERY OF ST. PAUL'S, March 19th, 1754.

GOOD DR. JOHNSON: I should have returned you my hearty thanks before now, if extraordinary business had not put it partly out of my power and partly out of my thoughts, for your favors by Mr. Smith. He is, indeed, a very ingenious and able, and seems a very well-disposed young man, and if he had pursued his intention of residing awhile at Oxford, I should have hoped for more of his company and acquaintance.

* Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D., of New Jersey, page 176.

Nor would he, I think, have failed to see more fully what I flatter myself he is convinced of without it, that our universities do not deserve the sentence which is passed on them by the author whom he cites, and whose words he adopts on page 84 of his *General Idea of the College of Mirania*. He assures me they are effaced in almost all the copies. I wish they had not been printed, or that the leaf had been cancelled. But the many valuable things which there are in that performance, and in the papers which he published in New York, will atone for this blemish with all candid persons. . . .

I am, with great regard and esteem, Sir,

Your loving brother and humble servant,

THOMAS OXFORD.

The Society referred to in Dr. Chandler's letter was not the first Society in London which was intended for the benefit of the Germans in America; for upon the arrival of Spangenberg* in London, whither he went in the spring of 1741, to superintend the Moravian Brethren's religious movement in England, he proposed the formation of a society in aid of their foreign missions. To this he was encouraged by friends of the Brethren, who were deeply interested in the success of their great work among the heathen, and who desired an opportunity of contributing of their means stately, and of co-operating otherwise towards its support. On the 5th of May, 1741, accordingly, a board of directors was appointed, and on the 8th of the same month the Society was organized by electing Adolph von Marshall Secretary, and William Holland Servitor. A collection which was taken up on this occasion amounted to six guineas. The board, or committee, consisting of James Hutton, Rev. George Stonehouse, John Ockershausen, John Bray, and Spangenberg, met on every Monday. The first Monday in each month was fixed for the so-called "general meeting" of the So-

* Spangenberg, Augustus G., *alias* Joseph, and Eve Mary, late Innung, in. n. Zengelsdorf, his wife. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, who for almost twenty years was at the head of the American branch of the Moravian Church, was born July 15th, 1704, in Klettenberg, Hohenstein, Saxony, and was the son of the Lutheran clergyman of that place. He studied theology at Jena, and in 1732 was appointed a professor at Halle. Thence he went to Herndorf, in 1733, and became Zauzen of strictly assistant in the religious movement to which he devoted his life. Spangenberg was four times in America: from 1735 to 1739 in Georgia and Pennsylvania; from 1744 to 1749 in Bethlehem and Philadelphia; from 1751 to 1752 in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and for the last time from 1754 to 1762. He returned to Europe in July of the last-named year, and until his death held a seat in the Unity's Elders' board. He died at Berthelsdorf, September 18th, 1792.

ciety, at which funds were collected, and reports and letters from the Mission were communicated. Although the number of actual members of the Society was only twenty, two hundred persons were present at the first of these meetings, which was held on the 15th of May. Dr. Doddridge was an early associate and also a corresponding member, and Whitfield occasionally addressed the general meeting. For upwards of ten years this association rendered the Brethren's Mission important service; providing to a large extent for the support of the Moravian missionaries in the British West India Islands. It was dissolved in 1751. For the "Regulations," according to which its operations were conducted, the reader is referred to Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 70.

In 1766 a second organization for the furtherance of the Gospel, and in aid of Moravian missions, was effected, through the instrumentality of Hutton and others, among friends of the Brethren resident in the British metropolis. It is still active, and for many years has met the entire expense incurred in conducting the Esquimaux Mission in Labrador.

Spangenberg had visited America in 1735, and well understood the condition of the Germans in that country. He came to Philadelphia a second time, in 1744, to labor for their good. A full account of his and the Society's acts will be found in the publications of the Moravian Historical Society, published at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, 1877.

But to return to the subject of our memoir. On the 5th of April, 1754, Dr. Smith sailed from London in the ship "Falcon," bound to Philadelphia. During the voyage he wrote several essays on education, which were afterwards published in the *Antigua Gazette*.

Dr. Franklin (in his *Life*) mentions having written the following to him, which, I suppose, he never received:

PHILADELPHIA, April 18th, 1754.

DEAR SIR: I have had but one letter from you since your arrival in England, which was but a short one, *viâ* Boston, dated Oct. 18th, acquainting me that you had written largely by Captain Davis.—Davis was lost, and with him your letters, to my great disappointment.—Mesnard and Gibbon have since arrived here, and I hear nothing from you. My comfort is, an imagination that you only omit writing because you are coming, and propose to tell me everything *viva voce*. So not

knowing whether this letter will reach you, and hoping either to see or hear from you by the "Myrtilla," Captain Budden's ship, which is daily expected, I only add, that I am, with great esteem and affection,

Yours, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

MR. SMITH.

Dr. Smith, in his diary, says :

May 22d. 1754. Landed in Philadelphia. Put up at the Ton Tavern,* on Chestnut Street, kept by Joseph Osborn.

24th. I was this day inducted Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, and Professor of Natural Philosophy.

25th. Commenced teaching in the philosophy class, also ethics and rhetoric to the advanced pupils. I have two classes, a senior and a junior one.

May 30th. On having delivered Mr. Chandler's letter to his Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, to whom it was directed, his Honor communicated it to the other gentlemen appointed as trustees; but as several of them were then setting out as commissioners from this province to the Indian treaty at Albany, they could not have a meeting upon the business recommended to them by the honorable Society till the return of the said commissioners; therefore, the trustees requested me in their name to write to the Rev. Mr. Chandler, secretary of the said Society, and acknowledged the receipt of his letter.

Dr. Smith did this, as follows :

PHILADELPHIA, May 30th, 1754.

REV. SIR: As soon as I arrived at Philadelphia (which was on the 22d instant) I delivered your letter to Governor Hamilton, and his Honor communicated it to the other gentlemen to whom you were pleased in the name of the honorable Society to address it. Messrs. Peters and Franklin are to be sent out on Monday next as commissioners from this province to the general treaty, to be held with the Five Nations at Albany, in New York, on the 14th of next month; we cannot, therefore, do anything in the business you so generously recommend to us until their return, especially as Mr. Weiser attends them. In the meantime, however, the gentlemen have desired me to assure you in their name that they are sensible of the honor done them by the illustrious Society,

*The One-Ton Tavern stood upon the northeast corner of Third and Chestnut Streets. The old building had a porch at its front door on Chestnut Street, and it stood as high in its reputation as a hostelry as any one in the city. It was kept by Joseph Osborn until about 1770, when the sign was changed to the Cross Keys, a name it continued to bear for a long period after the Revolution.

and that they will decline no labor in the execution of their important trust. Their general interest as Britons, their particular interest as Americans, and their sincere desire of promoting every charitable design, all concur to engage them to do everything experience and advantage of their situation shall enable them to do. The affairs of the Germans become every day more interesting. You have doubtless heard of the encroachments of the French upon the Ohio, and can guess at their designs. The severity of their government has hitherto retarded the migration of Europeans to settle their colonies, while ours have been the constant asylum of distressed foreigners of all countries. Thus they have despaired of ever drawing numbers from Europe to render their colonies equal in strength to ours. Hence, they have turned their eyes upon the vast body of Germans settled in the back part of this province, etc., hoping that many of these Germans who have been born in this country, may be drawn over to them, as they are entirely ignorant, and have not the same notions of French government that their European parents had.

These schemes seem to have been long laid and uniformly pursued, and if they keep possession of the Ohio it will probably be too successful. For as the generality of these Germans place all happiness in a large farm, they will greedily accept the easy settlements which the French will be enabled to offer them. Thus, vast numbers will be induced to go over to the enemy, and others who have come from many parts of Europe and settled lands without any title or patent, will accept such from and promise allegiance to the French. Should this scheme succeed (as from the backwardness of some of our colonies, and the slowness of all of them to concert proper measures of defence, it perhaps may) it will be of far greater advantage to the French than the same acquisition of hands fresh from Europe, because all that is taken *from* us is thrown into the scale *against* us, which is a double advantage to them and a double loss to us. Now, nothing can prevent this dreadful evil and secure the British trade and interest in these colonies but a union of our strength and counsels, together with a proper instruction of these poor emigrants. Whenever we can teach them to distinguish between French and English governments, especially if they are also united to us by a common language, it is to be hoped that no efforts of our enemies will ever be able to draw them from us. Considered in this light, we think the scheme you have engaged in for the instruction of these poor foreigners, and blend them with ourselves in the most inestimable privileges and interests, is one of the most generous and most useful that ever engaged the attention even of Britons. You may depend, then, on our hearty endeavor in the execution of it, as we are fully convinced that so many illustrious names as are with you engaged in it, can never be either without interest or inclination to support it.

In the name and at the desire of your trustees, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Reverend Sir, your affectionate brother,

And most obliged servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

P. S.—As soon as the return of the commissioners from Albany shall enable us to do anything of consequence, you may expect to hear from us in full, in answer to yours. I offer my most grateful respects to all the worthy members of your Society for their kind notice of me while in London.

W. S.

TO REV. MR. SECRETARY CHANDLER.

The treaty mentioned in this letter was held June 19th, 1754.

The object of this treaty or meeting at Albany appears to have been to prevent the Six Nations from going over to the interests of the French. The day appointed had been the 14th, but the commissioners did not all arrive until the 19th. The commissioners from the several colonies were:

James de Lancey, Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers, William Smith, for the Province of New York.

John Chandler, Samuel Wells, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Partridge, John Worthington, for Massachusetts.

Theodore Atkinson, Richard Wibird, Meshech Weare, Henry Sherburne, for New Hampshire.

William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Elisha Williams, for Connecticut.

Stephen Hopkins, Martin Howard, for Rhode Island.

John Penn, Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, Isaac Norris, for Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Tasker, Benjamin Barnes, for Maryland.

There seems to have been much dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians at this treaty, as but about one hundred and fifty were present; but the commissioners succeeded in making the famous purchase from them of the Wyoming lands.*

June 24th. Dr. Smith makes mention of being at the theatre, at which time Hallam closed his house with a performance for the benefit of the charity schools, performing two pieces, viz., "The Provoked Husband," and "Miss in Her Teens."

On the 9th of this month (July) nine chiefs of the Six Nations

* The most perfect account of this treaty which I have been able to find, is in the "Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.," by William L. Stone, vol. 1, chap. 14.

signed a deed never to sell any lands in Pennsylvania, as the same is bounded by New York, except to the Penns as proprietors of Pennsylvania. This deed and treaty he looked upon as very important.

About this time the following articles which we have translated appeared in Mr. Sauer's* newspaper. They were the signal of a determined and long-continued opposition of that gentleman to all Dr. Smith's schemes for educating the poor Germans.

June 26th. We hear that ambition, etc., has made a provision in the Academy of Philadelphia for Germans who have no mind to get their living by honest labor, probably under the pretext of raising lawyers, preachers, and doctors, since so little honesty comes in from abroad. But as human weakness values things that come from far much more than what is daily in view; and, whereas, one has liberty in Pennsylvania to call a shilling a shilling, those that have got their learning from empirics shall expect but little encouragement in this country, since "*a prophet himself has no honor in his own country.*"

July 1st. If a countryman or farmer in Pennsylvania should have no paper money to pay his debts with, and the sheriff should proceed to sell the plantation for ready money to the rich man, and if this rich man should let it again to the poor man at a high rent, so that the poor man should become a servant and scarce have sufficient bread for all his toil, this would be unjustly making one live in want and another to fare in abundance and lasciviousness.

Now, there walks a rumor in darkness (which I can neither believe

* Christoph Sauer, Sr., died in the year 1758. He was a native of Germany, where he was born in the year 1693. He came to Philadelphia in 1724, went to Germantown, and afterwards removed to Lancaster county. In 1731 he went back to Germantown and established himself as a farmer and medical practitioner, he having acquired a knowledge of medicine by his previous studies. An anxiety to supply his countrymen in Pennsylvania with Bibles printed in the German language made him, in consequence of his appeals to his countrymen in Germany, the trustee and agent for the distribution of such Bibles and religious books as they might send over. This turned his attention to the necessity of finding facilities for the printing of books and papers in the German language, and made him a printer. He procured a press and type, and published his first book, an almanac, in August, 1738. In August, 1739, he published the first number of a religious and secular paper, which was continued during his lifetime, and was afterwards called the *Germantown Gazette*. He published a religious quarterly in February, 1746, which afterwards became a monthly magazine, but was in time discontinued. In 1743 he published the first edition of the Bible in the German language ever printed in this country. He made his own type, did his own binding, manufactured his own paper and his own ink. Whilst engaged in these avocations he found time to sell books and medicines, and was one of the first agents for the sale of the Franklin stove.

nor prove), that the honorable proprietaries and the representatives should have in view to make the Germans their servants, and in this respect would allow no paper money to be made till they had obtained their end, and outwitted or forced the Germans to sell their plantations.

We now give a letter showing some of a Provost's trials :

Dr. Smith to Dr. Peters.

PHILADELPHIA, 18th July, 1754.

DEAR SIR: As we have not heard from you this Post, I am at some loss how to direct to you, but presume this will find you at New York. I wish your congress with the Indians may turn out to the advantage of the British cause, which has received a fatal Blow by the entire defeat of Washington, whom I cannot but accuse of Foolhardiness to have ventured so near a vigilant enemy without being certain of their numbers, or waiting for Junction of some hundreds of our best Forces, who were within a few Days' March of him. But perhaps what *is* (in this case) *is right*; as it may open the eyes of our Assembly.

As I hope soon to see you I shall say nothing about the Academy. A Resolution which my worthy Friend, Col. Martin, is like to take, affects me much, as it must be attended with an irreparable Loss to his children, for which Reason and none other, you may endeavour, as I have already done, to divert him from it; and I doubt not his good sense will take it in this Light both from you and me. I know his children, They know and I hope love me. Now in about a twelvemonth their Education will be finished on the plan I have proposed. What is most useful in Logic they have already acquired. Moral Philosophy we have begun, and against the vacation in October shall have completed what we intend. Greek and Latin they continue to read at proper Hours, together with two Hours every Day at Mathematics. From October till February or March we shall be employ'd in reading some ancient Compositions critically, in applying the Rules of Rhetoric and in attempting some Imitations of these most finished Models in our own Language. This I take to be the true way of Learning Rhetoric; which I should choose to put off until after the study of natural Philosophy had we any apparatus ready, because in order to write well we should have at least a general notion of all the sciences and their relations one to another. This not only furnishes us with sentiments but perspicuity in writing, as one science frequently has Light thrown upon it by another. In the Spring we shall spend 5 or 6 weeks in such experiments in nat. Philosophy as we shall be able to exhibit. The rest of the summer may be usefull spent in the Elements of civil Law, the reading of History and the study of the Ends and Uses of Society, the different Forms of Government, &c., &c. All this I hope we shall be able to give our higher Class

a sketch of, several of whom, particularly Mr. Martin's sons, have capacity enough for such a course of Reading. Now, sir, I appeal to you whether, for the sake of one year, it would be prudent in Mr. Martin to change his sons' Masters and Method? Would he consult their Interest if, for that short time, he should interrupt the many acquaintances they are forming at our academy, which may be of use to them while they live, and which they cannot expect at New York, where there will not be for some time above 8 or 10 Boys (unless they depart from the odd plan they have proposed), and not one Boy can be classed with Mr. Martin's sons.

All this I say upon the supposition their Education could be completed as well in New York as here. But this is impossible at first. For Dr. Johnson only pretends to teach Logic and Moral Philosophy, both which the Martins will have gone thro' before Dr. Johnson begins, and should he begin them again, his Logic and his Morality are very different from ours. There is no Matter by his scheme. No Ground of Moral Obligation. Life is a Dream. All is from the immediate Impressions of the Deity—Metaphysical Distinctions which no Men and surely no Boy can understand. I fear much will come in the place of fixing virtue on her true Bottom and forming the Taste of elegant writing. But further, whom have they at New York for Mathematics or nat. Philosophy, which are not the Dr's. province? Whom for teaching the Belles Lettres? Where is their apparatus? Where a sufficient number of Students for public school acts & Disputation? Thus, then, you see if Mr. Martin takes his sons from this place he must fix them at New York so far advanced that they cannot carry them one step farther, and therefore I wonder what could induce Dr. Johnson, whose worth and Integrity I know, to strive to persuade Mr. Martin to remove his sons from a Seminary where they have reaped great Benefit, & where their Education must soon be finished. To me, who know what they have done, what they can do and what they want to do, it clearly appears such a step would absolutely mar their Education and I doubt not it would appear so to you. I have stated the case to Col. Martin, but could say a Thousand things more if I saw him. I beg you to speak to him, if you should go to Long Island on purpose. You love doing good, and you never can have such an opportunity of serving that Gentleman, who, not having a liberal education, may be easily misled in a point the most important of all others. Did I not see it in this light I would scorn to say one word on the subject. 'Tis true, I had reason to think what I have already done for his sons would make him glad of finishing their studies under one who knows and loves them; but if their Interest were not at stake, his Design of removing them would only so far affect my pride as to make me resent the usage with Silent Contempt. I would never wish that the Character of our Academy or mine in particular should want any other Basis but what is intrinsic and may be

seen by all.—My Compliments to our dear Franklin. We are in hopes he will return with you. I beg also to be remembered to Mr. Penn, Mr. Norris and all your company, as also to the Gov'r'mt and as many of my New York Friends as are pleased to think of me. The clergy there I do not forget. Excuse my haste & the length of this, which flows from honest zeal for the welfare of my dear pupils.*

Yours affectionately,

WILLIAM SMITH.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE COLLEGE, ACADEMY, AND CHARITABLE SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA IN PENNSYLVANIA.

THE institution over which Mr. Smith had been called upon to preside, the Academy of Philadelphia, had been founded in the year 1749, by a number of citizens of that city, prominent among whom was Benjamin Franklin. In 1750 he as president of the trustees drew up and presented the following paper to the Common Council of Philadelphia:

The trustees of the Academy have already laid out near £800 in the purchase of the building, and will probably spend near as much more in fitting up rooms for the schools and furnishing them with proper books and instruments for the instruction of youth. The greatest part of the money paid and to be paid is subscribed by the trustees themselves, and advanced by them, many of whom have no children of their own to educate, but act with a view to the public good, without regard to sect or party. And they have engaged to open a charity school within two years for the instruction of poor children, gratis, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the first principles of virtue and piety.

The benefits expected from this institution are:

1. That the youth of Pennsylvania may have an opportunity of receiving a good education at home, and be under no necessity of going abroad for it, whereby not only considerable expense may be saved to the country, but a stricter eye may be had over their morals by their friends and relations.
2. That a number of our natives will hereby be qualified to bear magistracies, and execute other public offices of trust, with reputation to themselves and country, there being at present great want of persons so qualified in the several counties of this province; and this is the more

* From the original in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

necessary now to be provided for by the English here, as vast numbers of foreigners are yearly imported among us, totally ignorant of our laws, customs, and language.

3. That a number of the poorer sort will hereby be qualified to act as schoolmasters in the country, to teach children Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Grammar of their mother tongue, and being of good morals and known character, may be recommended from the Academy to country schools for that purpose—the country suffering very much at present for want of good schoolmasters, and obliged frequently to employ in their schools vicious imported servants or concealed Papists, who by their bad examples and instructions often deprave the morals or corrupt the principles of the children under their care.

4. It is thought that a good Academy erected in Philadelphia, a healthy place, where provisions are plenty, situated in the centre of the Colonies, may draw numbers of students from the neighboring provinces, who must spend considerable sums among us yearly in payment for their lodging, diet, apparel, etc., which will be an advantage to our traders, artisans, and owners of houses and lands. This advantage is so considerable that it has been frequently observed in Europe that the fixing a good school or college in a little inland village has been the means of making it a great town in a few years; and, therefore, the magistrates of many places have offered and given great yearly salaries to draw learned instructors from other countries to their respective towns, merely with a view to the interest of the inhabitants.

Numbers of people have already generously subscribed considerable sums to carry on this undertaking; but others, well disposed, are somewhat discouraged from contributing by an apprehension lest when the first subscriptions are expended the design should drop.

The great expense of such a work is in the beginning. If the Academy be once well opened, good masters provided, and good orders established, there is reason to believe (from many former examples in other countries) that it will be able after a few years to support itself.

Some assistance from the corporation is immediately wanted and hoped for; and it is thought that if this board, which is a perpetual body, take the Academy under their patronage and afford it some encouragement, it will greatly strengthen the hands of all concerned, and be a means of establishing this good work and continuing the good effects of it down to our latest posterity.

Upon consideration of this petition the council agreed to give £200 in cash towards erecting and supporting the said Academy and school, and also £50 per annum for five years; with an additional £50 yearly during the same time for the right of nominating and sending one scholar, each year, from the charity school to the Academy, to be instructed in any or all of the branches of learning taught therein. The merchants of London contributed £100 to the same object.

It now became necessary to find a building in which to hold the school. Among the unoccupied buildings in the city at this time was one on the west side of Fourth Street, below Mulberry, called the "New Building," which had been put up largely upon credit by an association, as a place in which Whitfield could preach, and also for the purpose of a charity school. The visits of Whitfield not being regular, the enterprise did not succeed. In 1749 Edmund Woolley and John Coats petitioned the Assembly for the passage of a law giving them a right to sell the building, alleging that the debts were not only unpaid, but that the original trust, that a charity school should be held there, had not been complied with.

This building was thus secured by the school and alterations were forthwith commenced, and partitions dividing it into classrooms were put up. In December the following announcement was made:

Notice is hereby given that the Trustees of the Academy of Philadelphia intend (God willing) to open the same on the first *Monday of January* next: wherein youth will be taught *Latin, Greek, English, French and German languages, together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric, also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants' Accounts, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other mathematical sciences; with Natural and Mechanic Philosophy, etc., agreeable to the Constitution* heretofore published, at the rate of £4 per annum and twenty shillings entrance.

Of this Academy, at the opening David Martin was rector; Theophilus Grew, mathematical master; Paul Jackson, professor of languages; and David James Dove, teacher of the English school.

On the 8th of January, 1750, the exercises of the opening took place. The trustees met and waited on the governor, who accompanied them to the hall in the new building, where the Rev. Mr. Peters preached an excellent sermon to a crowded audience. The rooms not being complete, the schools were opened the next day at Mr. Allen's house in Second Street. The free school was opened in September. In August, Mr. Dove, one of the masters of the Academy, proposed to open a school for young ladies at five o'clock in the evening, to continue three hours, "in which," said the proposals, "will be carefully taught the English grammar, the true way of spelling and pronouncing properly, distinctly, and

emphatically, together with fair writing, arithmetic, and accounts. Price, ten shillings entrance and twenty shillings per quarter."

In Maxwell's edition of the works of Dr. Smith (Philadelphia, 1803) I find the following account of the Academy:

In the year 1749, a few private gentlemen of Pennsylvania, observing the vast accession of people to that place from different parts of the world, became seriously impressed with a view of the inconveniences likely to arise from their being destitute of the necessary means of instruction. As sundry circumstances rendered it improbable that anything could be speedily done among them, in a public way, for the advancement of knowledge, and at the same time but very few of so great a multitude could afford the expense of educating their children in distant places, they saw with concern that their country was not only in danger of wanting a succession of fit persons for the public stations of life, but even of degenerating into the greatest ignorance.

To prevent these dreadful evils, they published proposals for erecting the English, Latin, and Mathematical schools of this institution, under the name of an Academy,* which was considered as a very proper foundation on which to raise something farther, at a future period, if they should be successful so far. And in order to carry this design into execution, twenty-four persons joined themselves together as trustees, agreeing never to exceed that number.

The scheme being made public, with the names of the gentlemen concerned in it, all was so well approved of that in a very short time the subscription for carrying it on amounted to £800 per annum, for five years; a very strong proof of the public spirit and generosity of the inhabitants of that place.

In the beginning of January, 1750, the three schools above mentioned were opened, namely, the Latin, the Mathematical, and English school. For it had always been considered as a very leading part of the design to have a good school in the mother-tongue, and to have a person of abilities intrusted with the care of it.

Oratory and the correct speaking and writing of English are branches of education too much neglected, as is often visible in the public performances of some very learned men. But, in the circumstances of this province, such a neglect would have been still more inexcusable than in any other part of the British dominions. For being made up of so great a mixture of people, from almost all corners of the world, necessarily

* Many gentlemen of the first rank in the province gave their countenance to this design, as soon as it was mentioned to them, and afterwards became trustees for it; but those on whom the chief care of digesting and preparing matters rested were Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Francis, Richard Peters, and Benjamin Franklin, Esqrs.; by the latter of whom the original proposals were drawn up and published.

speaking a variety of languages and dialects, the true pronunciation and writing of our own language might soon be lost without such a previous care to preserve them in the rising generation.

At the opening of the above schools, which were intended to be preparatory to the higher parts of learning, a suitable sermon was preached by Mr. Peters, provincial secretary, from St. John viii. 32, "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

This reverend and worthy gentleman (who, amid all the labors of his public station, as well as the many private labors in which his benevolence continually engages him, has still made it his care to devote some part of his time to classical learning and the study of divinity, to which he was originally bred) took occasion, from these words of our blessed Saviour, to show the intimate connection between truth and freedom, between knowledge of every kind and the preservation of civil and religious liberty.

The institution thus begun continued daily to flourish, and at length the trustees applied for a charter of incorporation, which they obtained in July, 1753, from the honorable proprietors; who, at different times, have contributed in lands and money to the amount of £3,000 sterling, for carrying on the design; a very noble and even princely benefaction, truly worthy of persons so closely concerned in the essential interests of the country.

Things having proceeded thus far, it was soon found that many of the youth, having gone through their course of grammar learning, would be desirous of proceeding to philosophy and the sciences; and this being represented to the trustees, they began to think of enlarging their plan as they had promised at the beginning. They were very sensible that the knowledge of words, without making them subservient to the knowledge of things, could never be considered as the business of education. To lay a foundation in the languages was very necessary as a first step, but without the superstructure of the sciences would be but of little use for the conduct of life.

In consideration of this they determined to complete the remainder of their plan, and applied for an addition to their charter, by which a power of conferring degrees and appointing professors in the various branches of the arts and sciences was granted to them. By this means a college was added to and ingrafted upon their former academy; a joint government agreed upon for both; the style of the trustees changed to that of "Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania," and the professors constituted under them into one body or faculty, by the name of "the Provost,* Vice-Provost, and Professors, of the College and Academy of Philadelphia." This charter bears date May 14th, 1755.

* It was about a year before the obtaining this additional charter, viz., May 25th, 1754, that the author was settled as head of this seminary.

Having given a short account of the rise of this institution, I proceed now to give a view of the different branches thereof, as they are at present, and shall begin at the lowest, which consists of two charity schools. In one of them forty girls are taught reading, writing, sewing, etc. In the other eighty boys are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, in order to fit them for the various sorts of business and mechanic arts.

The second branch is properly an English academy, and consists of two parts: an English and writing school, and a school for the practical branches of the mathematics, drawing, etc. In the former, besides writing, the pupils are taught the mother-tongue grammatically, together with a correct and just pronunciation. For attaining this a small rostrum is erected in one end of the school, and the youth are frequently exercised in reading aloud from it, or in delivering short orations, while the professor of English and oratory stands by to correct whatever may be amiss, either in their speech or gesture.

Besides this rostrum, which is in their private school, there is also a large stage or oratory erected in the college hall, where the speakers appear on all public occasions, before as many of the inhabitants as please to attend.

This part of the institution is of singular benefit. It corrects unbecoming bashfulness, etc., gives the youth presence of mind, habituates them to speak in public, and has been the means of producing many excellent young orators, that have occasionally entertained large audiences;* and it is hoped will soon become an honor and an ornament to

* A number of the students and scholars, with very just applause, performed the "Masque of Alfred" by way of oratorial exercise, before the Earl of Loudon and the governors of the several Colonies, who met at Philadelphia in the beginning of the year 1757.

The choice of this performance was owing to the great similarity of circumstances in the distress of England under the Danish invasion and that of the Colonies at this time under the ravages and incursions of the Indians. The whole was applied in an occasional prologue and epilogue; and at any time a sufficient number of speakers may be found to perform any piece of this kind, in a manner that would not be disagreeable to persons of the best taste and judgment. Mr. Sheridan, it is to be presumed, never heard of the constitution of this seminary, when he asked the following question in his introductory discourse to *Lectures on Elocution*, etc.:

"To instruct our youth," says he, "in the arts of reading and writing, there are many seminaries everywhere established throughout this realm, but who in these countries ever heard of a master for the improvement of articulation, for teaching the due proportion of sounds and quantity of syllables in the English language, and for pointing out to his pupils by precept and example the right use of accents, emphases, and tones, when they read aloud or speak in public?"

Now, the professor of English and oratory, mentioned above, is exactly such a master of articulation as this, and has been employed in the College and Academy of Philadelphia from its first foundation. And if the many advantages that have arisen from this part of the plan were sufficiently known, they would furnish one very convincing argument in favor of the point, which Mr. Sheridan is so worthily striving to accomplish in behalf of the language and elocution of his country.

their country in the various stations to which they may be called. This attention to public speaking, which is begun here with the very rudiments of the mother-tongue, is continued down to the end; and especially in the philosophy schools, where the youth frequently deliver exercises of their own composition, at commencements, examinations, and other public occasions.

The third and highest branch of the institution is the college, in which the learned languages and the sciences are taught, as in other colleges and universities, though on a plan somewhat different. It consists of the Latin and Greek schools and three philosophy schools. An account of the whole follows.

LATIN AND GREEK SCHOOLS.

FIRST FORM OF STAGE. Grammar. Vocabulary. *Sententiæ Pueriles.* Cordery. *Æsop.* Erasmus.

N. B. The youth to be exact in declining and conjugating; and to begin to write exercises, for the better understanding of Syntax. Writing, reading, and speaking of English to be continued likewise, if necessary.

SECOND STAGE. *Selectæ é Veteri Testamento.* *Selectæ é Profanis Auctoribus.* Eutropius. Nepos. Metamorphosis. Latin exercises and writing continued.

THIRD STAGE. Metamorphosis continued. Virgil with Prosody. Caesar's Comment. Sallust. Greek Grammar. Greek Testament. Elements of Geography and Chronology. Exercises and writing continued.

FOURTH STAGE. Horace. Terence. Virgil reviewed. Livy. Lucian. Xenophon or Homer begun.

N. B. This year the youth are to make themes, write letters, give descriptions and characters, and to turn Latin into English, with great regard to punctuation and choice of words. Some English and Latin orations are to be delivered, with proper grace both of elocution and gesture. Arithmetic begun.

Some of the youth, it is found, go through these stages in three years, but most require four, and many five years; especially if they begin under nine or ten years of age. The masters must exercise their best discretion in this respect.

Those who can acquit themselves to satisfaction in the books laid down for the fourth stage, after public examination, proceed to the study of the sciences and are admitted into the philosophy schools, by the name of Freshmen or novitiates, with the privilege of being distinguished with an undergraduate's gown. The method of study prosecuted in these schools for the term of three years follows, and the portion of reading allotted for each month is particularly distinguished.

VIEW OF THE PHILOSOPHY SCHOOLS.

FORENOON.

	INSTRUMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.	
	<i>Lecture I.</i>	<i>Lecture II.</i>
FIRST YEAR.		
Freshmen. May 15.	Lat. and Engl. exercises cont.	Common arithm. reviewed.
First term.	— — — — —	Decimal arithmetic.
Three months.	— — — — —	Algebra.
Second term.	The same.	Fractions and extract. roots.
Three months.	— — — — —	Equations, simple and quadrat.
	— — — — —	Euclid, first six books.
January.	Logic with Metaphysics.	— — — — —
Third term.	— — — — —	— — — — —
Four months.	— — — — —	Euclid a second time.
	— — — — —	Logarithmical arithmetic.
Remarks.	N. B. At leisure hours dis- putation begun.	
SECOND YEAR.		
Juniors. May 15.	Logic, etc., reviewed.	Plain and spherical Trigonom.
First term.	Surveying and dialling.	— — — — —
Three months.	Navigation.	— — — — —
Second term.	Conic sections.	Euclid, 11th book.
Three months.	Fluxions.	— 12th “
	— — — — —	Architecture, with Fortificat.
	MORAL PHILOS. begun.	NAT. PHILOS. begun.
January.	Viz., Compend. of Ethics.	Viz., gener. propert. of body.
Third term.	— — — — —	— Mechanic powers.
Four months.	— — — — —	— Hydrostatics.
	— — — — —	— Pneumatics.
Remarks.	N. B. Disputation continued.	N. B. Declamation and public speaking continued.
THIRD YEAR.		
Seniors. May 15.	Ethics continued.	Light and colors.
First term.	— — — — —	— Optics, etc.
Three months.	Natural and civil Law.	Perspective.
Second term.	Introduction to civil History.	Astronomy.
Three months.	—to Laws and Government.	Nat. Hist. of Vegetables.
	—to Trade and Commerce.	— of Animals.
January.	Review of the whole.	Chemistry.
Third term.	— — — — —	Of Fossils.
Four months.	— — — — —	Of Agriculture.
	Exam. for Degree of B. A.	— — — — —
		N. B. Through all the years, the French language may be studied at leisure hours.

VIEW OF THE PHILOSOPHY SCHOOLS.—*Continued.*

	<p> AFTERNOON. Classical and rhetoric studies. <i>Lecture III.</i> </p>	<p> PRIVATE HOURS. Books recommended for improv- ing the youth in the various branches. </p>
<p>FIRST YEAR</p> <p>Freshmen. May 15. First term. Three months.</p> <p>Second term. Three months.</p> <p>JANUARY. Third term. Four months.</p> <p>Remarks.</p>	<p>Homer's Iliad.</p> <p>Juvenal.</p> <p>Pindar. Cicero, select parts. Livy resumed.</p> <p>Thucydides, or Euripides. Well's Dionysius.</p> <p>N. B. Some afternoons to be spared for declamation this year.</p>	<p>Spectator, Rambler, etc., for the improvement of style, and knowledge of life.</p> <p>Barrow's Lectures. Pardie's Geometry. Maclaurin's Al- gebra. Ward's Mathematics. Keil's Trigonometry.</p> <p>Watt's Logic and Supplement. Locke on Human Understand- ing. Hutcheson's Metaphysics. Varenius's Geography.</p> <p>Watts's Ontology and Essays. King de Orig. Mali, with Law's Notes. Johnson's Elem. Philoso- phy.</p>
<p>SECOND YEAR</p> <p>Juniors. May 15. First term. Three months.</p> <p>Second term. Three months.</p> <p>JANUARY. Third term. Four months.</p> <p>Remarks.</p>	<p>Introduction to rhetoric. Longinus critically.</p> <p>Horace's Art Poet. critically. Aristot. Poet., etc., critically. Quintilian, select parts.</p> <p>COMPOSITION begun.</p> <p>Cicero pro Milone.</p> <p>Demosthenes pro Ctesiphon.</p> <p>N. B. During the application of the rules of these famous orations, imitations of them are to be attempted on the model of perfect eloquence.</p>	<p>Vossius. Bossu. Pere Bo- hours. Dryden's Essays and Pre- faces. Spence on Pope's Odys- sey. Trapp's Prælect. Poet. Di- onysius Halicarn. Demetrius Phalereus. Stradæ Prolusiones. Patoun's Navigation. Gregory's Geometry, on Fortification. Simson's Conic Sections. Mac- laurin's and Emerson's Fluxions. Palladio by Ware.</p> <p>Helsham's Lectures. Grave- sande. Cote's Hydrostatics. Desaguliers. Muschenbroek. Keil's Introduction. Martin's Philosophy. Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy. Maclaurin's View of do. Rohault per Clarke.</p>
<p>THIRD YEAR.</p> <p>Seniors. May 15. First term. Three months.</p> <p>Second term. Three months.</p> <p>JANUARY. Third term. Four months.</p>	<p>Epicteti Enchiridion. Cicero de officiis. Tusculan Quæst. Memorabilia Xenoph. Greek.</p> <p>Patavii Rationar. Temporum. Plato de Legibus. Grotius de Jure, B. and P.</p> <p>Afternoons of this third term, for composition and declama- tion on moral and physical sub- jects.—Philosophy acts held.</p>	<p>Puffendorf by Barbeyrac. Cumberland de Leg. Sidney. Harrington. Seneca. Hutche- son's Works. Locke on Gov- ernment. Hooker's Polity.</p> <p>Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum. Preceptor. Le Clerc's Compend of History.</p> <p>Gregory's Astronomy. Fortes- cue on Laws. N. Bacon's Discourses. My Lord Bacon's Works. Locke on Coin. Dave- nant. Gee's Compend. Ray Derham. Spectacle de la Nature. Religious Philosopher. Holy Bible, to be read daily from the beginning, and now to supply the deficiencies of the whole.</p>

Concerning the foregoing plan, it is to be remarked that life itself being too short to attain a perfect acquaintance with the whole circle of the sciences, nothing can be proposed by any scheme of collegiate education, but to lay such a general foundation in all the branches of literature as may enable the youth to perfect themselves in those particular parts to which their business or genius may afterwards lead them; and scarce anything has more obstructed the advancement of sound learning than a vain imagination, that a few years spent at college can render youth such absolute masters of science as to absolve them from all future study.

Those concerned in the management of this seminary, as far as their influence extends, would wish to propagate a contrary doctrine; and though they flatter themselves that by a due execution of the foregoing plan they shall enrich their country with many minds that are liberally accomplished, and send out none that may justly be denominated barren or unimproved, yet they hope that the youth committed to their care will, neither at college nor afterwards, rest satisfied with such a general knowledge as is to be acquired from the public lectures and exercises. They rather trust that those whose taste is once formed for the acquisition of solid wisdom, will think it their duty, and most rational satisfaction, to accomplish themselves still farther by manly perseverance in private study and meditation.

To direct them in this respect, the last column contains a choice of approved writers in the various branches of literature, which will be easily understood when once a foundation is laid in the books to be used as classics, under the several lectures. For these books will not be found in this last column, which is only meant as a private library to be consulted occasionally in the lectures, for the illustration of any particular part, and to be read afterwards for completing the whole.

In the disposition of the parts of this scheme a principal regard has been paid to the connection and subserviency of the sciences, as well as to the gradual opening of young minds. Those parts are placed first which are suited to strengthen the inventive faculties, and are instrumental to what follows. Those are placed last which require riper judgment, and are more immediately connected with the main business of life.

In the meantime it is proposed that they shall never drop their acquaintance with the classic sages. They are every day called to converse with some one of the ancients, who, at the same time that he charms with all the beauties of language, is generally illustrating that particular branch of philosophy or science to which the other hours of the day are devoted. Thus, by continually drawing something from the most admired masters of sentiment and expression, the taste of youth will be gradually formed to just criticism and masterly composition.

For this reason composition, in the strict meaning of the term, cannot

well be begun at an earlier period than is proposed in the plan. The knowledge of mathematics is not more necessary, as an introduction to natural philosophy, than an acquaintance with the best ancient and modern writers, especially the critics, is to just composition; and, besides this, the topics or materials are to be supplied, in a good measure, from moral and natural philosophy.

Thus it is hoped that the student may be led through a scale of easy ascent, till finally rendered capable of thinking, writing, and acting well, which are the grand objects of a liberal education. At the end of every term some time is allowed for recreation, or bringing up slower geniuses.

No doubt those who compare this plan with what is laid down in the preceding essay will think the term of three years too scanty a period for the execution of everything here proposed. And it must be acknowledged that a longer period would be necessary. But circumstances must always be regarded in the execution of every plan, and the reason of confining the execution of this to the term of three years hath been mentioned in the postscript to the former number.

THE WHOLE IN ONE VIEW.

SCHOOLS.		MASTERS.	
College.	{ Three Philosophy Schools.	{ The Provost and Vice Provost.	
	{ Latin and Greek Schools.	{ The Professor of Languages, three Tu-	
	{ Students and scholars in this part about 100.	{ tors, a Writing-master, etc.	
Academy.	{ English School.	{ The Professor of English and Oratory,	
	{ School for practical branches of	{ with one Assistant and a Writing-	
	{ Mathematics.	{ The Professor of Mathematics.	
Charity	{ Scholars in this part about 90.		
	{ School for Charity Boys.	{ One Master and one Assistant.	
	{ School for Charity Girls.	{ One Mistress.	
	{ Scholars in this part 120.		
In all, 310.			

THE CHIEF MASTERS ARE—

William Smith, D. D., Provost of the Seminary and Professor of Natural Philosophy; Francis Alison, D. D., Vice-Provost and Professor of Moral Philosophy; Ebenezer Kinnersley, M. A., Professor of Oratory; John Beveridge, M. A., Professor of Languages; Hugh Williamson, M. A., Professor of Mathematics.

THE PRESENT TRUSTEES ARE—

Richard Peters, Esq., President of the Board, by annual election; the Honorable James Hamilton, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province; the Honorable William Allen, Esq., Chief Justice; William

Coleman, Esq., Third Judge of the Supreme Court; Alexander Stedman, Esq., First Judge of the Common Pleas; Edward Shippen, Esq., Judge of the Admiralty; Benjamin Chew, Esq., Attorney-General; Benjamin Franklin, Esq., LL.D.; Joseph Turner, William Plumsted, Abram Taylor, William Coxe, Thomas Willing, Esqrs., Aldermen of the city of Philadelphia; Drs. Thomas Cadwalader, Thomas Bond, Phineas Bond, William Shippen, Physicians; Messrs. John Inglis, Thomas Leech, Thomas White, Samuel McCall, Philip Syng, Gentlemen; The Reverend Jacob Duché, one of the ministers of Christ Church. One seat vacant.

Thus we see that this institution is placed on a most enlarged bottom, being one great collection of schools, under a general government; in which all the branches and species of education are carried on that can be conceived necessary for any community, whether in the learned professions, in merchandise, in the mechanic arts, or inferior callings. It may, therefore, be proper now to give a short sketch of the methods by which discipline and good order are preserved, among such a variety of schools, students, and scholars.

The chief power is, by charter, lodged in twenty-four trustees, who must all be resident not only within the province, but within five miles of the city. All matters of higher import are to be decided by their counsel and direction; and all laws are either to be made by them, or receive a final sanction from them. No student can receive the honors and ordinary degrees of the College without a previous examination in their presence, and a mandate under their privy seal and the hands of a majority of them. Nor can even an honorary degree be conferred without a like mandate, under the said privy seal and the hands of at least two-thirds of the whole body; which regulations must always be a means of preventing a prostitution of those degrees and honors to the illiterate and undeserving, which should be the reward of real learning and worth.

In order to do their duty as trustees more effectually, they set apart the second Tuesday of every month for visiting and examining the schools, conversing and advising with the masters, encouraging the students according to their several degrees of merit, and making such regulations as may be thought necessary. All the schools have their turns of these visitations, which are truly calculated to keep up the spirit of the institution, and promote diligence, emulation, and good behavior among the scholars.

Besides these stated meetings, their president, who is chosen annually, has a power of calling other meetings on any particular occasion.

Under these trustees the principal masters are constituted into a faculty or common body, with all the powers necessary for the ordinary government of the schools and good education of the youth. They are to meet, in faculty, at least once in every two weeks, and at such other times as the provost or senior member present shall think fit to call

them, or any two members desire him so to do. At these meetings they are to inquire into the state of the schools, and see that the several parts of education be regularly carried on, and the laws of the institution duly executed and observed. They have also power to enact temporary rules and ordinances, to be in force as laws, till the first ensuing meeting of the trustees; before whom they are then to be laid, in order to be altered, amended, or confirmed, or left probationary for a longer period, or wholly laid aside, as they shall think fit.

By this method all laws either do or may take their rise from masters, who being daily present in the institution know best what regulations and orders may be wanted. At the same time, as these regulations are to receive their last sanction from the trustees and visitors, who are men of experience, influence, and probity, and have children of their own to educate, we may be certain that nothing can obtain the force of a standing law but what is found salutary and good upon trial.

By the present rules the faculty of masters meets every Thursday noon, and all the schools are assembled before them, that they may examine the weekly roll, and call delinquents to account. As many of the youth are too big for corporeal punishment, there are small fines by the laws agreeable to the nature of the offence and the custom of other colleges. Whatever money is thus raised from the slothful and refractory in fines, is appropriated in rewards to the diligent and obedient; so that any youth, who has once been a delinquent, may have an opportunity of getting back, by future care, what he forfeited by former neglect.

These rewards and punishment are both administered in the most public manner; and, in short, the whole discipline is so reasonable and just, that any youth who might desire to break through the rules of this institution in his younger years can hardly be expected to submit to the rules of civil society itself when grown up.

As to the plan of education, great care has been taken to comprehend every useful branch in it, without being burdensome or launching into those that are unnecessary.

The principal masters are men who have severally given specimens of their skill in those particular parts of literature which they profess. Nor is it any objection, but rather an advantage, particularly to the youth intended for business and public life, that the building is within the city. By good rules and good example, the morals of youth may be as easily preserved in a great and well-policed city as in a small village, if we can suppose any place to continue small where such a seminary is once founded. When I speak so I would be understood to mean when the youth all lodge in the houses of their parents, or in lodgings within the walls of the College: a proper number of which are now erecting at a very considerable expense.

In this institution there is a good apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy, done in England by the best hands, and brought over from

thence in different parcels. There is also in the experiment-room an electrical apparatus, chiefly the invention of one of the professors,* and perhaps the completest of the kind now in the world.

This is a faithful though brief account of the whole Seminary, and what a blessing must it prove to the continent of America in general, as well as to the province in which it is founded? What advantages may not the youth reap amid so many opportunities of improvement and so many incitements to industry, where the masters transact everything by joint advice, where all possible regard to religion and morality is kept up, and the whole open to the visitation and frequent inspection of a number of gentlemen of rank and character?

May there never be wanting a succession of such gentlemen to take the trust and care of it; and may it continue, to the latest times, a shining light to the world around it and an honor to the province, as long as any memorial of virtue and letters shall remain among mankind!

CHAPTER V.

MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE GERMANS—DR. MUHLENBERG TO DR. FRANKLIN—VARIOUS SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED—DIFFICULTIES WITH SAUER, ETC.

ON the 10th of August, 1754, the Governor, having called a meeting of the trustees of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Germans settled in Pennsylvania, the trustees met at the house of William Allen, Esq., in Mount Airy, to take into their consideration the business so warmly recommended in the letter from the secretary, dated London, March 15th. There were present James Hamilton, Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, and William Smith.

The following resolutions were passed:

That an English school be erected and opened with all possible expedition at each of the following places, viz.: at Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Hanover, and Skippack.

That, for the better government of these schools, a certain number of the most reputable persons residing near every particular school be ap-

* Mr. Kinnersley.

pointed deputy trustees, to visit that school, superintend the execution of the scheme of education in it, and use their interests in the support of it.

That six, eight, or ten be appointed for every school, and that, to render the scheme more catholic and unexceptional, part of these trustees for each school shall be colonists, part Lutheran Germans, and part Englishmen of any Protestant profession whatever.

That against next meeting the present members endeavor to inform themselves what persons may be fittest to be employed under them as trustees, and that proper steps be taken to engage such persons in the interest of the scheme, hoping that by means of such persons a school-house and dwelling-house for the master may be immediately erected by the inhabitants of the particular divisions for which each school is to be established, without putting the honorable Society or their trustees to any expense or trouble on this head.

The difficulty of finding proper schoolmasters skilled in both languages coming next under consideration, Dr. Smith informed the trustees that there were several poor children in the Academy that spoke English and German, who might in a few years be qualified to serve as schoolmasters, and that if a few could be found to begin the work immediately, there would be no difficulty of finding a constant supply by encouraging such children to continue at the Academy by the benefaction of the proprietaries,* whenever their parents, who live chiefly in the city of Philadelphia, shall become tired of their maintenance. He also further informed the trustees that he had conversed with a young man named Magaw, born in this colony, who came well recommended, and who could be well qualified in six or eight months at the Academy to take charge of a school,† and that he had prevailed upon the Rev. Mr. Brunnholtz,‡

* The Hon. Thomas Penn, Esq., empowered his secretary (Mr. Peters) to lay out £50 sterling per annum upon the education of some young men in the Academy, in order to fit them for schoolmasters, and left the choice of them and the disposition of his bounty entirely to the trustees. Thirty pounds of this fifty were his own proper gift; ten pounds were bestowed by Lady Juliana Penn, his wife, and ten pounds by Richard Penn, Esq., per annum.

† This was afterwards the Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, and Vice-Provost of the University.

‡ Rev. Peter Brunnholtz was a native of Germany. He came to Germantown some time before the year 1750, at which time he had charge of the German Lutheran Church at that place, and also took charge of St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia, officiating on alternate Sabbaths at each church. John Helfrich Schaum, who taught school in Philadelphia, filled the pulpit at Philadelphia and Germantown during the intervening Sabbaths. Brunnholtz died July 5th, 1757.

member of the Lutheran congregation in this city, to board Mr. Magaw in his house, to watch over his morals, and assist him in making further progress in the German language, provided the trustees would admit him to the proprietaries' bounty.

It was agreed that Mr. Magaw be admitted, and Mr. Brunnholtz made acquainted that the trustees would stand engaged for his lodging and board; also, that further inquiry should be made in order to find three or four more young men who, together with Mr. Magaw, might be qualified to open a few schools next spring.

A letter from the Rev. Mr. Henry Muhlenberg, of Providence, in the district which at present is Montgomery county, to Benjamin Franklin was read, the purport of which was as follows:

That he rejoiced much in hearing an illustrious society at home had undertaken to carry on a scheme for promoting the knowledge of God among the Germans in Pennsylvania, and for making them loyal subjects to the sacred Protestant throne of Great Britain, and that he was pleased the management of the said charity was intrusted to such impartial persons; but, as by long experience he was acquainted with almost all the corners of Pennsylvania, and with the temper and circumstances of his countrymen, he much feared some ill-minded persons would strive to defeat so just and noble a view, as they had of late done many others, to the offence of many thousand ignorant but well-meaning souls, unless proper means were taken to prevent it. Mr. Sauer, he observed, who printed a German newspaper, which was universally read by the Germans all over Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies, made haste to prejudice them against the scheme, as might be seen by the extracts from his paper.

Mr. Muhlenberg further observed that Mr. Franklin had at great expense set up another German press, in order to rescue the Germans out of Mr. Sauer's hands and the hands of those whose interest it was to keep them in ignorance, but that for want of a German printer with sufficient skill and correspondence to a proper interest made to support Mr. Franklin's undertaking, Mr. Sauer kept the advantage, continuing to turn them against their clergy and everybody that endeavored to reduce them to order in Church and State affairs. That he, Mr. Muhlenberg, himself once attempted to buy a press, on purpose to serve his countrymen and instil sound notions in them concerning the inestimable privileges,

spiritual and temporal, which they enjoyed under the Protestant throne of Great Britain, but by reason of his large increasing family and narrow circumstances he had been obliged to drop his design, and now beheld his poor countrymen as much poisoned as ever with notions that might produce unhappy consequences in very remote periods. That he saw no way to cure this growing evil unless the Society, or their trustees in Pennsylvania, should be at the expense of buying a press and making a proper interest to support a newspaper, almanacs, etc. That he would undertake the direction of such a press under the trustees; that he would use his whole influence among his people and brethren to support it, and that a person might be got who could manage the press and serve as schoolmaster at the same time. He did not doubt of the success of the scheme, since he had a large correspondence with pious German ministers and congregations in Pennsylvania, New York, New England, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, who could be engaged to support it without putting the Society to any expense, especially if the printing-house was in a country where there was no house-rent to pay, and where the same persons might serve as schoolmasters and chief printer. He further lamented the riots, disloyalty, and irreligion which were nursed among his countrymen by their being stirred up against pious and regularly ordained clergy, while vicious vagabonds coming on without orders and credentials were indulged; many of them being justly suspected to be more in French than in British interests. That many people without discretion traded with the English government. One who named himself Charles Rudolph, Prince of Wurtemberg and minister of the Gospel, was a stroller of this kind. Yet it could be proved that he made a conspiracy with the Indians against the English, and escaped the gallows in Georgia by stealing a boat and running over to the Spaniards, and was infamous all over America for riots and breaking jails; nevertheless, he was followed as a Lutheran, and sometimes as a Calvinist minister. Another, named Engelland, in Germany, turned Roman Catholic. While under the hands of the hangman, he was reprieved at the intercession of the Jesuits after receiving eighty lashes at the gallows; was banished to the Spanish Netherlands for stealing and carrying off children; and now about Lancaster and York he breeds dissensions, etc., by passing as

a Lutheran minister. "There were many more of the same sort which," said Mr. Muhlenberg, "we shall never get rid of, nor reduce the people to proper order, until our gracious superiors are pleased to demand proper credentials of all who exercise the ministry, and not suffer vagabonds to laugh at *us*, who are regular clergymen, by saying it is a free country, and by turning liberty into licentiousness." Mr. Sauer (Mr. Muhlenberg said), in his newspaper, was a professed adversary to all regularly ordained clergy, and drew people to Quakerism; for he often told the people that clergy of all kinds were tools of tyrannical governors, to awe the mob.*

Mr. Muhlenberg's letter was accompanied by these translations from Mr. Sauer's paper of September 1st, 1754:

TRANSLATION.

In our number 159 we mentioned that a high school or college was to be erected at Philadelphia for the benefit of the Germans in the city of Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Reading, Easton, etc., and that the Germans by degrees may become one nation with the English, and so make all of English ministers only. These accounts further tell us this was done out of fear; the multitude of Germans might make up or form themselves into one separate people or body, and in time of war go over to the French, and join with them to the hurt and prejudice of the English nation.

Then follow Mr. Sauer's remarks:

The new Society in England deserves praise for being so liberal and so kind as to teach the Germans the English tongue gratis. But if Slatter has accused the Germans to such a degree, and represented them as if they were a nation of so roguish and mischievous a disposition, that in time of war they would probably join the French and villanously espouse their cause, he has most certainly acted with great imprudency, to the disadvantage of the King, as well as of himself. None, indeed, will permit himself to think that many Germans could be so treacherous as he perhaps may think. The Irish, the Swedes, and the Welsh keep their languages, yet for all that are not looked upon as a disloyal people. Oh, that truly pious schoolmasters in the English tongue might be given them, who could be to them a pattern of a true Christian life! Then

* It is proper to add that though Mr. Sauer was a good deal embittered in this matter of educating the poor Germans, and dangerous, in the respects spoken of by Mr. Muhlenberg, to the government, he was in private life a respectable man, and doubtless, in his views about clerical ordination, conscientious.—ED.

still some hopes would be left, some good might proceed therefrom ; for it is true piety only that makes men to be faithful towards God and their neighbor. The preacher Solomon says, chap. ix., v. 18, "Wisdom is better than weapons of war ; but one single artful and wicked man destroyeth much good." The wicked man may either preach English or German, yet it is to no purpose or benefit, for no soul shall be mended thereby, nay, not himself.

Then he goes on as follows :

Since it has been now for many years past a matter of praise in Europe, and the English newspapers now boast of the exceedingly mild government under which we live in Pennsylvania (for which reason so many Germans are induced to come over here from Europe, and for the future more may come), necessity itself requires that all countries, and more especially Philadelphia county, should take it into their consideration how to choose such mild assemblymen on 1st October next ensuing, as in a dangerous and critical conjuncture of things will preserve the liberty of the land, and that this land may not fall short of that glory and praise in Europe, and that the inhabitants may not be burdened for the future with paying heavy taxes in an unnecessary manner.

The representations of the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg coinciding with the views of the trustees, it was unanimously resolved that a short account of the real design of the Society should be written and couched in the most unexceptionable language. Dr. Smith was accordingly desired to prepare a draft of the same and lay it before the trustees when finished, in order that when it had their approbation it might be printed in English and Dutch, and a proper number of copies sent to the deputy or assistant trustees, to be dispersed in the country among the people.

It was also resolved to purchase a German printing-house, and make proper interest to begin and support a newspaper, yearly almanacs, and other small pieces. Mr. Franklin then told the Board that a few days before a printer, of good character, well skilled in English and German, had applied to him to purchase his German printing-house, in order to attempt something for his own livelihood and the service of his countrymen, but that if the trustees thought it best to have the press under their own direction, he would endeavor to engage the printer in their service, both as a schoolmaster and printer, and that, in order to encourage so useful a work, he would dispose of his press to the trustees at £25 less than any two impartial judges would value it at.

This proposal of Mr. Franklin was agreed to, and it was recommended to him to engage the printer, by offering him a house, and a few acres of land, and £20 sterling, as a schoolmaster, per annum, and wages for everything he might be further employed in as a printer.

It was further agreed that Dr. Smith should act as secretary, take charge of all papers concerning this undertaking, and keep a record of the proceedings of the trustees, so that copies of them might from time to time be transmitted to the Society in London, and to the proprietaries.

On the 23d of August, 1754, the trustees of the Society met at the Governor's house, at Bush Hill, when there were present the Governor, Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, Conrad Weiser, and William Smith.

Dr. Smith laid before the trustees two petitions, which he had received by the hands of Mr. Muhlenberg; the first, entitled the "Petition of the Vestrymen and Wardens in the name of the German Lutheran Congregation, at New Providence, about Perkiomen and Skippack, in the county of Philadelphia." The petitioners offered the trustees their new-built school-house, which was well situated for the convenience of the children of the several Protestant denominations. This petition was subscribed by John Schrack, Anthony Heilman, Jacob Schrack, Valentine Sharrar (now Sherer), John Heebner, John Heilman, Nicholas Custer, Hieronymus Haas, Michael Bastian, Conrad Yost, Nicholas Seidel.

The second petition—entitled the "Petition of the Vestrymen and Wardens in the name of the Lutheran (German) Congregations, at New Hanover, in the county of Philadelphia"—by permission of their former benefactors, His Majesty's German chaplain, the Rev. Fred. Ziegenhagen, and August Frank, D.D., offered the new-built large school-house, very conveniently situated in the middle of the township. This petition was signed by George Geiger, Andrew Kepner, Valentine Geiger, George Beck, Michael Schweinhard, Adam Wardman, Casper Singer, Henry Krebs, Michael Schlonecker, George Burchard, Matthias Hollebach, John Rinker, Nicholas Miller, Matthias Richard, John Wingel, John Seidel.

The trustees passed this resolution:

That the thanks of the trustees in the name of the honorable Society

be returned to the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, and the several vestrymen and wardens for their kind endeavors to promote this useful undertaking by the offer of a school-house, and which offer would be accepted of by the trustees, provided the German Calvinist congregations in the same township signify their approbation, and concur in the choice of and situation of these school-houses; it being the resolution of the trustees, according to their instructions from the honorable Society, to manage the whole undertaking in such an equal and impartial manner as that no parents, of what denomination soever, shall have any reasonable objections against sending their children to any school that may be established upon this charity.

The trustees therefore recommended it to Mr. Muhlenberg to have a meeting with the chief men and ministers of the Calvinist congregation in the township, that he with them might fix on the Lutheran or any other school-houses for the common benefit of their helpless children, the trustees stating that they would not hesitate in accepting any offer or the coming into any measure that might be agreed upon in common by the said Calvinist and Lutheran congregations, between which they always hoped to see a perfect Christian harmony.

Mr. Muhlenberg, being acquainted with this resolution, replied that in his part of the province such a harmony had always subsisted, and that he would endeavor and did not doubt to obtain the concurrence of the Calvinist congregation in the choice of the two school-houses offered, as they are both situated in places fixed upon by the Society to erect schools in, and there being no other school-houses in these parts fit for the purpose.

The trustees then proceeded to consider who would be the most fit persons to act as assistant or deputy trustees for the several schools. It was desirable that the persons selected should reside near these schools. Among many that were recommended for this purpose the following persons were preferred, many of them being personally known to the Governor and the Secretary, Mr. Peters, and almost all of them by Mr. Conrad Weiser. They were accordingly written to.

For Lancaster.—Edward Shippen, Esq. (English), President; Mr. Adam Simon Kuhn, Mr. Otterbein, Mr. Sebastian Graff (Calvinist), Mr. Gera (Lutheran), Mr. James Wright, Mr. John Bär.

For New Providence and Skippack.—Mr. Abram Sahler, Dr. John Diemer (Calvinist), John Schrack, Nicolaus Küster (Lutheran), Henry Pawling, Esq., Mr. Robert White, John Coplin (English).

For Reading.—Mr. James Read, Prothonotary, Francis Parvin, Esq. (English Quaker), James Seely (English Presbyterian), Mr. Isaac Levau, Mr. Samuel High (Calvinist), Mr. Hans Martin Gerick, Mr. Jacob Levan (Lutheran), Mr. Sebastian Zimmerman.

For Easton.—Mr. Parsons, Mr. Lewis Gordon, Mr. John Chapman, Mr. John Le Fevre, Mr. Peter Trexler.

For New Hanover, Frederick Township.—Andrew Kepner, Henry Krebs (Lutheran), Henry Antes, Esq., Mr. John Reifsnnyder (Calvinist), John Potts, Esq., William Maugridge, Esq. (English.)

For York.—Nobody was as yet recommended, but Mr. Weiser engaged in his journey to the frontiers in the service of the government, to converse with the proper persons in regard to the school to be fixed at York.

A question arose among the trustees whether one Calvinist and one Lutheran minister should not be joined with each of the above sets of assistant trustees for every school, upon which it was observed by Mr. Weiser that so great was the jealousy of the people at present against the clergy in general, that such a measure at first might be a hindrance to the scheme, especially as these jealousies are daily fomented, as was further confirmed by different articles which he called attention to in Mr. Sauer's paper. On the other side it was observed that the clergy, in all countries, were reckoned fit persons to superintend the education of youth, and that if the Germans had prejudice at present against clergy of all kinds, it was one great design of the undertaking of the Society to remove such prejudice, and promote a sense of religion and a greater regard to their clergy among the Germans, without which there was little probability of rendering them peaceable, industrious, and governable subjects. However, it was—

Resolved, That at present the opinion of other gentlemen proposed as deputy trustees, etc., be taken on this subject, and that Mr. Smith be appointed to write a joint letter to each of the above sets of deputy or assistant trustees, in order to know their sentiments on this and every other part of the scheme as far as it is yet advanced.

Mr. Franklin informed the trustees that he had, according to his engagement, spoken to the German printer mentioned at the last meeting, but that the said printer seemed rather inclined to take the press on his own risk, and print such for the trustees at a rea-

sonable rate as they should think proper. But it was decided that this proposal was contrary to the intention of the trustees, and that it was absolutely necessary, in order to their design, that they should have the sole direction of the press and newspaper on their own hands, or the hands of such persons as they should appoint for that purpose, and that Mr. Franklin should acquaint the printer with this resolution.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST SERMON IN CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, ON THE DEATH OF A PUPIL—VERSES OF COMPLIMENT BY THE STUDENTS AND FRIENDS—HOPKINSON, MAGAW, DUCHÉ, BARTON, AND JACKSON—HYMN BY DR. SMITH—SOCIETY FOR THE EDUCATION OF POOR GERMAN PROTESTANTS—PARTICULARS ABOUT IT—DR. SMITH TO REV. HENRY MUHLENBERG—MUHLENBERG TO DR. SMITH—PETITIONS FROM NEW HANOVER—HENRY ANTES—DR. SMITH'S LETTER TO REV. MESSRS. REIGER AND STOY—ANSWER—LETTER FROM W. PARSONS TO DR. PETERS—LETTER FROM CHRISTOPHER SAUER—DR. SMITH A STATESMAN AND TRUE SON OF THE CHURCH.

THE affectionate interest taken by Dr. Smith in his pupils was manifested in many ways. We have an evidence of one of the ways in a sermon preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, September, 1754, on the death of one of them, William Thomas Martin, a truly promising youth, who died at Philadelphia, August 28th, 1754, while a student in the Senior Philosophy Class of the College. He was the second son of the Hon. Josiah Martin, Esq., of Antigua, and cousin to Samuel Martin, Esq., member of Parliament for Camelford, Treasurer to the Princess Dowager of Wales, and Secretary of the Treasury. The sermon, which is preserved in Dr. Smith's printed sermons,* gives evidence of those same oratorical powers seen in his later discourses. It produced a great impression, due, doubtless, in part, to a highly effective manner of delivery. It brought forth the following stanzas from the fellow-students and friends of Mr. Martin, which were sent to Dr. Smith in the graceful fashion of the day. As a record of this and of our early college literature, as much as for any poetical merit which the pieces have, we insert them :

* Vol. I., p. 5.

TO THE REV. MR. WILLIAM SMITH,
ON HEARING HIS SERMON UPON THE DEATH OF HIS HOPEFUL PUPIL,
OUR DEAR FELLOW-STUDENT, MR. WILLIAM THOMAS MARTIN.

BY A FELLOW-STUDENT.

I call no aid, no muses to inspire,
Or teach my breast to feel a poet's fire;
Your soft expression of a grief sincere,
Brings from my soul a sympathetic tear.
Taught by your voice, my artless sorrows flow;
I sigh in verse, am eloquent in woe,
And loftier thoughts within my bosom glow.
For when, in all the charms of language drest,
A manly grief flows, genuine, from the breast,
What gen'rous nature can escape the wounds,
Or steel itself against the force of melting sounds?

O could I boast to move with equal art
The human soul, or melt the stony heart;
My long-lov'd friend should through my numbers shine,
Some virtue lost be wept in every line;
For virtues he had many—'Twas confest
That native sense and sweetness fill'd his breast.
But cooler reason checks the bold intent,
And, to the task refusing her consent,
This only truth permits me to disclose,
That, in your own, you represent my woes;
And sweeter than my song is your harmonious prose!

FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, September 5th, 1754.

BY A FELLOW-STUDENT.

And is your Martin gone? Is he no more,
That living truth, that virtue seen before?
Has endless night already hid the ray,
The early promise of his glorious day?
That grief, great *Mourner*, in such strains exprest,
Shews he was deep implanted in your breast.

Yet hark! soft-whispering reason seems to say,
Cease from your sorrows, wipe these tears away.
He's gone, he's past the gloomy shades of night,
Safe landed in th' eternal realms of light.
Happy exchange! to part with all below,
For worlds of bliss where joys unfading flow,
And sainted souls with love and rapture glow.

SAMUEL MAGAW.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, September 6th, 1754.

BY A FELLOW-STUDENT.

While for a pupil lost your sorrow flows,
 In all the harmony of finish'd prose ;
 While melting crowds the pious accents hear,
 Sigh to your sighs, and give you tear for tear ;
 We, too, in humble verse, would treat the theme,
 And join our griefs to swell the general stream.
 For we remember well his matchless power,
 To steal upon the heart and cheer the social hour.
 Ah, much lov'd friend, too soon thy beauties fade !
 Too soon we count thee with the silent dead !
 Thou, late the fairest plant in virtue's plain,
 The brightest youth in wisdom's rising train ;
 By genius great, by liberal arts adorn'd,
 By strangers seen and lov'd, by strangers mourned ;
 Blest in a tender brother's friendly breast ;
 And in paternal fondness doubly blest !
 Art thou now sunk in death's tremendous gloom,
 Wrapt in the awful horrors of a tomb ?
 Ah me ! how vain all sublunary joy !
 Woes following woes, our warmest hopes destroy !
 But hark !—some voice celestial strikes mine ear,
 And bids the muse her plaintive strains forbear.
 " Weep not, fond youths,"—it cries, or seems to cry,—
 " He lives, your Martin lives, and treads the sky ;
 From care, from toil, from sickness snatch'd away,
 He shines amid the blaze of heaven's eternal day."

JACOB DUCHE.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, September 7th, 1754.

BY A FRIEND.

Check, mournful preacher ! check thy streaming woe,
 Pierce not our souls with grief too great to know ;
 He joys above whom we lament below.
 Snatch'd from our follies here, he wing'd his way,
 To sing hosannas in the realms of day.
 With him the fight of life and death is o'er,
 And agonizing throes shall pain no more ;
 No more shall fell disease, with wasteful rage,
 Blast the fair blossoms of his tender age ;
 Transplanted now, he blooms a heav'nly flow'r,
 Where spring eternal decks yon amaranthine bower.
 Thy pious sorrows, Smith, to future days,
 Shall bear his image, and transmit his praise.

Still, still I feel what thy Discourse imprest,
 When pity throb'd, congenial, in each breast ;
 When deep distress came thrilling from thy tongue,
 And sympathizing crowds attentive hung.
 To mourn for thy lov'd pupil all approv'd ;
 On such a theme 'twas virtue to be mov'd.
 Whoe'er these tender pages shall explore,
 Must learn those griefs the pulpit taught before.

THOMAS BARTON.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, September 7th, 1754.

BY ONE OF THE TUTORS.

O Death ! could manly courage quell thy power,
 Or rosy health protect the fatal hour ;
 Could tears prevail, or healing arts withstand
 Th' unsparing ravage of thy wasteful hand ;
 Then Martin still had liv'd a father's boast,
 Nor had a mother's fondest hopes been lost ;
 Then, Smith, thy darling youth, thy justest pride,
 With virtue's first examples long had vi'd.

But he is blest where joys immortal flow ;
 Cease, tears, to stream ! be dumb the voice of woe !
 Releas'd from vice, in early bloom set free
 From the dire rocks of this tempestuous sea,
 The youthful saint, in heaven's ambrosial vales,
 With glory crown'd, ethereal life inhales.
 No more let grief repine, or wish his stay,
 In this dark gloom, this twilight of our day.
 Rather we'll hail him fled from night's domain,
 Array'd in light to tread the azure plain.
 There science dwells :—before the mental eye
 Nature's stupendous works unfolded lie ;
 There wisdom, goodness, power diffusive shine,
 And fire the glowing breast with love divine.

PAUL JACKSON.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, September 7th, 1754.

Dr. Smith had some poetical talent. One evidence of it was a hymn composed by him, and sung at the church after his discourse. It is thus :

Father of all ! still wise and good
 Whether thou giv'st or tak'st away ;
 Before thy throne devoutly bow'd
 We hail thy providential sway !

Save us from Fortune's hollow smile,
 That lures the guardless soul to rest ;
 A round of pleasure is but toil,
 And who could bear a constant feast ?

Sometimes thy chast'ning hand employ
 Gently to rouse us, not to pain !
 Sometimes let sorrow prove our joy,
 And scatter folly's noisy train !

Oft let us drop a pensive tear,
 O'er this much suffering scene of man ;
 Acute to feel what others bear,
 And wise our own defects to scan.

Teach us, while woes and deaths are nigh,
 To think on thee, and weigh our dust.
 Well may we mark the hours that fly
 And still find leisure to be just.

We have already spoken of the interest taken by Dr. Smith in giving an education both in the English language and in good religious morals to the poorer class of Germans in Pennsylvania. The following correspondence is in reference to the subject. We give, first, a letter by him to the Rev. Mr. Henry Muhlenberg, pastor of the Lutheran congregation at New Providence, Pennsylvania, on a point connected with this subject, where difficulty was feared and where delicate management was required. We cannot but be struck by the entire directness and candor of Dr. Smith in his mode of dealing with it.

This correspondence, along with Minutes of the Proceedings of the Trustees, were sent by the Rev. Thomas Barton (who, on the 9th of October, 1754, sailed for England) to the Rev. Mr. Chandler, already mentioned ; a copy of them being enclosed for prior perusal by the Proprietaries.*

PHILADELPHIA, October 23d, 1754.

REVEREND SIR : In answer to the petition you and your vestry were pleased to lay before us, dated 1st and 4th of August last, I inclose you the resolution of the trustees taken from the minutes of our last meeting. You will see by them that we have a just sense of the pains you have taken in this affair, and we should be extremely glad to find it consistent

* For some account of the Rev. Thomas Barton, a poetical piece from whose pen we have given *supra*, p. 75, and whose name and letters frequently occur in this volume, see Appendix No. I.

with the design of the honorable Society to accept your school-houses ; but we apprehend that it may be easy for you to bring the Calvinist congregation to concur in the same choice, when they are made acquainted with the catholic and generous plan on which it is proposed to establish the schools. In order, therefore, that you may have a just view of the design, I inclose you a sketch of it which I have drawn out for some Calvinist ministers who wanted to be informed of the design, and which I propose to give to their classis, who are to meet next week in this city. In the meantime I shall beg you to proceed as follows : The extract from the minutes, together with the above sketch of our design, be so kind as to translate into your own language, and get a number of copies made. Give some to Mr. Leidig, the Calvinist minister, and next Sunday let him, as well as you, give notice to the chief persons of your respective congregations to meet in the school-house or church the day following, and it would be well if each of you would prepare your people by opening up a little of the design, and explain the importance of a religious education in your sermons. At the time of the meeting put the translated papers into the hands of some of your most moderate and sensible laymen to explain to the people ; and if the matter is managed skilfully, I hope by God's blessing the eyes of the people will be open to their interest, and you will agree to have your children educated in the same school, on the same common uncultivated principles of religion and virtue. Such a Christian harmony well becomes those who are heirs of the same common salvation. Our design is truly catholic, no compensation is intended, and I hope you will urge all the people to remember what is insisted upon in the inclosed papers, namely, that if by any ill-timed discord they shall defeat the benevolent design of the Society, they will be accountable to God not only for their own ignorance but for all that ignorance and misery which they will thereby entail upon their unhappy children. It is not our intention to strive against the stream ; and in case you shall not agree to accept the schools on that generous and free bottom on which we are resolved to fix them, we must establish them among those who will ; but from your zeal and interest we hope better things, and that you will set a noble example of moderation and unanimity to others. I pray God give you success in return for all your labors. You may depend on the good-will of the trustees, and with regard to myself I shall be glad of any opportunity of verifying, by more than words, how sincerely I am

Yours, etc.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

Mr. Muhlenberg's Answer to the Preceding Letter.

PROVIDENCE, October 29th, 1754.

REVEREND SIR: I had the pleasure of your kind letter of October 23d and 24th, with your obliging answer from the minutes, together

with the other papers. In obedience to your orders I had a meeting in mine own house with Mr. Leidig, and the chief men of the Reformed Calvinists at New Providence, and several honest men of other denominations. I explained the undeserved munificence of the illustrious Society and the fatherly cares of the honorable trustees, which made a deep impression on the minds of all present, so that they unanimously agreed to concur in the choice of our Lutheran school-houses as the best situated for our children of all denominations; and they also promised to prepare an humble petition to signify their entire approbation of the truly catholic and charitable design. Thus much for New Providence. Yesterday we had a meeting in the offered school-houses at New Hanover, at which the Rev. Mr. Leidig, Henry Antes, Esq., and the chief men of both Calvinists and Lutheran congregations and of some other persuasions were present. I began with prayer, and then gave them a brief historical account of the excellent and ever-to-be-praised charity. I concluded with recommending Christian unanimity, and then delivered a translation of your answer and order out of the minutes, and all your other papers into the hands of Henry Antes, Esq., who, being a man of great reputation and influence, was attentively heard while he explained the same to the people. After conferring a little together they all melted at once into tears of joy, uttered many thankful expressions, and agreed in Christian harmony in the choice of our Lutheran school-house, and offered also their own school-house, which is only about sixty poles distant, to be added when our children of all denominations should grow too numerous to be contained in one house. The Calvinists and other denominations then asked us Lutherans to sell two or more acres of our church and school land, where, if need be, we might erect one large building for such a charitable design in time to come. We answered that we would readily bequeath the left and most convenient corner of our church land for so Christianlike an institution, which aimed at the common benefit of the State and Christ's Church.

Mr. Leidig, who goes down to Philadelphia this day to meet the trustees, will present you with both the petitions. The whole meeting agreed to recommend the present Lutheran and Calvinist schoolmasters to the honorable trustees as worthy to be taken into their service; as the said schoolmasters bear good characters, and have instructed the children of several Englishmen in the English tongue. If you should not think them quite perfect in English, they are willing to come this winter to Philadelphia to be perfected. One of those schoolmasters, who resides in our township, called Cornelius Rabatan, is a true-born Englishman, a Presbyterian bred, and wants no instruction, for besides his native English he speaks indifferent good French and Dutch. He is much beloved by people of all persuasions, for his decent and Christian behavior. He was sent to town, but missed your reverence, when you were lately on a journey to New York; but he waited on Mr. Secretary

Peters and was well received. Him in particular, if it would please the trustees to appoint during his good behavior, I can assure you a vast number of German and English children of all persuasions would flock to him; and I know divers parents who have been already inquiring where to lodge their children and board them, for the school at New Providence, when it shall be opened.

May God prosper your kind endeavors, and those of the other worthy trustees, for the benefit of a vast multitude of helpless souls, which is the prayer of

Yours, etc.,

HENRY MUHLENBERG.

TO REV. MR. SMITH.

The petitions referred to in Mr. Muhlenberg's letter were as follows:

PETITION FROM NEW HANOVER.

The petition of the ministers, elders, and chief men of the German Calvinist Congregation, and of some other Protestant denominations in the township of New Hanover and county of Philadelphia, humbly sheweth: That whereas, by our gracious superiors, preparation is being made to establish a number of charity schools for the children of every German denomination, in order to instruct them in the German and English languages and to render them fit for becoming true worshippers of God in Christ, most loyal and dutiful subjects to the sacred Protestant throne of Great Britain, and thankful to the illustrious benefactors here and at home; and that, whereas the minister, vestry, and chief men of the Protestant Lutheran Congregation, our beloved neighbors and fellow-citizens of the township and county aforesaid, have humbly implored the honorable trustees to make their and our children jointly an object of their intended charity, and have offered a most suitable house in the midst of the township, between two large evangelical meetings, very suitable for so noble an institution, we, the humble petitioners join, therefore, with our beloved neighbors, the said Lutheran and other denominations, in humbly beseeching that it may please the illustrious benefactors to make our very numerous youth the object of their clemency, and to fix their intended charity on the helpless children of all denominations in the said offered school-house or place, and in case the said house should become too small for our said children we readily offer our school-house also, and being altogether of one mind and in Christianlike harmony, think to provide the most suitable place for so noble an institution. Moreover, your humble petitioners recommend, under the illustrious benefactors and two well-behaving and beloved schoolmasters, or either of them who has made the best progress in the English language, and may be rendered more perfect for the purpose, if they have been already among us in our mean circumstances, they are willing to improve themselves with their utmost endeavors in the Eng-

lish language and to assist in so good a work. May the Lord inspire the catholic spirit of our gracious superiors and illustrious benefactors always to keep in mind our numerous and helpless children and schoolmasters, since a fine harvest is to be hoped. We shall endeavor to join in a Christian harmony, to pray for our most gracious sovereign, King George II., and all that are in authority under him, especially for our illustrious benefactors.

Conrad Dodderer, John Philip Leidig, V.D.M., John Muller, Dieter Bucher, George Palzgreff, Valentine Kyle, Jacob Barnard, Andrew Smith, Frederick Rymer, Henry Smith, Bernard Dodderer.

Testes: Henry Muhlenberg, V.D.M., Henry Antes.*

NEW HANOVER, October 28th, 1754.

PETITION FROM PROVIDENCE.

The petition of the minister, elders, and principal members of the German Reformed Congregation, and of some other Protestant persuasions in the township of Providence, in and about Perkiomen and Skippack, humbly sheweth (as in the foregoing petition), and prays that the trustees will accept of the offered Lutheran school-house, in the midst of said township, as most convenient, and therein to make the children of all denominations in and about the places above mentioned the object of the honorable Society's bounty, and that at the common request of all denominations Cornelius Rabatan be chosen as schoolmaster, to whom vast numbers would flock. The humble petitioners pray, etc.

John Umstead, John Hendricks, Gilwig Ewalt, Matthias Koplin, Samuel Lane, David Robeson, John Philip Leidig, V. D. M., Edward De Haven, Nicholas Bonn, William Howe, John Penebacker, Joseph Kendall, Valentine Haus.

Testes: Henry Muhlenberg, V.D.M., John Schrack, John Koplin, Abram De Haven.

We return now to the correspondence.

Dr. Smith to the Rev. Messrs. Reiger and Stoy.

PHILADELPHIA, September 30th, 1754.

REVEREND SIR: An account being desired of me concerning the design now carrying on, for the benefit of the Germans in Pennsylvania, I shall beg leave to lay before you the following hasty sketch of it, which may suffice to give you some idea of it till my leisure, and the return of the other trustees, who are now absent, shall permit us to

* For some account of Mr. Antes, see Appendix No. II.

give an ample account of all the parts of it in print; and this you may expect soon, both English and Dutch.* A considerable sum of money has been raised in Scotland for the instruction of the destitute German Protestants in this and the neighboring provinces, and the said money is committed to the management of an illustrious society of noblemen and gentlemen in London.

The said Society in London, as they would neither bestow their bounty on any who do not deserve it, and as they cannot at such a distance judge who are most deserving, that they may not be imposed upon in this important matter, they have therefore intrusted the management of the whole scheme to us, whose names follow, as trustees general in Pennsylvania: James Hamilton, William Allen, Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, Conrad Weiser, Esq., and the Rev. William Smith. They have also appointed the Rev. Mr. Schlatter, under the direction and with the advice of the said trustees, to act as superior of the schools that are to be erected, and assist in the execution of the whole scheme.

This Society is endeavoring to raise a much greater sum of money in England, and have resolved to apply the same towards the encouragement of pious and peaceable ministers and schoolmasters, beginning first in Pennsylvania.

We, the said trustees, therefore, are empowered to increase the yearly salaries of pious and well-behaved ministers among you, and will accordingly do the same, especially if all things are amicably settled between you and Mr. Schlatter, for as few of you are personally known to us we must depend in some measure upon his resolution.

We are likewise to establish some schools for the education of youth, both in the English and German languages and in the principles of our common Christianity. Such schools will be on the most catholic bottom, and are intended equally for the benefit of all denominations. Calvinist children may use their own catechism; for with regard to religious tenets no compulsion or constraint will be offered to the consciences of any persons however scrupulous.

The schoolmasters are to be men of good character, and such as may be approved by all denominations and parties. Their salaries will be paid regularly by us, and for the more immediate government of the schools, men of good character residing among yourselves will be nominated. As this is a truly charitable and pious undertaking, without which the labors of you who are preachers will have but little success, we hope all good men, and particularly you who are ministers of the blessed Gospel, will join to support it; and all ministers who do zeal-

* When, in this correspondence, the word *Dutch* is used, the reader will understand that the emigrants from Germany, or their descendants, are spoken of, and not Hollanders, of whom, in the interior of Pennsylvania, there were not many.

ously promote this pious design, and assist us in the execution of it, may expect particular regard and encouragement. The place fixed upon for the school-houses are Lancaster, York, Reading, Easton, Skip-pack, and Hanover; unless, by any difficulties or discords raised among the different persuasions in those places, we should be obliged to fix them elsewhere, among those who may be more deserving. But this we only hint, by the by, and we have no reason to think any persons will be so infatuated as not cheerfully to concur in a design so disinterested as that of the honorable Society in London.

The cries of a vast multitude of despairing souls reach the ears of the good and pious in Britain and Holland. A proper sum is raised for their relief. The management of it is in the hands of persons of worth and credit. Any change proposed by yourselves to the more effectual application of this charity will be readily listened to.

The cause of the true undefiled religion and of the Protestant interest is concerned. Ignorance, which is the sure forerunner of superstition and of civil and religious tyranny, is the enemy to be rooted out; and can we then expect any persons will be so wicked and inhuman to throw any obstacle in the way of a design so friendly to all the better interests of mankind as this? If there are any such persons, certainly they must reflect that their memory would be held in abhorrence by posterity, and that they would be accountable in the sight of God for all that misery and ignorance, which such a conduct would be the means of entailing upon their helpless children perhaps to latest generations, as you gentlemen cannot but think it your duty to inculcate a contrary conduct. We shall be glad to have your advice from time to time in the management of the whole design now opened, and your answer as a classis to the following queries (to be transmitted to the Society) will much oblige us:

1. Query. What are the particular salaries of every Calvinist minister in this province, and how much do they fall short of a competent, decent, and independent living?

2. How many more Calvinist ministers may be immediately wanted in Pennsylvania, and in what places, that we may be able to compute the expense of the whole undertaking?

3. How many more schools than those above mentioned may be wanted, and what are the proper places to fix them in?

I shall conclude all with recommending to the reverend classis to point out some worthy young men to be trained for schoolmasters immediately. The education of such young men in theology shall be under any clergyman the classis may appoint. In other branches of science they shall be instructed gratis, or at an easy rate, either in this city or perhaps at some country school. It is further recommended to the reverend classis to fall upon some method of educating a supply of good men in this country for the ministry, because it is inconvenient

and expensive to send to Germany for them, and there is great danger in being deceived by bad men of irregular lives, since those will be most inclined to come here who could not live or have been involved in quarrels in their own country. But on the other hand, if men are born and educated in this country we shall be sure of their merit. They will be inured to the climate, and not only the manners of the people, but how to suit their temper; and it is to be hoped may be the means of preventing differences on both sides. Any countenance or encouragement we can grant to a scheme of this nature you may very readily command. Your answer to the above will oblige the trustees and reverend gentlemen in their name.

Your brother and faithful servant,

WILLIAM SMITH,
Secretary.

Answer to the Preceding Letter.

PHILADELPHIA, October 1st, 1754.

REVEREND SIR: We have received your respected letter, and have considered all the contents, particularly the queries therein proposed to us; but as such like weighty matters require a fuller consideration than the present time would allow of, we have desired our reverend brother, Mr. Schlatter, to give your reverence such an account as the want of some more particular acquaintance (and Mr. Schlatter's late absence), for this present time will possibly afford to be given. But we will more particularly consider the whole at our next classis, which will be held, D. V., next spring in Lancaster, and Mr. Schlatter, who still communicates with us, and is acquainted with the most notable circumstances of the most places of this and other adjacent provinces, will be desired to communicate to your reverence then, as we hope, a fuller account of the whole. We conclude this, our short answer, with all the thanksgiving we are able to express, and recommend us for the future to the benevolent care of the honorable Christian Society in London, and their general trustees in these parts, in the name of our classis.

JOHN BARTHOLOMAUS REIGER.*
WILLIAM STOY.†

TO REV. WILLIAM SMITH,
Secretary.

* The Rev. John Bartholomæus Reiger, born in Ober-Engelheim on the Rhine, January 10th, 1707; graduated at Heidelberg, and came to America September, 1731; settled in Lancaster, Pa., and had charge of the German Reformed congregation at that place. He died March 11th, 1769, aged 62 years.

† William Stoy (pronounced Sto-e) was born at Herborn, Germany, on March 14th, 1726. He was a German Reformed preacher, having been ordained by the Classis at Amsterdam, and came to America with Michael Schlatter in 1752. He took charge of the congregation at Tulpehocken; afterwards came to Philadelphia, and then removed to Lancaster. Later in life he resided at Lebanon, where he died September 14th, 1801, aged 75 years.

The Minutes of the Trustees sent with this correspondence state that, notwithstanding that circumstances were on the whole encouraging, the accounts from some places were not so promising. This the trustees say proceeded from the want of some persons of interest to explain the design; for as the people were extremely ignorant, they were in every district led by a few on whom they have placed implicit confidence. From Easton, William Parsons, Esq. (one of the persons nominated assistant trustees for the school proposed there), had sent the following letter to Mr. Peters, which the trustees placed in their minutes and sent to Mr. Chandler and the Penns, "for its good sense," as they say, "and particularly to show to the Society one necessary part of the undertaking, which had not yet come under consideration, and concerning which it was desirable to have speedy directions; namely, some English schools for girls."

*William Parsons to the Rev. Richard Peters.**

EASTON, October 18th, 1754.

TO RICHARD PETERS, ESQ.

SIR: I am under some difficulty about the plan of a school-house, but am clearly of the opinion that we neither ought to ask nor suffer the people to contribute either money or labor to it; they are so perverse and quarrelsome in all their affairs that I am sometimes ready to query with myself whether it be men or brutes that these most generous benefactors are about to civilize.

Nevertheless, seeing so many great and worthy personages, out of their abundant humanity and goodness, have been pleased to set on foot so

* William Parsons was brought up a shoemaker. He came to Philadelphia some time prior to 1735, at which time he was Librarian of the City Library. In 1743 he was appointed Surveyor-General, and resigned in June, 1748, on account of ill health. In 1749 he was a Justice of the Peace in Lancaster county. He went to Easton to reside in 1752; and was appointed Major of all troops to be raised in Northampton county, with Easton as his head-quarters. He held the office of Prothonotary, Clerk of the Courts, Recorder, Clerk of the Commissioners, and Justice of the Peace. He died at Easton in December, 1757.

The Rev. Richard Peters, sometimes called Richard Peters, *Esquire*, came to this country in Holy Orders, A. D. 1735, and in 1736 was made the assistant to the then Rector of Christ Church (Mr. Cummings). Some misunderstanding arising between the Rector and himself, he resigned the place and was made Secretary of the Provincial Land Office of the Province. His brother, William Peters, and other members of his family were long influential persons in the Proprietary Government. In December, 1762, on the death of the then Rector of the United Churches, the Rev. Dr. Jenney, he was elected Rector, and so remained until September 23d, 1775. He died July 10th, 1776.

benevolent an undertaking, I will not be negligent in doing whatever they shall be pleased to recommend to me, though I am well assured that whoever is any way concerned in building or directing the schools will be exposed to perpetual insults and the most ignominious treatment even from those very persons for whose benefit they are laboring. This, I say, is the real sentiment of my mind, and not to discourage or show any unwillingness to do to the utmost of my power whatever the gentlemen trustees shall desire of me in the management of the affair. One thing I think has not been sufficiently attended to—the principal directions in forming the plan. As mothers have the principal direction in bringing up their young children, it will be of little use that the father can talk English if the mother can speak nothing but Dutch to them; in their case the children will speak their mother-tongue. It therefore seems to me quite necessary that there should be English schoolmistresses as well as schoolmasters, and the girls should be taught something of the use of the needle, as well as to read and write (if writing should be thought necessary for girls). By the use of their needles the mistresses will have an opportunity of teaching them and making them fond of the English dress, which will have great influence on their minds all their lives after, and if the young women affect the English manner in their dress and speaking, I need not mention how industrious young men will be generally to appear in their habit, and to speak the language which they think the most agreeable to the female world. It is the same in this respect in regard to low as well as to high life. Nature is the same in every station, and we differ only as we are educated.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

Dr. Smith to Archbishop Herring.

PHILADELPHIA, October 19th, 1754.

MY LORD: I now make use of the liberty your grace permitted me. At present, however, I cannot enter, as I intend afterwards to do, upon the state of our colonies and the proposed schools among the Germans, both which are become very interesting. As the French are daily encroaching behind us, and taking possession of the vast fruitful country upon the Ohio, they will be able to offer our Germans easy settlements, which these last will accept of, as they are an ignorant people that know no difference between French and English government, being wanton with liberty, uninstructed in the use of it, and placing all happiness in possessing a large piece of land. Now, this will be a far greater advantage to the French than peopling their colonies from Europe (which the severity of their government would never suffer them to accomplish). For however many by these means they take from us, so many they add to themselves, which is a double advantage to them, especially as such hands are old inhabitants and accustomed to the climate. This is a

scheme which the French for a number of years have been pursuing to establish their empire in America. The Indians are going over to the French in these parts, because the latter, having possession by means of their forts, can protect them; and whenever they come a little nearer, the Germans will submit and go over also for protection, caring for nothing but to keep possession of the estates they have settled.

Now, I can see nothing that can prevent these dreadful calamities, or subject these back-settlers to any form of government (as they are like to degenerate into savages) but to fix schools and a regular clergy among them, in order to open their eyes to the blessings they enjoy and the dangers they incur by a change. I wish, then, the honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel, instead of sending more missionaries to New England, where they are not wanted so much, would erect some missions among those back-settlers I speak of, who are quite destitute and in great danger, as bordering upon the French and the Indians. The bearer, Mr. Barton, comes with a petition from a vast number of these back-settlers, but I am in doubt whether the Society will make a new mission for him. If he has any difficulty, I have desired him to apply to your grace; otherwise not to be troublesome, as your time and health are of the greatest public importance.

For the same reasons the proposed schools among these back-settlers is a very important undertaking, as your grace was thoroughly convinced when you generously contributed to the support of them. They are, indeed, so important that we are entirely of your grace's opinion, "*that they should be made the object of some parliamentary provision*," and we humbly hope your grace may be a great means of making them so, for though private contributions may begin, they cannot long enough be supported on such a precarious footing. We have a good prospect of their success; and as I have been appointed a trustee, and chosen secretary by the other trustees, for the management of the scheme, I have transmitted Mr. Chandler a full account of our progress.

As your grace has condescended to peruse some other compositions of mine, I have enclosed one of my first sermons, which I could not avoid printing, though made at a few hours warning. It had a very great effect from the pulpit, and has been well received from the press. In compositions of this kind I carefully avoid those *luxuriances* which your grace kindly blamed under the name of *agreeable*.

I hope and pray that this may find your grace's health perfectly restored. Last post, Mr. de Lancey was well and easy in his government. I wish it may be long his. Should your grace ever think it worth while to honor me with any commands, Mr. Miller will find a conveyance; or Mr. Penn, whom I have frequent letters from, as he never misses an opportunity of writing to somebody or other here.

I beg pardon for the length of this letter. I did not intend to give

your grace the trouble of turning over the leaf when I begun ; but as it comes from a great distance I hope I shall be excused.

With the sincerest gratitude and respect, I remain, my lord,
Your grace's most dutiful son, and
Obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.*

TO HIS GRACE, THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

P. S.—The Rev. Mr. Schlatter, who is safely returned, just now called upon me, and in the tenderest manner begs me to present his most grateful and most dutiful respects to your grace.

An extract from the Minutes of the Trustees will continue our record on this subject of schools for the Germans.

December 10th, 1754. A meeting of the trustees was called. Present: Messrs. Allen, Peters, Weiser, and William Smith. Mr. Smith read the memorial he had prepared, entitled "A Brief History† of the Rise and Progress of the Scheme carrying on for the Instruction of Poor Germans and their Descendants," etc., and Mr. Schlatter being present, the same was approved of, and fifteen hundred copies ordered to be printed in English and Dutch, to be distributed for the information of the public. A petition was brought down from Reading, in the terms of the former petition, signed by the minister and chief men, both of the Calvinist and Lutheran persuasions and some English in that township. Agreed that a school be opened in Reading, as soon as possible, in consequence of said petition.

Ordered, that copies of as many of these minutes as have not been sent before be now sent to the honorable Society and the Proprietaries, and that Mr. Smith write to them with said copies.

Of the memorial to the Germans there were published :

English copies,	800
Dutch "	1,000
Dutch and English copies,	500

2,300 in all.

150 English copies were sent to Mr. Chandler, in London, by Captain Budden, 20 to the Proprietaries, and 30 to other persons of distinction, making, with 150 distributed to persons in this and the neighboring provinces, 350 in all.

* From the original draft in his own handwriting. See Perry's Historical Collections, Diocese of Pennsylvania.

† Penn Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Of the Dutch copies, Mr. Schlatter received . . .	325
Mr. Weiser and the Lutheran clergy, . . .	275
All of which have been properly distributed among the Dutch, with about 70 Dutch and English, . . .	70
And upwards of 300 copies have been given away to sundries, . . .	300
Making in all, . . .	1,320
Remaining on hand, about . . .	1,000
	<hr/> 2,320

At a meeting of the trustees, held December 26th, 1754, a petition was received from the Reformed and Lutheran congregations of Vincent township, Chester county, praying for a school in that place, where it was represented that there were a great number of poor children. It was therefore agreed that a school should be erected, and that Louis Ache, who came well recommended, should be schoolmaster. It was further agreed that he should be taken into the academy, at the expense of the Proprietaries, to be better qualified in the English tongue. The following persons were recommended as deputy trustees for the township:

Calvinists	{ Sebastian Wagner. Peter Stager.	Lutherans	{ Michael Heilman. Conrad Shriner.
English	{ Samuel Hover. Richard Richardson.		

At the same meeting a petition was received from the Lutheran and Reformed congregations in the township of Upper Salford, now Montgomery county, praying for a school, and recommending the Rev. Frederick Schultz, the Lutheran minister, as a schoolmaster, a gentleman, it was observed, who was capable of teaching the English language. It was agreed that a school be immediately begun, and that Mr. Schultz be appointed master. This having been signified to the people and Mr. Schultz, they began to be impatient of waiting until the other schools were opened, and sent Mr. Schultz and the Rev. Mr. Weiss* in the end of February, to

* Rev. George Michael Weiss, or Weitzius, was a native of the Palatinate on the Rhine, came to America in the year 1727, and settled at Schippach, in Montgomery county. He had charge of various Reformed congregations in the States of Pennsylvania and New York. He died about 1763, and was buried in the church at New Goshenhoppen. Upon his tomb is the simple inscription:

Hier ruhet der Ehr:
Herr Weiss.

obtain leave to open the school immediately. Finding it inconvenient to get a meeting of the trustees, and being afraid of raising jealousies by opening the school before the others who had petitioned sooner, Mr. Smith wrote to the congregations that it was proposed at all times to open the Society schools with a sermon by Mr. Schlatter, or some other fit person, as becoming at the undertaking of such pious designs; and that in the first week of April—as the season would not permit it sooner—that and some other schools would be opened in the Society's name, with due form and solemnity. By a letter from the Rev. Mr. Weiss, of March 4th, 1755, it appears that the people were satisfied to wait till the time named by the trustees.

A petition was also received, January 15th, 1755, from the township of Tulpehocken and Heidelberg, in the counties of Lancaster and Berks, asking for a school; but as the congregation seemed to differ about the situation of the school-house, it was agreed to delay the answer to this petition until the site should be fixed.

At the same time a petition was received from the borough of Lancaster, as follows:

To the Trustees-General of the Charitable Scheme for the instruction of Poor Germans in the Province of Pennsylvania:

The Petition of divers of the inhabitants of the Borough of Lancaster in behalf of themselves, and others of the German nation residing in the said Borough, and parts adjacent, humbly sheweth that the number of poor Germans in these parts is very considerable, as well as those who are of ability to pay for the education of their children, if proper schools for that purpose were opened, and your Petitioners, having a just and lively sense, not only of the many Benefits attending a competent Knowledge of the English language, in their commerce and intercourse with divers persons unacquainted with the German tongue, but also of the pleasures resulting from an unity of Languages, greatly conducive to an unity of sentiments, do Humbly pray that they may partake of the bounties of the charitable Society in London; that a school may be opened in this Borough by the Trustees-general for teaching the English language in Pursuance of the said Charitable Scheme, and that the said Trustees would be pleased to appoint and send a sober, discreet and religious Gentleman, capable of fulfilling this trust and answering the benevolent intentions of said Society. As divers of the inhabitants of this Borough are desirous of having their Children instructed in the Latin and Greek Languages, but from the smallness of their numbers are unable to support a master for that purpose, your petitioners request that a gentleman acquainted with these learned languages may be ap-

pointed, that the desires of these inhabitants may be gratified, but in a way not prejudicial to the principal design.

As there are two German schools—one of the Lutheran, and the other of the Calvinist Congregations—already in this town; and the Germans are unable to educate their own poor children in the German languages together, as it would occasion confusion; your petitioners pray that the charity designed for this purpose may be given to the masters of the respective Congregations.

Posterity, whose welfare and happiness will be chiefly increased by this charitable Institution, will doubtless be filled with the warmest sense of gratitude to the authors of this Benefaction, and as your petitioners are unanimous in their wishes for the success of it, their utmost efforts will not be wanting in the promoting of it.*

LANCASTER, December 28th, 1754.

And to induce the trustees to send a Latin schoolmaster, who might have the assistance of an usher, to instruct such poor Germans as should be sent to the school, some of the most substantial inhabitants, English and German, made a subscription of money. The list of subscribers (A. D. 1755) is as follows:

A LIST OF THE SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE LATIN MASTER FOR THREE YEARS.

Edward Shippen, for two scholars, though he has									
none to send,	.	.	.	.	per annum,	£	6	0	0
Simon Kuhn,	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	0	0
George Gibson,	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	0	0
Michael Utt, for one scholar,	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	0	0
Emanuel Carpenter, for one scholar,	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	0	0
George Ross,	"	"	"	.	.	.	3	0	0
George Craig and James Wright,	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	0	0
							<hr/>		
							£	30	0

A LIST OF THOSE THAT SUBSCRIBE FOR ONE YEAR.

Michael Gross, for one scholar,	.	.	.	£	3	0	0
Jacob Good, " " "	.	.	.	.	3	0	0
William Ilvon, no scholar,	.	.	.	.	1	10	0
Jacob Eicholtz, for one scholar,	.	.	.	.	3	0	0
John Jacob Loeser, no scholar,	.	.	.	.	1	10	0
Bernard Hubley, for one scholar,	.	.	.	.	3	0	0
				<hr/>			
				£	15	00	0

Jacob Huber,
 Sebastian Graff, } promise to pay £3 each for one year.
 George Graff,

* This petition was signed by the Calvinist and Lutheran ministers, and by fourteen of the chief men of the place in the name of the rest.

In the beginning of the year 1755 it was determined by the trustees of the Society for the Education of Germans that the Rev. Dr. Smith should prepare a Letter of Instruction for the Rev. Mr. Schlatter, with which Mr. Schlatter should take a journey through the several parts of the Province. The Letter of Instruction, thus prepared, was as follows :

Dr. Smith and others to Mr. Schlatter.

PHILADELPHIA, February 12th, 1755.

REV. SIR : As you are appointed visitor of the intended schools to be opened by us for the benefit of the poor Protestant Germans, you will please observe the following general directions in the journey you are now about to begin through the several counties of this Province :

1st. According to the terms of the printed case, you will please converse with the People on the spot, and assist them with your advice in any designs they may project in order to obtain the Society's Bounty for encouraging schoolmasters among them.

2d. You may receive the proposals and petitions of persons deserving the Benefit of a school in the terms of the printed case ; assist and direct the people in choosing the fittest places to fix the school in ; and with your advice and that of their several ministers, let them recommend Catechists and Deputy Trustees in their Petition. The Calvinists two or three for each school, and the Lutherans an equal number, unless perhaps there be any places where the latter are not so numerous.

3d. If any of your own Clergy are straitened by the smallness of their livings, and have anything to propose concerning the augmentation of them, you are desired to bring their proposals to us ; and if you can recommend them as pious, industrious men, and friends to the benevolent designs of the generous society, they will be immediately relieved and assisted according to the tenors of the printed case. We rely on your own Judgment as to every other thing not mentioned, and hope you will keep a correct diary of every material transaction, that when you return you may lay the proper information before us, to enable us to answer the expectation of those who repose so important a trust in us (any proposals made for a school to instruct your ministers will be encouraged). You are desired to acquaint Mr. Richard Jacob and the eight other gentlemen who favored us with a letter concerning the schools at New Providence, That as we have not yet opened that school in the society's name, we leave it to Mr. Muhlenberg, Mr. Leidig, and them, with your advice, to fix the numbers to be admitted into the schools. We cannot open it till the month of April, but we shall give the master a sufficient Gratuity for any poor children he teaches, and the subscribers to the school shall not be desired to pay anything more than

they shall think reasonable. The Master at present should not take more than he can manage, and afterwards we shall settle all these matters by Rules, either when the schools grow numerous to get assistant masters in them, or open new schools as far as the society's fund will extend. We pray God to direct and strengthen you in your fatiguing journey, and are, Rev. Sir,

Yours, etc.,

JAMES HAMILTON,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
RICHARD PETERS,
WILLIAM SMITH.

TO REV. MR. SCHLATTER.

On the 16th of February, 1755, Mr. Schlatter opened a school at New Providence, Philadelphia county; Charles Cornelius Rabatan being master at a salary of £25 (and £10 to his wife), to teach 18 poor children reading and sewing.

On the 1st of March following, he opened one at Upper Salford, Philadelphia, the Rev. Frederick Schultz being appointed master at a salary of £30 per annum. On the 5th of March he opened one at Reading. On the 1st of April Mr. Conrad Weiser, for the Society, opened a school at Tulpehocken* and Heidelberg, in the counties of Lancaster and Berks; Mr. John Davis, from Ireland, being master at a salary of £30 per annum. On the 8th of May a school was opened at Vincent Township, Chester county, Mr. John Lewis Ache being master. Mr. Schlatter allowed him a salary of but £20 per annum, as he had been instructed for some time at the Public Academy in Philadelphia, at the expense of the Society.

On the 16th of May a school was opened in Easton, Northampton county. Mr. William Parsons was appointed trustee, and Mr. John Middleton master, at a salary of £30 per annum. On the 1st of July one was opened in the borough of Lancaster, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Magaw being appointed master, and it was agreed that he should be permitted to teach the learned languages to the children of those persons who had subscribed for that purpose; and to enable him to employ an usher, he was allowed £25, to be paid by the trustees.

What we have already put before our readers shows that the *idea*—the intellectual conception—of educating the poor Germans,

* Tulpehocken a branch of the Schuylkill in Berks county) corrupted from *Tulpew-hacki*, signifying, *the land of turtles*.

so far as England was concerned, was Dr. Smith's. The following receipts, found among Dr. Smith's papers for the year 1755, show that on him, too, fell the labor of detail:

Received, June 23d, 1755, of the Rev. William Smith four pounds, being in part of what the Trustees of the Free School shall allow me as Catechist to the schools near me.

£4 0 0.

GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS.

Received, June 25th, of the Rev. William Smith four pounds, being in part of what the Trustees of the Free School shall allow me as Catechist to the children in the free schools near me.

JOHN CONRAD HEINER, *V.D.M.*

July 2d, 1755, Received from Mr. William Smith five pounds eight shillings, as part of what the Society shall allow me as Catechist to the Lutheran children in the free schools near me.

JOHN FREDERICK HANDSCHUH,
Minister of the Lutheran Congregation at Germantown.

July 24th, 1755, Received from the Rev. Mr. Smith fifteen pounds, as Catechist to the Society's free schools at New Providence, New Hanover, Vincent, and Reading, commencing from May 1st, 1755.

HENRY MUHLENBERG.

Sept. 9th, Received Five Pounds Eight Shillings.

FREDERICK HANDSCHUH.

Received, for the use of the Calvinist Congregation in the City of Philadelphia, the sum of fifteen pounds.

MICHAEL SCHLATTER.

We have already spoken of the bitter aversion entertained by some of the Germans in Pennsylvania to the establishment of the schools promoted by Dr. Smith, and especially of the opposition by Christopher Sauer, the well-known German printer of Germantown. The following letter, written by him (in German), is in the collection of his respected descendant, Mr. A. H. Cassel, of Montgomery county, Pennsylvania. I give a translation—the direction being lost, I cannot now tell to whom it was written:

GERMANTOWN, September 6th, 1755.

DEAR FRIEND: I received your letter, and answer it by the bearer. I have been thinking since you wrote to me whether it is really true that Gilbert Tennent, Schlatter, Peters, Hamilton, Allen, Turner, Schippin, Schmitt, Franklin, Muhlenberg, Brumholz, Handschuh, &c.,

have the slightest care for a real conversion of the ignorant portion of the Germans in Pennsylvania, or whether the institution of free schools is not rather the foundation to bring the country into servitude, so that each of them may look for and have his own private interest and advantage.

Concerning Hamilton, Peters, Allen, Turner, Schippin and Franklin, I know that they care very little about religion, nor do they care for the cultivation of mind of the Germans, except that they should form the militia and defend their properties. Such people do not know what it is to have faith and confidence in God ; but they are mortified that they cannot compel others to protect their goods.

Tennent may believe, if he pleases, that his religion is the best ; and if it is possible that, with the assistance of Schlatter, English preachers may receive a salary in being called for the Germans ; that such preachers should be educated in Philadelphia, or even if such ministers should be formed and polished in New Jersey, then has Tennent the honor, and Schlatter is provided for. But the Germans will no doubt elect for the Assembly, on account of their benefactors, Hamilton, Peters, Schippin, Allen, Turner, &c., &c.

These make a law, together with Robert Hunter Morris, for the building of a fortress for the militia, with a garrison ; stipulate a salary for the ministers and schools, so that it will not be necessary to write a begging letter to Halle (in Germany) of which they are ashamed afterward, and are considered as liars, when the reports are printed. Thus *the poor Germans* are the pretext, that every one may succeed in his purposes.

I am here, as it were, hidden in a corner, where I hear the words and thoughts of many.

The one says : " I feel uneasy about having my children educated out of the funds of the poor, as I do not need it, being able to pay for it."

Another says : " Where so many children come together, there they learn more evil from others than what is good ; I will therefore teach myself my children writing and reading, and I am sorry that so many children come to see my own ones."

Others again say : " If the German children learn to speak English and come in society with the English, then do they wish to be clothed after the English fashion, and there is much difficulty and trouble to remove from their minds these foolish notions."

I hear others say : " We, poor people, have no advantage from the benevolence of the king and of the Society, if they do not build a school-house or keep a teacher at the distance of every ten miles. For, if a child is obliged to go to school and come from further than five miles, it is too far to do so every morning and evening ; the children cannot be boarded, nor can we give them clothes to go to school with others of higher rank, and therefore this advantage is only for the

rich and the English. Should people make petitions for their temporal and eternal ruin?"

I have a small English book on the principles of the Freemasons; my copy, printed in England, is the 3d edition. I find its teachings very far from the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Indeed, they are the very hindrance of it. The people, who are the promoters of the free school, are Grandmasters, Wardens among the Freemasons, and their pillars. I think they intend something else, from what they think to be their best.

If they give Zübly a call, I will say that I was mistaken; for, if they desire to oppose the influence of sectarian imagination, and only wish to promote the truth as it is in Christ, then Zübly is one among the thousand. However, I apprehend they fear him, for in the pamphlet there is a passage, as follows: "There is nothing the Quakers more fear than "to see the Germans pay any regard to regular ministers. Whenever "they know any such minister in good terms with his people, they "immediately blame him by means of this printer, and distress him by "dividing his congregation and encouraging vagabonds and pretended "preachers, whom they every now and then raise up; this serves a "double end." When I consider the principles of the Freemasons from this pamphlet, which a goldsmith, one of their members, lent to Heron, and who lent it to me, I do not know what judgment to make of the eulogy of Prof. Schmitt* concerning the author of the book, "The Life of God in the Soul of Man."† I consider it only as having a political purpose and tendency.

May God turn it to good and to His glory. For your part, do as much as you can for its promotion; and if it should be printed, unexpectedly, in German and English, to which they would, perhaps, willingly consent, then I keep my promise, and still remain a debtor to God and to my neighbor, the whole human race.

Your friend,

CHR. SAUER.

It will be remembered that the trustees in Philadelphia for educating the poor Germans resolved to buy a printing press. We have in a letter, which is below, some account of the cost.

Dr. Smith to Mr. Secretary Chandler.

PHILADELPHIA, October 3d, 1755.

SIR: This day I have drawn upon you by order of the Trustees for £109.8.4, payable to Benjamin Franklin, Esq., or order, being in part the value of the Dutch press, the account of which is as follows, having been valued by an impartial hand:

* Meaning Dr. Wm. Smith.

† Dr. Smith caused this excellent work of Scougal to be translated into German.

He refers to this passage in Edmund Burke's *Account of the European Settlements in America*.*

Pennsylvania is inhabited by upwards of 250,000 people; half of whom are Germans, Swedes, or Dutch. Here you see Mennonists . . . and the Dumplers, a sort of German sect that live in something like a religious society, wear long beards and a habit resembling that of friars. . . . It was certainly a very right policy to encourage the importation of foreigners into Pennsylvania, as well as into our other colonies. But it has been frequently observed, and, as should seem, very justly complained of, that they are left still foreigners, and likely to continue so for many generations. And they have schools taught, books printed, and even the common newspaper in their own language: by which means, as they possess large tracts of the country without any intermixture of English, there is no appearance of their blending and becoming one people with us. This is certainly a great irregularity, and the greater, as these foreigners, by their industry, frugality, and a hard way of living, in which they greatly exceed our people, have in a manner thrust them out in several places; so as to threaten the colony with the danger of being wholly foreign in language, manners, and, perhaps, even inclinations. In the year 1750 were imported into Pennsylvania and its dependencies 4,317 Germans, whereas of British and Irish but 1,000 arrived; a considerable number, if it was not so vastly overbalanced by that of the foreigners.

I do by no means think that this sort of transplantations ought to be discouraged; I only observe, along with others, that the manner of their settlement ought to be regulated, and means sought to have them naturalized in reality.

Dr. Smith's work was, therefore, the work of a statesman attached to his sovereign, and of a pious man attached to the religion of his church. For though, on this last matter, no provision was made for the inculcation of specific tenets of the Church of England, and indeed all such inculcation was carefully avoided, people educated in such schools as we have spoken of, and in which a man like Dr. Smith was a founder and leader, would necessarily be brought, in some degree, under his influence, and, without specific action on his part, gravitate more or less towards his own political principles and forms of faith. The Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, of the Lutheran Church, who was a co-worker with him, sincerely respected the Church of England, and afterwards was even a trustee of the venerable corporation, established A. D.

* Burke's Works, Vol. IX., p. 345—Boston edition of 1839.

1769, for the relief of the widows and children of its clergymen. Moreover, a portion of that church has always been disposed, I think, to recognize the validity of the Lutheran orders; as the church generally, I believe, does the validity of the Swedish and Moravian. Thus, even if the whole body of poor Germans passed into the Lutheran Church, a great gain—one almost quite satisfactory—was made to the Church of England, on their previous forms of faith; or, rather, on their previous want of all faith.

When we consider that at this time Dr. Smith was but twenty-eight years old, we cannot but see in his efforts a vigorous, comprehensive, and forecasting mind as well as fine executive power. That he had already made a great impression upon the best minds of Philadelphia, is shown by the fact that he had preached four times in this year in the conservative pulpit of Christ Church.

CHAPTER VII.

CHARTER OF THE ACADEMY ENLARGED AND POWER TO CONFER DEGREES GIVEN
—DR. SMITH'S SALARY FIXED AT £200—VARIOUS CORRESPONDENCE: ARCH-
BISHOP HERRING; DR. BEARCROFT; SECRETARY CHANDLER.

UP to this time nothing of a positive kind had been agreed on by the Academy for the support of Dr. Smith; and unless it could be elevated in character, Dr. Smith was not satisfied to remain in it. He therefore represented to the trustees that it would increase the reputation of the institution if it had the power of conferring degrees on such students and other persons as by their learning should merit them; observing that several ingenuous young men, not finding that they could get here that testimony to their acquirements, had left the Academy to go to other schools. He proposed, in short, to convert the Academy into a College. The trustees accordingly desired Dr. Smith and Mr. Allison to draw up such clauses as should properly amend the charter. They did this. The amendments were approved by the trustees. On the 14th of May a new charter was granted to the Academy, confirming the charter of July 13th, 1753, and giving the institution power to confer degrees. In this charter the institution is called a College,

and the names of Dr. Smith and Dr. Allison appear as Provost and Vice-Provost, as if appointed by the Governor himself.

On the 11th of July the salary of the Provost was fixed by the trustees at £200, and it was ordered that it should begin from the time of his first being employed in the Academy.

We have now a variety of interesting letters, which we give in sequence. They need no explanatory statements to introduce them. They explain themselves.

*Archbishop Herring to Dr. Smith.**

CROYDON HOUSE,
SURRY, January 19th, 1755.

REV'D SIR: As I was much out of order, & at some distance from London, Mr. Palmer did not call upon me, but sent your Letter. I find the Society have shewn a proper regard, & I am confident any man who comes to that Board wth your recommendation will be treated with all proper distinction. I am glad of this opportunity of professing to you, that I have the most honourable opinion of your character, & the utmost confidence, that you do all you can by a faithful & conscientious discharge of your Duty.

It gave me a particular pleasure to be assured, That the Gentlemen of New York have pitch'd upon you for President of their New College, to which I wish all possible success for the Advancement of our Common Religion & the good of the Publick Weal. The Trustees will do me honour in naming me in their charter, & they may be satisfied, that I neither have nor can have anything more in my view and at my Heart, than to support the Establishment of the ch. of England, in conjunction with the Act of Toleration. I hope all Dissenters of your & our side of the great water are convinced, that as they never did, so it is hardly to be imagin'd, they ever can, live under a milder Government both in Church & State, than they do at present, & if ever it should seem good to our Government to send Bp^s into America, for Ecclesiastical purposes only, it will not be looked upon, as I could hope, as an unreasonable Step; as the Case now stands with us, & you feel it. The church of England is the only set of Xtians in America, that do not enjoy their full Rights and Privileges in the Exercise & Polity of their Religion. Many of the Dissenters of Rank in England have a just sense of this matter and have declar'd it to me; so that if there are with you any active men of a different spirit, they will do well to consider, that as Peace is next to Truth, the best thing in Society, so Dissension & animosity are the worst. I hope your charter will be settl'd upon a Just Plan, & I am convinced that your Lieutenant Governor in

* Maryland Papers.

this as all other affairs, wh. come before him, will act w'th honesty & courage & prudence. I beg the favour of you to pay him my most affectionate respects. I am very sorry to hear that Mr. Whitefield's Preaching at Boston has been the occasion of such contention as appear'd there in last October.

I am, Rev'd Sir, yr. assur'd Friend,
THOS. CANTAUER.

The Rev. Dr. Bearcroft to Dr. Smith.

LONDON, February 17th, 1755.

REVEREND SIR: Mr. Barton,* God willing, will be the bearer of this, having happily succeeded in his petition thro' your Recommendation, and that of those other worthy Persons who bore witness to his merit, w^{ch} from the proofs of his Learning & good Conduct he hath by no means lessen'd here, & I make no doubt but he will prove a good & useful Missionary in your Province, w^{ch} I am very sensible the back parts of it stand very much in need of; may God of His mercy in due time supply them! & as I make no doubt but that nursery of Learning, over w^{ch} you preside, will, by God's Blessing on your worthy Endeavours join'd to those of your good Brethren, hereafter send forth Labourers into it. I thank you for the truly pathetick sermon preached by you at the death of one of your best Pupils;† it is a debt we must sooner or later all pay, & may we all duely think of it! In y^e mean time let us be all duely carefull in our several Stations to promote true Religion here, & we shall reap a glorious Recompence hereafter.

I remain, S^r,
Your affectionate Servant, &
Brother in Christ,
PHILIP BEARCROFT.

P. S.—It will always give me pleasure to hear of your Success & of the state of Learning & Religion in your Province.

TO THE REV^d. M^r. SMITH IN PHILADELPHIA.

Dr. Smith to Mr. Secretary Chandler, D. D.

PHILADELPHIA, Aprile, 1755.

REV. DEAR SIR: I had your several Favors by M^r. Barton, & shall lay them before the Trustees general, on the Return of such of them as are now gone to Alexandria in Maryland, to assist at the Congress between General Braddock, & the several Colony-Governors.

All Parties continue disposed to the Schools in the same Manner as

* The Rev. Thos. Barton, who was now returning to America. See *supra*, p. 77, and Appendix No. I.

† See *supra*, p. 73.

when I wrote you last. The Calvinist Coetus has addressed us in the most respectful Manner, & seem entirely satisfied.

At the Time I received your Orders, we had about eighteen Petitions for Schools before us, & had agreed to grant a greater Number of them than that limited in your Letter. We must, therefore, to save our Honor, take the Liberty to depart a little from that mode of appropriating this year's Funds, which is prescribed in your Letter. There will not be such pressing Occasion for such a large Number of Girl-Schools at first, nor perhaps for such a large Sum to the Ministry, many of whom are tolerably provided for. We hope, therefore, still to be able to maintain twelve Schools for Boys this Year, without passing the Bounds you have fixed in the Expence. As the Schools are the main Part of the Design, it would be imprudent to throw a Damp upon them at first setting out.

I sincerely thank you for your Professions of Friendship for me. I have had many instances of the Goodness of your Heart, & shall strive for a Continuance of your Favor, by those upright Methods which first recommended me to it. You may be sure I will very readily benefit myself by the Proffer you make of your good Offices for me in England.—Whenever you can serve me, I know no person to whom I would sooner lay myself under Obligations. Favors from you will be doubly such. The Delicacy of your Sentiments will never permit you to confer them, with the too common Insolence of flattered pride; and the Warmth of your Affections will bid you Share the Joy you Give!

You do me great Honor in mentioning my Name in the same Line, & in the same advantageous Light, with the name of my much admired Friend, M^r. Franklin—your approbation of my Sermon likewise gives me a sensible Pleasure; but as to your Apprehensions that we are seducing the Masses from their beloved English Haunts to our American Wilds, and your Threats of letting in the French upon us, to drive them back (seeing their coy *Ladyships* will never deign to dwell with Slaves), I can only look upon it as a Compliment; & that such a refined one as mocks a Reply. I am now more than ever convinced that you are in no Danger from us being rivaled in the Affections of those fair Ladies you mention with so much Tenderness. In vain have I had Recourse to all the Misses of my Acquaintance. I can find none among them that has Warmth of Fancy enough to return your Compliment without disgracing us.

But I have rambled from the main Purport of this Letter, which was not to enter into any private Affairs of our own, but to make known to you the State of the Old Presbyterian Congregation in this City; the members of which have lately addressed you, to provide them with a Minister. This Letter was to have attended their Address; but I could not, at that Time, find leisure.

It would be needless to give you a minute Account of the Occasion

of the late Separation among the Presbyterians in these Colonies. When Mr. Whitfield first came to these Parts, among several of his Doctrines, many run away with that of an instantaneous sort of Conversion or *new Light*, the Signs of which were Falling into Fits, Faintings, &c., &c.—To such an enthusiastic Pitch many well-meaning Persons of a warmer Temper could no Doubt work themselves up, & might, perhaps, mistake their own Enthusiasm for the inward Operations of the holy Spirit. But Persons of a cooler & more sedate Turn could not believe in the Possibility of such a sudden Change from the most vicious to the most virtuous Course of Life, unless by a Miracle, which was not to be expected in common Cases. Those last rather believed that the Spirit of God co-operating with, and strengthening, our honest Endeavours, the Heart and Affections must be purified and rendered fit for Heaven, not instantaneously, but by a course of Holiness stedfastly persisted in, & gradually approaching nearer to that Degree of Perfection required in the Gospel. This, in the ordinary Course of Things, they considered as the subordinate Means, & the Redemption by Christ as the meritorious Cause of eternal Salvation.

Hence, I presume, arose the original Distinction between New Light, & Old Light Presbyterians, by which the two Parties are now vulgarly denominated. The former followed Whitfield; and he & they did not fail to “deal Damnation round” on the other side, as well as on all Persuasions different from theirs. But tho’ this began the Difference, it was widened & continued by Matters relating to Church Government, as will appear in the Sequel.

With the same Degree of Extravagance with which Whitfield condemned his Adversaries, he extolled his Adherents, tho’ they had nothing to recommend them but their blind Attachment to his Doctrines. Among others, he proposed the two Tennents & some others to his Followers in this City as the only Gospel Ministers. One of them is a Man completely accomplished in all the Degrees of Ignorance & Weakness. The other I need not tell you of. He is the same you saw in the Character of a *Sturdy Beggar*, & who came recommended to you (as you told me) under the uncommon Name of *Hell-fire T—nt*.

Upon the Strength of Whitfield’s Recommendation this Man left his little Congregation in New Jersey & came to this Town an itinerant, as it was thought, on his Master’s Plan. He was sure to have the greater Part of Whitfield’s Mob after him; and of Course more than one-half of the Presbyterian Congregation follow’d, & stuck by him, as he professed himself a Presbyterian. Several others of the lower Sort did the same from other Congregations.

Tennent, finding he was like to have a greater Harvest in Philadelphia than elsewhere, projected & accomplished a Settlement for Himself in this City, to the great Disappointment (as I have been told) of Mr. Whitfield, who expected in Tennent an Itinerant only, & a Man after his own Heart.

As this Settlement was a Manifest Intrusion into Mr. Cross's Congregation, in Contempt of all Order & Right, Mr. Tennent had no way to justify it but to pretend that himself & several others of his Kidney who made the like Intrusions & Settlements in other Places, being a Majority, were the Synod, & those who adhered to the old Doctrines were Separatists. In Consequence of this the New Lights associated themselves into a kind of independent Synod, protests were entered, pamphlets published, & the Difference widened without any probability of a Reunion, but by the entire Submission of the Tennents, &c., who are certainly the Separating or Seceding party, which is not very like to happen, as they think themselves by far the strongest, & hope soon to swallow up the other Side by their Numbers.

To accomplish this, their first Method was to take Men from the Plough to the Pulpit in a few Months, by which Means they deluged the Country with their Teachers, having no higher Idea of the sacred Function than to think any person qualified for it who could *cant* out a few unintelligible sounds concerning Conversion, Saving Grace, Reprobation, Election, &c. ; without ever striving to adorn the Heart with the Christian Virtues of Meekness, Peace, Charity, Long-suffering, Kindness, and Forgiveness. On the contrary these Virtues, altho' some of the brightest Ornaments of the Christian Character, seemed to be industriously banished, & the Souls of the People soured, by the Orthodox Cursing, Railing, & Anathematizing, they daily heard from the Pulpit.

Tho' the Party were thus continually encreasing in Numbers & Biggotry, yet they soon began to think that they never could establish themselves in the Opinion of the world without consulting at least the Appearance of human Learning, which at first they thought unnecessary to the Character of a Gospel-Preacher. To complete their Scheme, therefore, they founded a Seminary, called the Jersey College, & have even got the Dissenters in England & Scotland, as you know, to contribute to the support of it, though a Nursery of Separation from themselves. You knew the design, but did not oppose it, being pleased, as I myself was, to see Learning encouraged in America, in any Stands whatever ; for true Learning, if they have Recourse to it, will in process of Time bring them to see that the Essentials of Religion do not consist in any of those little party-Tenets about which they contend so warmly.

But in the mean Time the old Presbyterians are in a difficult Situation. It would be giving up the Justice of their Cause should they accept of Ministers from a Seminary set up against them, & they would in a few years be entirely lost among the New Party, & so fall into the Trap laid for them. On the other Hand, they have no Seminary of their own nearer than New-haven, in Connecticut, & with the small Livings (made yet smaller by their Divisions) they find it impossible to answer the growing Calls of Congregations, by sending to G. Britain or Ireland for Ministers.

To redress these inconveniences, some of them have spoke to me about a project for ingrafting a Seminary upon our Philadelphia-College, which is erected upon the most extensive & catholic Bottom. The Scheme is this. They propose to collect about 12, or £1400, not to be laid out in raising superb Edifices like their Jersey-Brethren, but to the more humane & useful Purposes of maintaining yearly 6 or 7 poor Students of Genius & Piety to learn the Sciences & receive their Degrees under the Professors of our College, and to read Divinity at the same time under the eldest Minister of the Oldest Presbyterian Congregation, who is to have a small Salary for his pains out of the Fund. The Candidates for these Bursaries are to come recommended from the old Synod, & where more than the stated Number offer, the most Deserving to be preferred after due Examination in the public Hall of the College.

I thought proper to give you a Sketch of this Design beforehand, to know your Opinion of it. I shall afterwards do myself the Honor to join in the Application for your Encouragement of it, upon w^{ch} they must chiefly depend. Whatever you do for this, will be done for those who are really, not nominally, Presbyterians. It will also be the best Means of Union, & reducing the separating Party to Reason. For when they see the old Party in a Capacity of maintaining their Ground, a Treaty may then be entered into on a more equal Footing than at present, when the New-Lights soon expect to have all, by means of their prolific Seminary. Besides this, it will always, or at least for a long Time, be impossible to raise Clergy in America without Burses to encourage poor Students. Those who can be at the Expence of a liberal Education will hardly breed their Sons to the *Starvings*, not Livings, of the Generality of Ministers, in a Country where their money may be laid out to so much more advantage, any other way whatsoever.

In the mean Time the Congregation in this City can see no Way so good as applying to you for a Minister. M^r. Cross, the present worthy Minister, is very infirm, & his valuable Assistant, M^r. Alison, is not only engaged in one of the most important Offices in our College, but also so subject to pleuritic Disorders that it is feared his Life will be but of a short Date. At the Time I am writing this he is so ill, that his physicians think him in imminent Danger, & if he recovers I think they will advise him against frequent Preaching for the future. Both he & M^r. Cross are willing to see the Congregation supplied in their Life-Time with an able Laborer, who may animate & support their just Cause, when they are laid in Dust. This they think the more necessary, as the new Party have even had the Assurance to think of putting one of their Number into that Congregation.

To defeat this Design at present was not difficult, as they are capable to encourage an able Man to come over to be at the Head of the affairs of the Old Party, & to superintend the Students in Divinity, should the

foregoing plan take Effect. Since M^r. Tennent purged M^r. Cross's Congregation, the Remainder are some of the most substantial & sensible People of this place, & still a large Body. A Minister among them will be admitted into the genteelest Company in Town ; & what they have promised they will overpay.

Among others of this Congregation, you are not a Stranger to the Name of M^r. Allen, the chief Justice of this Province. Your own Ralph Allen, tho' a more public, is not a more valuable Character than his. Has your Allen an affluent Fortune and a correspondent Generosity? So has ours! Has your Allen inflexible Honesty, great public Spirit, & private Worth? Ours is admired for the same!

Permit me, then, if it may have any weight, to join him & the rest of the Congregation in Soliciting your Dispatch of the Affair. You may know, partly from this Letter, how pressing the Occasion is. They have put great Confidence in you; but they know the Character in which they have confided.

What they expect from you, if Possible to find such a one, is a Copy, or at least an honest tho' distant Imitation of yourself—A Gentleman & a Scholar; of good Sense & masculine Piety;—not a rigid Predestinarian, nor yet presumptuously excluding God from the Government of his own world;—fixed in his own Principles, yet not breaking the sacred Ties of Benevolence with those that differ from him;—& to crown all, a good & zealous Defender, as well as Ornament, of our common Christianity.

Should you succeed in this, you will have one good work more to reflect upon. The Congregation will have the Blessing of a faithful Pastor & of an agreeable Friend.

I am yours, &c.

W. SMITH.

CHAPTER VIII.

MASONIC CELEBRATION AND SERMON ON ST. JOHN'S DAY, 1755—DR. SMITH TO REV. THOMAS BARTON—TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—MR. BARTON TO DR. SMITH—GEORGE STEVENSON TO DR. SMITH—POLITICAL EXCITEMENTS—VARIOUS PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED.

IN the year 1755, of which we now write, General Braddock was carrying on his expedition to the Ohio, and the spirit which afterwards caused the Declaration of Independence had just begun to show itself. The Masonic Order, which had existed in America in an organized form since about 1730, had now become an important body. In 1754 it began the erection of its fine Lodge, which long gave to one of the thoroughfares of Philadelphia its title of Lodge Alley, and some of the most important citizens of Philadelphia were active members of the body. They were, indeed, a body of the highest character. John Penn, Benjamin Franklin, William Allen, James Hamilton, Thomas Cadwalader, Thomas Bond, John Swift, William Plumsted, William Franklin, John Wallace, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Lawrence, Edward Shippen, Joseph Shippen, Henry Bell, Charles Stedman, John Kidd, Thomas Boude, Samuel Mifflin, Richard Hill, Jr., and others not less respected, were the active persons of the Lodge in this day. Old Philadelphia had few better names. Dr. Smith took part in all their transactions. He had been made a Mason prior to his coming to Philadelphia, though where or at what time I do not know.

The Grand Lodge of 1755 determined to celebrate St. John's Day, being the 24th of June, with a ceremony worthy of their now established importance; and that the occasion might be the more impressive, requested Dr. Smith to deliver a sermon. Dr. Smith agreed to do so, meaning to make it "an earnest exhortation to religion, brotherly love, and public spirit in the present dangerous state of affairs."

On St. John's Day the brethren met at the Lodge room—Governor Tinker, of Providence, in the Bahama Isles, being apparently with them—and proceeded in state to Christ Church, preceded by

the band of music attached to one of the regiments stationed at Camp Town. They went in the following order: *

1. The Sword-bearer.
2. Two Deacons, bearing wands tipped with gold.
3. Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer, bearing the Bible and Constitution.
4. The Preacher.
5. The Grand Master, supported by two brethren of rank and distinction.
6. The Deputy Grand Master, supported in like manner.
7. The two Grand Wardens.
8. The members of the Grand Lodge.
9. The three orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, carried by three Tylers.
10. The three Masters of the three regular Lodges of the city.
11. The two Wardens of the First Lodge.
12. The two Wardens of the Second Lodge.
13. The two Wardens of the Third Lodge.
14. The three Secretaries of the three Lodges.
15. The three Treasurers of the three Lodges.
16. The visiting brethren, walking two and two.
17. The members of the First, Second, and Third Lodges, walking two and two.
18. The six Stewards, with their rods, walking two and two.
19. The Grand Master's, Governor Morris's, Governor Tinker's, and others of the brethren's coaches and chariots, empty.

When the procession came opposite Market street the echoes of the town were waked by the thunder of cannon, fired as a salute from the vessel of a brother, which lay opposite Market street, handsomely decorated with colors.

When the brethren entered the church, they were seated in pews which had been reserved for them in the middle aisle. Prayers were said by Rev. Dr. Jenney, the rector of the church, after which Dr. Smith delivered his discourse. The text was from the 1st Epistle of Peter xi. 17: *Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king.* The object of the discourse was to show that the observance of these three grand duties was not only the duty of

* See Westcott's "History of Philadelphia," a work published as yet in a weekly newspaper, but deserving a better form.

the ancient Society of Free Masons, but of societies of every kind. After the services the members of the Order withdrew; the cannon again fired a salute from the Delaware; the people again gazed at the drawn swords of the Tylers, and at the badges and jewels of the brethren; and with the band gayly playing the tune of the "Entered Apprentice's Song," the Lodges returned to their hall.

A meeting was there held in form. Through the kindness of Charles E. Meyer, Esq., I am furnished with a copy of the official minute:

At the Grand Anniversary and General Communication of Free and Accepted Masons, held in the Lodge Room, in Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 24th of June, A. M. 5755 & C. Æ. 1755.

PRESENT—The Right Worshipful W. Allen, Esq., G. M.; B. Franklin, Esq., D. G. M.; Dr. T. Bond, G. S. W.; J. Shippen, G. J. W.; W. Plumsted, Esq., G. Treas.; W. Franklin, G. Sec.

Members of Grand Lodge—Hon. R. H. Morris, Esq.; Dr. T. Cadwalader, Esq.; J. Hamilton, Esq.; T. Boude.

Visiting Brethren—His Excellency J. Tinker, Governor of Providence; John Penn, Esq., etc., and also the Masters, Wardens, and Members of the Three Regular Lodges.

Upon motion made, it was unanimously agreed:

That the thanks of this General Communication be given to our Reverend Brother, MR. WILLIAM SMITH, for his sermon, preached this day, before the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons in this city, and that he be requested to give a copy of the same for the press.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Grand Secretary.

In the whole, 130 brethren.

Later in the day the brethren dined together, and indulged in large expressions of loyal and fraternal sentiment.

We were now in the horrors of a French and Indian war. The religious Society of Friends were still the governing power of the province. They would do nothing to defend the people by arms. Braddock had been defeated with terrible slaughter. The matter became a religious controversy as much as a political and social one. The missionary clergy of the Church of England—devoted, as they mostly were, to the crown—publicly censured the conduct of the Quaker rulers, and called upon the people "to arm," and defend their homes. Among these clergy was the Rev. Thomas Barton, of whom we give some account in our Appendix No. I—a missionary at Carlisle of the Society for the Propagation of the

Gospel, for our then frontier counties of York and Cumberland. This gentleman preached at Carlisle, and at other places in the counties just named, just after Braddock's defeat, a sermon full of loyal feeling. He entitled it *UNANIMITY AND PUBLIC SPIRIT*, and naturally it had a complexion somewhat political. He was on intimate relations with Dr. Smith, and being urged by the people of his parishes to print the sermon, he sent it in MS. to Dr. Smith, to ask his judgment upon it, and to ask from him his views "on the office and duty of Protestant ministers, and the right of exercising their pulpit liberty in the handling and treating of civil as well as religious affairs, and more especially in times of public danger and calamity."

Dr. Smith wrote to him a letter as follows. Mr. Barton printed his sermon soon afterwards, with this letter as a preface :*

PHILADELPHIA, 21st August, 1755.

MY DEAR SIR : I have carefully read the sermon that came enclosed to me in yours of the 15th instant ; and cannot but think the subject well chosen, and highly seasonable. The thoughts you have chiefly dwelt on, are truly interesting ; and their frequent intrusion shews a mind more deeply impressed with its subject, than attentive to external niceties and method. But, for this very reason, perhaps, the sermon may be more generally useful to such readers as want to have the same truths set in various points of view ; so that I have been very sparing in my proposed alterations of method. Some transpositions and abridgments I have, however, offered to your consideration, agreeably to the confidence you are pleased to repose in me.

There is, if we could hit upon it in composition, a certain incommunicable art of making one part rise gracefully out of another ; which, although it is to be seen by a critic only, will yet be felt and tasted by all. To please in this respect is well worth our warmest endeavours. We are debtors alike to the wise, and the unwise ; the learned Greek, and the foolish Barbarian. None but a few choicer spirits, have sense and goodness enough, to be captivated by the naked charm of Religion. Vulgar souls need to be roused from the lethargy of low desire, and to have their love of God and goodness, excited and enflamed. Hence, Religion must be taught, as it were, to breathe and to move before them, in all the grace and majesty of her most winning and attractive form.

We shall, therefore, err greatly, if we flatter ourselves that it will cost us less labour to preach or write to the ignorant, than to the intelligent.

* The sermon is in 8vo., and the title-page states that it is sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall at the new printing office in Philadelphia ; by W. Dunlap in Lancaster, and in York county by the author.

To please and profit the latter, requires sense only. To please and profit the former, requires sense and art both.

I am obliged to you for your kind expressions towards me. An intercourse of compliment would ill suit the seriousness of our characters; and, in regard to any small services I have been able to render you, I am more than repaid in observing that I have, in some measure, been instrumental in supplying our poor back-settlers, with a minister of the blessed gospel; who, in this day of our visitation, will, to the best of his abilities, stem the tide of popular vice and folly, and disdain to appear cold to the cause of his God, his king, or his protestant country.

I know, however, that your appearing warm in these grand concerns, will even procure opposition to your ministry, as well as objections to all sermons of this kind. You will hear it said—"That a minister professing to be a disciple of the meek and blessed Jesus, should confine himself to subjects purely spiritual and eternal. What have the clergy to do with civil and temporal concerns? And as to blowing the trumpet of war, and declaiming against popery, a subject so long ago exhausted, what purpose can it serve, but to kindle the flame of persecution, and banish Christian charity from the habitations of men?"

These objections will seem plausible to many, though they will not so much be levelled against any particular performance, as against every protestant minister in general, who shall have the noble resolution to discharge the important duties of his office, in the present emergency. I shall, therefore, endeavour to strip such objections of their false varnish, and shew that to admit them in their full force, tends clearly to involve the world in error and slavery.

It is indeed a melancholy consideration that such a task should be necessary at this day, even under the happy auspices of liberty and a reformed religion. But I know that, in the course of your duty here, you will find arguments still wanting to combat prejudices of this kind, and even to plead before very partial judges the cause of a protestant ministry. And it is our good fortune that such arguments may readily be produced, even upon principles of reason and good policy, if those of a higher nature should be refused.

We may grant that, in the infancy of time, when men lived in a dispersed state, it was possible that every one might be priest as well as king in his own family. Not being as yet collected into larger societies, men were not then engaged in that constant round of action, which hath since been the lot of their short-lived posterity. Their manners were more simple; the distinctions between right and wrong were less perplexed; and they had leisure to attend not only to the dictates of a heart less corrupt, but also to those positive injunctions, received occasionally from God himself, conversing face to face, or handed down from their first parents, in pure and faithful tradition.

But although in these times of simplicity, as they are described to us, we may suppose every man capable of discovering his own duty, and offering up the pure and spiritual worship of his own heart, yet such a worship was too refined, abstracted and solitary, to last always. Human affairs soon became more complicated. Societies were necessarily formed; and this sacred intercourse of individuals, with the Father of Love, soon began to decay. The avocations of life made many forget it; and many more were too much sunk in ignorance and indolence, to mark those displays of wisdom, power and goodness, which ought to raise it in the breast. Such persons could see the sun set and rise, and could turn their sight upon the spacious sky, without adoring the Maker's greatness, or extolling his wisdom. They could wander, with unconscious gaze, in the midst of nature, neither listening to her voice, nor joining in her grand chorus to creative goodness.

Now it was easy to foresee, that this defection of individuals from their Almighty Parent, might not only spread itself into general corruption, but involve particular societies in temporal misery. It, therefore, became necessary to institute a social worship, by which all the members of a community might be assembled, in one solemn act, to give some public mark of that homage of heart, which was universally agreed to be due to the supreme head of the social system.

From this time, then, a chief ruler, to administer law and superintend the public weal, was not a more salutary institution, than the separate institution of an order of men to preside in these solemn acts of devotion, and to form the minds of the people to the knowledge both of law and duty. For action follows opinion; and, in order to act right, we must first learn to think right.

Thus, the priesthood seems to rest on the same foundation with society itself, and takes its rise from the necessity of human affairs, which requires some institution for assisting the busy, rousing the indolent, and informing all. Without this, every other institution for the good of mankind would be found imperfect; and there never was a society of any kind that did not find it necessary, under some name or another, to appoint certain persons, whose particular business it might be, to study and explain what was conceived to be the great interests of that society, especially to such of its members as had less opportunity or ability of informing themselves.

We see, then, that the office of such an order of men (call them priests, or by any other name) is important in its original, and noble in its design; being nothing less than the great design of making men wise and happy—wise in knowing and happy in doing what God requires of them.

But what is it that God requires us to know and to do as the means of happiness? Is it not to know and do homage to him as our supreme good, and to know and do our duty in the several relations he hath appointed us to sustain?

Shall those, then, who are called to instruct mankind be told after this, that things belonging to civil happiness fall not within their sphere? Hath not God himself joined the table of social duties to that of religious ones? Hath he not, in his benevolent constitution of things, made temporal wisdom and happiness introductory to that which is eternal? And shall we perversely put asunder what God hath so kindly joined? Or is it not evidently our duty, as teachers, to explain to others their great interests, not only as they are creatures of God, but also as they are members of a particular community?

The contrary doctrine would soon pave the way to entire wretchedness. For what nation hath ever preserved a true sense of virtue, when the sense of liberty was extinct? Or, in particular, could the protestant religion be maintained, if the spirit of protestant liberty were suffered to decay? Are they not so intimately connected, that to divide them would be to destroy both?

Indeed, languid and remiss as many of our profession are said to be, yet to them is greatly owing what sense of virtue and liberty is still left in this remote part of the globe. Had not they, or some of them at least, from time to time, boldly raised their voice, and warned and exhorted their fellow-citizens, mixing temporal with eternal concerns, most certainly popish error and popish slavery (perhaps heathen error and heathen slavery) had long ere now overwhelmed us! Where, then, would have been the blessings purchased by our reformation and glorious revolution? Or, where would have been that inestimable liberty of conscience, which, as the best things may be most readily abused,—

“Now views with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,

“Those very arts that caused itself to rise?”

POPE.

But further, in favour of the point in question, I might here also bring the sanction of God himself, and plead the example of our blessed Lord and master, that great high-priest and best preacher of righteousness, who had a tear—yes, a heart-shed tear—for the civil distress incumbent over the very country that crucified him, and would have led its inhabitants to shun their temporal as well as their eternal misery.

But this I pass over, as I know you will have to deal with those who will be for trying everything at the bar of what they call impartial Reason. I have, therefore, hinted such reasons as I think will hold immutably true, in societies of every kind, even in the most enlightened, and far more so in those that are circumstanced as we are at present.

We are a people, thrown together from various quarters of the world, differing in all things—language, manners, and sentiments. We are blessed with privileges, which to the wise will prove a sanctuary, but to the foolish a rock of offence. Liberty never deigns to dwell but with a

prudent, a sensible and manly people. Our general conduct, I fear, will scarce entitle us to this character in its proper degree. We are apt either to grovel beneath the true spirit of freedom; or, when we aim at spirit, to be borne, by an unbridled fierceness, to the other extreme; not keeping to that rational medium, which is founded on a more enlarged and refined turn of sentiment. Add to all this, that an enterprising enemy behind us is ready to seize every advantage against us. We are continually advancing nearer to one another in our frontier settlements, and have here no surrounding ocean, or impassable barrier between us.

Now, in such a situation, what can ever unite us among ourselves, or keep us a separate people from our crafty foes, but the consciousness of having separate interests, both civil and religious? It should, therefore, be the constant endeavour of the clergy, in all their public addresses, to inspire every bosom with a rational zeal for our holy protestant faith, and an utter aversion to all sorts of slavery, especially in the present emergency.

How far a just sense of our inestimable privileges, will contribute to exalt the genius of one people above another, is evident from the conduct of our brave countrymen, in the colonies to the northward. Their preachers have been long accustomed to dwell much upon the rights of Britons and of protestants. In consequence of this, to their immortal honour, they are now acting, as one man, like Britons and protestants, in defence of those rights.

Among us, on the contrary, where the few, who ought to explain those noble subjects, labour under many disadvantages, which I need not mention to you, a quite different temper and spirit are to be seen. We either think it unlawful to act at all in the assertion of these sacred rights; or if we act, it is only with half a heart, as if but half informed with that sublime spirit, which is kindled by the love of truth and freedom, and burns in the bosom, like some pure ethereal flame, lighting the soul to deeds of virtue and renown.

Every endeavour, therefore, to kindle up this all-enlivening flame, and exalt our country's genius, is truly worthy a preacher's character, notwithstanding ten thousand such frivolous cavils as those above mentioned; every one of which falls of course, on the removal of the fundamental one. For, having already shewn, that it becomes those who are placed as watchmen on the walls of our holy Zion, to "cry aloud and spare not," on the approach of everything that can "hurt or make us afraid," either in our civil or religious capacity; surely no warmth can be unseasonable at a time when all that we account dear or sacred is threatened with one indiscriminate ruin.

Those who are in good earnest, in the great work of instructing others, will suit themselves to seasons and occasions; and for a preacher to neglect the present opportunity of making impressions of holiness, and

diffusing a just sense of those excellent privileges, which are but too little understood, though fully enjoyed among us, would be the most unpardonable breach of duty.

It were, no doubt, sincerely to be wished, that the harsh voice of discord, and the clangor of the trumpet, could be forever hushed in the world. And we, in particular, who preach the kingdom of the Messiah, cannot but prize and even adore peace, as it is the chief of blessings, and auspicious to religion and all the best interests of mankind. But the greater this blessing is, the more necessary it often becomes to assert it against those who delight in violence and blood. There is no unmixed felicity in this imperfect state. It was only in Eden and the state of innocence, where the rose bloomed without its thorn; and till we are admitted into a kingdom of universal righteousness, we must not look for the blessings of peace, entirely free from the miseries of war. While we have public sins, we must expect public chastisements.

With regard to the last objection, which I said might probably be levelled against such sermons as yours, I would observe, that I think the subject of popery can never be exhausted, while the danger of it remains; and though it may be a subject well understood by those who have been long blessed with faithful Protestant pastors; yet this cannot be the case with those who have had so few advantages of this kind as your infant congregations.

Indeed, that you should be more than ordinarily alarmed at this most singular crisis, is not to be wondered at. For, while we sit as yet safe in our metropolis, your situation on the frontiers is most dreadful; and our last accounts from you are truly distressing to humanity—The army sent to your protection, defeated, retreating and leaving you defenceless behind them! murderers stealing through midnight darkness, and polluting the bed of rest* with savage death! Our poor back-settlers, who, after much hardship and toil, had just begun to taste ease and comfort, daily forced from their habitations, leaving their unreaped harvests to the spoiler; and—what is far more severe—leaving, some a beloved wife, some an affectionate husband, some a tender parent, a brother or a son—leaving them bleeding beneath the unrelenting hand of merciless barbarians!

In such a case, shall we be silent to avoid the imputation of too much warmth? Shall we expose ourselves to worse than persecution, for fear of stirring up a persecution of others? The rest of the foregoing objections would only lead us to give up all concern for the civil rights of our fellow-citizens; but this goes farther, and, under an extraordinary shew of benevolence, would induce us tamely to yield up our sacred truth and religious rights also, for fear of being thought rude and uncharitable to such as seek to rob us of them. Surely we may guard

*The inhuman butcheries and outrages of the Indians.

against *slavish* and *erroneous* doctrines, without any breach of our Christian charity towards those who have unhappily embraced such doctrines. And surely we may strive to awaken in every protestant bosom a due sense of our exalted privileges, and a noble resolution to defend them against every foreign invader, without kindling the flame of persecution against any of those who have peaceably sheltered themselves amongst us, upon the faith of a rational toleration.

Most certainly, my friend, all this may be done ; and I think it has been clearly shewn that all this ought to be done by every minister, and more especially those of our national church, which is the great bulwark of the protestant interest. And, indeed, we who belong to that church, can want no farther arguments on this head when we have the example of that great and good prelate* who now presides over it. In his *civil* capacity, I need not mention the noble stand which he made in his diocese of York, during the late rebellion. It will never be forgotten by Englishmen. And, in his *episcopal* capacity, when that danger was over, if you read his sermon preached at Kensington, on the Fast-day, January 7th, 1747, you will there find him as strenuously engaged for the preservation of the public virtue of his country, as he had been before for the preservation of its public liberty ; considering the one as inseparable from the other, and breathing forth that candid benevolence to his species, together with that tempered zeal for the protestant religion, and the rights of the British nation, which distinguish his character.

And here I cannot forbear the transcribing a paragraph of a late most excellent letter, which I had the honour to receive from him by your hands. It is not foreign to the subject we are now upon ; and I persuade myself that you will make the same good use of it, which, by the help of God, I shall strive to do. He says :

You will not only maintain, but certainly increase your credit, by promoting the interest of your country and the honour of religion ; in which I will venture to call it the *golden rule* of conduct, to keep strictly to the spirit of protestantism, and to preserve the dignity of our establishment, in the temper of every reasonable degree of liberty.——

This is a *golden rule* indeed ; and while we frame our conduct by it, we need not be awed by the faces of men, but boldly proceed to warn and exhort them in every species of duty. It is true, we have but few temporal advantages, in these parts, to support us in such a noble cause, but yet we are not left destitute of the most animating motives. Whilst others are proposing, and justly proposing, to themselves the palm of high renown, for bravely subduing and maintaining a rich and spacious country for the name of Britain and liberty, we may consider ourselves even in a still higher light, as subduing it to the name of Christ, and

* Archbishop Herring.

adding it to his everlasting kingdom! Compared to this, the glory of temporal conquests and foundations is but unsubstantial air, and short-lived renown!

Hence, then, my friend, were it my lot to be in your situation, at this perilous season, methinks I should consider myself as one who had advanced to the very frontiers of those places to which the gospel hath yet reached, and among the first who had unfolded its everlasting banners in the remotest parts of the West. Recede I would not, nor give back a single inch to the gloomy reign of Heathenism and Error; but would strive to subject still more and more to the kingdom of God and his Christ. To see the fire and vigour of youth spent in such a work, is indeed a most lovely spectacle, because they are spent in his service who gave us both youth and fire! And if we exert ourselves manfully in such a cause, who knows, but at length, through Almighty assistance, a flame may be kindled which shall not only exalt every bosom among us to an equality with the foremost of our neighbours, but shall also burn, and catch, and spread, like a wide conflagration, till it has illuminated the remotest parts of this immense continent!

I would not, however, be understood from anything here said, to think it expedient for ministers of the gospel to interfere any farther in civil concerns than is just necessary to support that spirit of liberty, with which our holy religion is so inseparably connected; for such a conduct might engage us in broils, ruffle our tempers, and unfit us for the more solemn part of our duty. Nor do I think we ought to dwell any farther on the errors of others, than just to enable those, with whom we are connected, to shun them; lest, instead of the spirit of true holiness, a spirit of vain-glory, self-righteousness, and hypocritical-pride, should be promoted.

'Tis true, as hath been already said, that we can never be too much upon our guard against the growth of a corrupt and slavish religion among us, but we may be in as much danger, on the other hand, from infidelity, a morose and censorious spirit, and a neglect of the practice of all religion. Hence, then, though on proper occasions, we are to rise with a noble contention of soul, against vice and error; yet still our favourite subjects ought to be on the brighter side of things—to recommend the love of God and our neighbours, together with the practice of every social and divine virtue.

I would just observe farther, though, in such circumstances as the present, sermons from the press may be sometimes both necessary and seasonable, yet I am far from thinking that this will be our most effectual method of serving religion, in general. We shall be vastly more useful in this cause by being much among the people committed to our care, and knowing how to accommodate our private as well as public instructions to their various dispositions and necessities.

That the author of every good gift may enable you to be more and

more useful in this and everything else that can adorn the character of a preacher of righteousness, is my sincere wish, as I cannot think myself indifferent to anything that affects the credit of your ministry.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

In the same spirit which prompted the preceding letter, Dr. Smith now writes* to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and gives some account of the conduct of the Society of Friends which had provoked the publication of Mr. Barton's sermon.

PHILADELPHIA, October 22d, 1755.

MY LORD: I take the Liberty of enclosing a Copy of a petition to his Majesty, subscribed by the principal Gentlemen of this City, & sent by this Conveyance to be presented. Copies of the same are now subscribing in the several Counties throughout the Province, & will be sent also to England as soon as possible.

The purpose of the Petition will be found truly interesting. Our Situation at present is such as never any Country was in. The Province is powerful in Men, in Money, and in all Sorts of Provisions. From twelve to twenty Thousand Men might be raised on an Emergency: & we could find Provisions for six Times that Number. And yet we have not a single Man in Arms, but our Lives & our all left at the Mercy of a Savage Crew, who are continually Scalping around us & among us. While I am writing this I hear of a large Number cut off on our own Frontiers. The Winter approaches & the King's Troops have left this Province, so that we have a most melancholy Prospect.—'Tis extremely distressing to think that we have Strength sufficient; & yet, by the very Government that owes us Protection, to be restrained from making Use of those Powers, which God & Nature gave us, to repel Violence, and prevent the Inroads of Injustice & Iniquity into the World.

'Tis far from being my desire to see any Sett of Men hampered by real religious Scruples; but surely if these Scruples unfit such Men for that which is the chief End of all Government (the Protection of the Governed), they ought in Conscience to resign to those who are better qualified. The Lives and properties of the People are things too sacred to be trifled with. And yet while our Government rests in the hands of *Quakers*, they must trifle on the Subject of Defence. They will suffer no Body to share power with them, & as they themselves can take no Part of a Military Power, so they are determined never to suffer it in the Province; & some of them say they would sooner see the Enemy in the Heart of the Country. For this Reason, when they are called upon to put the Frontiers in a posture of Defence, they con-

* From the original draft among the Smith MSS.

tinually introduce some Dispute about Money & privilege to evade the Question & amuse the People; Altho' no Money is required by a Militia-Law, but only the Authority & Sanction of the Government.

'Tis upon the same plan that they abuse every Clergyman who strives to rouse the attention of the people to their present Danger. If we endeavour to distinguish between the Popish & Protestant Religions in Order to keep the People firm to the British Interest at this Perilous Season, we are said to be of a biggoted and persecuting Spirit. If we exhort to a manly Defence of our inestimable Liberty, we are said to be Dabblers in Politics, & not Ministers of the meek and blessed Jesus. They are afraid of seeing a Spirit of Virtue and Freedom raised among the People, which would spurn those Quietist & non-resisting Principles which at present sway the Government of this Province.

For my Part I shall with my whole Influence oppose such Principles, which tend to subvert all Society. My Conscience, & Charity to our poor suffering back-Inhabitants, would not permit me to act otherwise. For this Reason, upon the general consternation that followed General Braddock's Defeat, I wrote to the Missionaries on the Frontiers as far as I knew them, exhorting them to make a noble Stand for Liberty, and vindicating the Office & Duties of a Protestant Ministry against all the Objections of the Quakers & other Spiritualists who are against all Clergy.

This Letter was soon after published & dispersed by the Rev^d Mr. Barton, together with a Sermon of his suited to the Times. The Letter I enclose, as it is short. It had a good Effect, especially as it described what I conceived to be the Duties of the Ministry in Times of public Calamity and Danger. I humbly beg your Grace to peruse it, because I found it necessary to make use of your Grace's Name & illustrious Example, in Order to give a Sanction to the Conduct recommended. Your Grace will perceive, in the last seven Pages, how good an Use I have made of those noble Principles of Liberty & Moderation, which your Grace was pleased to recommend to me as a Golden Rule of Conduct. I hope I shall be forgiven the Freedom I have taken in quoting that Rule, since it was intended for the Interest of our holy Religion & excellent Establishment. If this Letter shall but receive your Grace's Approbation, I shall prefer it to every other production that I have been capable of, because it was so seasonable & has been so useful in furnishing my Brethren with arguments.

As the Letter mentions your Grace's Sermon on the fast Day at Kensington, a very ingenious Lutheran Minister is now translating it into Dutch, to be printed for the Use of our Germans, among whom are Shoals of Roman Catholics. The Translator is extremely capable of the work, & it will be highly seasonable.

I would just observe farther that the following petition was written by me. I endeavored to keep clear of all Party Reflexions & to make

it general. As I love my Country I cannot help giving what Assistance I can to bring it into Order, & I hope his Majesty & his most hon^{ble} Council will think our Case worthy of their serious Consideration. I doubt not it will be thought worthy of your Grace's particular Countenance, who cannot but think yourself affected with whatever affects so many of his Majesty's Subjects, however distant. Your Humanity is as conspicuous as all your other public Virtues. It will do me singular Honor to be favoured now & then with a few Lines under your Grace's Hand, in whose Life & Well-being I think myself so nearly interested. Mr. Penn will find a Conveyance. I am,

Your Grace's Most obedient Servant & dutiful Son

WILL. SMITH.

P. S. Please to excuse the little Ceremony with which I am obliged to write, while Truth, Sincerity, & the profoundest Respect appear at Bottom.

The following letters—one from Mr. Barton, the other from George Stevenson—though from different places, are on the same general subject :

The Rev. Thomas Barton to Rev. Dr. Smith.

CARLISLE, November 2d, 1755.

REV'D SIR: Since I last wrote you I have been engaged in one trouble after another. We have had nothing here but alarms upon alarms. The back-settlers are daily passing through this Town, and leaving their long-toiled-for possessions to the rude spoiler; Women and Children hanging about their Husbands, imploring them to escape. In short, sir, every circumstance is heightened with the most shocking Accounts. A Letter from Harris's Ferry last night acquainted us that Andrew Monteur and Monachatouth were sent for to the big Island, who found there six Delawares and four Shawanese Indians, who informed them that they had received the Hatchet from the French to destroy the English, which they resolved to make use of while there remained one alive. Monachatouth is now upon his way to Philadelphia with some important Reports to the Governor. We are building a small stockade here, in which most of the country people are engaged. This town is particularly threatened, and we expect to be attack'd every Hour. I saw Yesterday a copy of a Petition to the citizens and Merchants of Phil^a for a Subscription. This Petition was directed to William Allen, W^m Plumsted, and Richard Peters, Esqrs., Messrs. Israel Pemberton, W^m. West, Samuel Hazard, and yourself. I mean the Petition intended to request these Gentlemen to hand it about. Whether it will be sent or no, I cannot tell. If volunteers will go out against the Enemy, I am ready to be one. I

know not where I shall be this day week. But wherever I am, I shall always be,

Rev^d Sir,

Your affectionate, hum^{ble} Serv^t,

THOMAS BARTON.

P. S. By advices just received from two Gentlemen in this County, we are assured that the great Cove is quite destroy'd, the Houses burnt, and the Inhabitants murder'd. We are in the most unhappy situation—nothing but crys and confusion. I wish the gentlemen of Philadelphia would enter into a Subscription for us. We shall otherwise be inevitably ruined.

*George Stevenson to Rev. Dr. Smith.**

YORK, Wednesday, 5th November, 1755, 3 o'clock, P. M.

REV^d D^r S^r: The grand *Quære* here now is, whether we shall stand or run? most are willing to stand, but have not Arms nor Ammunition; this is the Cry of the People.

I have sent repeated Petitions to the House, Letters to the Governor, to M^r. Peters, & one to M^r. Allen, but no Answer; for my own Part, I am in the greatest Distress. The whole Country run to me, and I have neither Arms nor Ammunition to give them, nor can Credit nor Money buy these things. With the Assistance of the Justices, M^r. Lishy, & some principal Men on the Spot, I spirit up the People all I can. We have sent fifty-three Men to Harris's last Monday from this Town. Such as have Arms stand ready, and we watch Night & Day. People from Cumberland are going thro' this Town hourly in Drovers, and the Neighbouring Inhab^{ts} are flocking into this Town, defenceless as it is. For the Distress of the People Westward, refer you to M^r. Dougherty, the Bearer. Schools, I can neither think nor say ought about.

I beg a few Lines to tell me what you see & hear, & whether any Relief is to be speedily expected from our Rulers.

Perhaps I may not be here to receive your Letter, but be sure write, for if I fly, it will not be to Quakers; I will go to Maryland. Excuse this Trouble. I must add that M^r. Barton heads a Comp^y, M^r. Bay another, &c., &c. I am, D^r S^r, with great Esteem,

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t,

GEORGE STEVENSON.

THE REV^d MR. SMITH.

The state of things mentioned in the several letters preceding produced, of course, a great deal of feeling, both in England and here. Many pamphlets were written. Mr. Westcott, in his "History of Philadelphia," describes them. So far as he speaks of those relating to Dr. Smith, we profit by his labors:

* Penna. Archives.

William Smith, Provost of the College, published, in pamphlet form, a representation of the condition of the Province according to the views of the Governor's party. The following was the title :

A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania, in which the conduct of their Assemblies is impartially examined, and the true cause of the continual encroachments of the French displayed ; more especially the secret design of their late and unwarrantable invasion and settlement on the river Ohio. To which is annexed an easy plan of restoring quiet in the public measures of the province and defeating the ambitious views of the French in time to come. In a letter from a gentleman who has resided many years in Pennsylvania, to his friend in London. Third edition, London. Printed for R. Griffith, in Paternoster Row, 1756.

This paper began by describing the condition of the colony. It was said that, in staples and provisions, it produced enough to maintain itself and one hundred thousand men besides ; that four hundred vessels sailed from Philadelphia annually ; that the inhabitants were computed to be two hundred and twenty thousand—one-third Germans, two-fifths Quakers, more than one-fifth Presbyterians, and some few Baptists. Complaints were made of the conduct of the Quakers. It was said that the Government was in fact more a pure republic than when there were not more than ten thousand souls in the colony ; that the inconveniences under such a state of affairs must continually increase with the numbers of the people, till the Government at last became so unwieldy as to fall a prey to any invader, or sunk beneath its own weight unless a speedy remedy was applied. It was declared that the Assembly had made itself independent of the Proprietaries. By voting or withholding the salaries of the Governors from them, it was alleged that they had wrested from the Governors the right of appointment to many offices. It was suggested that Christopher Sauer was a popish emissary, in the pay of the Quakers. He had told the Germans in his paper that there was a design to enslave them, and to force their young men to be soldiers ; that a military law would be made, heavy taxes enforced, and all the miseries they suffered in Germany would be renewed. The consequence was that the Germans voted with the Quakers, were under the control of that party, and always voted to keep them in power. Sauer was accused of attacking other preachers. One-fourth of the Germans were supposed to be Roman Catholics. The author of the pamphlet advocated, as measures of reform, the passage of an Act of Parliament

To oblige all those who sit in the Assembly to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, and perhaps a test or declaration that they will not refuse to protect their country against all His Majesty's enemies ;

To suspend the right of voting for members of the Assembly from the Germans until they have sufficient knowledge of our language and Constitution ;

* * * * *

To encourage Protestant schoolmasters among the Germans, in order to reduce them into regular congregations ; to instruct them in the nature of free government, the

purity and value of the Protestant faith, and to bind them to use a common language and the consciousness of a common interest;

To make all bonds, wills, and other legal contracts, void, unless in the English tongue; that no newspapers, almanacs, or periodical paper, by whatever name it may be called, be printed or circulated in a foreign language; or, at least, if allowed, with a just and fair English version of such foreign language printed in one column of the same page or pages, along with the said foreign language.

The publication of this pamphlet was speedily followed by others on both sides of the controversy. Among them are to be specified several of interest and ability. One was:

An Answer to an invidious pamphlet entitled "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania," wherein are exposed the many causes of assertions of the author or authors of the said pamphlet, with a view to render the Quakers of Pennsylvania and their Government obnoxious to the British Parliament and Ministry, and the several transactions most grossly misrepresented therein set in their true light. London. S. Batten. 1755.

In this publication the action of the Governors was attacked. It was alleged that they had endeavored to get the disposal of the public money into their own hands. The opinion of George Croghan, an "Irish papist," was quoted to the effect that the importation of Germans was a great benefit in settling the colonies. The passages in the "Brief State" which attributed immense power to Christopher Sauer, were ridiculed. It was said that Sauer had been useful in teaching the people their rights. The objections against the Germans were asserted to be false and malicious.

This was followed by another pamphlet by Dr. Smith, after Braddock's defeat, entitled:

A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the year 1755, so far as it affected the general service of the British colonies, particularly the expedition under the late General Braddock, with an account of the shocking inhumanities committed by incursions of the Indians upon the Province in October and November, which occasioned a body of the inhabitants to come down while the Assembly were sitting, and to insist upon an immediate suspension of all disputes and the passing of a law for the defence of the country; Interspersed with several interesting anecdotes and original papers relating to the politics and principles of the people called Quakers; being a sequel to a late well-known pamphlet, entitled "A Brief State of Pennsylvania." In a second letter to a friend in London. London. R. Griffith. 1756.

It had this motto:

To see the sufferings of my fellow-creatures,
And own myself a man—to see our Senators
Cheat the deluded people with a sham
Of Liberty, which yet they never taste of.
All that hear this are villains, and I one,
Not to rouse us at the great call of Nature,
To check the growth of these domestic spoilers,
Who make us slaves, and tell us 'tis our charter.—SHAKESPEARE.

In this pamphlet the dangers of the inhabitants were set forth. It was said that a militia law was wanted ; that the answer to the " Brief State " was written by one—formerly an attorney's clerk—who was convicted of forgery, sentenced to be hanged, transported to Pennsylvania, was not allowed to plead as an attorney here, and at the end of the time of his banishment went home ; that the day before the military bill was passed, four hundred inhabitants, chiefly Dutch of the best sort, came down from the back parts of Philadelphia county in a peaceable and orderly manner, not knowing what was done, and created an alarm ; the governor sent for the sheriff, &c. ; that the military tax would not have cost " the people two pence each, one with the other."

There were other pamphlets on the subject, but none that I know of by Dr. Smith.

On Christmas day of 1755 I find Dr. Smith in New York, and preaching in Trinity Church, in that city. After such conflicts as he had gone through with " the Friends " at home, we are not surprised at his seeking a little enjoyment on a great festival elsewhere.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CURRICULUM GIVEN ON PAGES 56-63 ADOPTED IN 1756—CHARACTERIZED BY THE PROVOST STILLÉ—CHARGES MADE AGAINST DR. SMITH—ALL EXAMINED AND ALL REFUTED—ACTION OF THE TRUSTEES—LETTER OF DAVID HALL.

THE curriculum which we have given *supra*, pages 56-63, under the date 1754, was conceived and written out by Dr. Smith nearly at that time. Being now, A. D. 1756, requested by the trustees of the College and Academy to prepare a Plan of Education for these institutions, he reproduced it, as already given by us at the pages named. It was adopted, and continued in use during the time he was its Provost. In 1776 it was adopted by the Rev. James Madison, in the College of William and Mary, in Virginia; and A. D. 1782 by Washington College, Maryland.

In regard to this Plan of Education the Provost Stillé, than whom there can be no more competent judge in America, says:

It is impossible to read this " Plan," remembering that a century ago all plans of education on this continent were experiments to be tried

under circumstances wholly novel and peculiar, without being struck with the sagacity, judgment, and far-reaching views of its author. Its best eulogy is, that it has formed the basis of our present American College system. He set out with the sound principle so frequently forgotten in our day, but quite as true now as it was then, "that nothing can be proposed by any scheme of collegiate education, but to lay such a general foundation in all branches of literature as may enable the youth to perfect themselves in those particular parts to which their business or genius may afterwards lead them; and scarce anything has more obstructed the advancement of sound learning than a vain imagination that a few years spent at college can render youth such absolute masters of science as to absolve them from all future study." The *curriculum* of study, both in the choice of subjects and in the order in which they were taken up, was not unlike that which until recently formed the general system of instruction in all our American Colleges. The period of study extended over three years, and during that time Juvenal, Livy, Cicero, Horace's *Ars Poetica*, Quintillian, and the Tusculan Questions were read in the order given. In Greek, the *Iliad*, Pindar, Thucydides, Epictetus, and Plato de *Legibus* formed the text-books. In Mathematics, the course was quite as extended as that now pursued in any College in the country, while in the department of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, and Astronomy occupied the attention of the students during a large portion of the Junior and Senior years. A good deal of time was given also (much more than in the present College course) to instruction in Ethics, and in Natural and Civil Law, as illustrated by History.

It may be safely affirmed that in 1756 no such comprehensive scheme of education existed in any College in the American colonies. We have Dr. Smith's own authority for saying, that this scheme did not exist merely on paper, but that it was faithfully carried out in its details, and with the most brilliant results, during the whole period of his connection with the College. This statement is confirmed so far as the instruction in Natural and Moral Philosophy is concerned, by an examination of the note-books of the lectures (which are still preserved) which he delivered on those subjects.

We now pass to a new matter. The political opposition arising out of the French and Indian war had brought with them personal animosities towards him. His pen, when animated by a sense of wrong, could be sharp and incisive; and he had not failed to exhibit in their true light and genuine colors the disastrous effects which the conduct of the Assembly of Friends had produced upon the Province. In addition to this he was now the recognized champion of the Proprietaries' interests—interests to which there

had arisen a strong opposition, Dr. Franklin being the real, though not much avowed leader of it. The result was numerous attacks, mostly anonymous, through the newspapers, on Dr. Smith's official and even his personal conduct. He was charged, among other things, with using his official place to teach to his classes doctrines inconsistent with those recognized by the Charter and Constitution of the Province, and, as some persons considered, with religion itself. Dr. Smith was desirous that all the charges should be investigated, as he felt sure that they would be all refuted. Accordingly a meeting of the trustees was called for the 5th of July, 1756. It was moved by one of the trustees that examination be made into their foundation, as the reputation of the Academy might be affected by them; and it appearing to the trustees that in justice to their own character, as well as that of their Provost, such an examination was very proper, it was referred to Mr. Peters, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Stedman, to make full inquiry into this matter, and report the same at the next meeting of the trustees, that it might then be considered what ought further to be done.

Upon hearing of the proposed investigation, the students of the Senior Philosophy Class presented to the trustees the following paper, which the trustees ordered to be entered on their minutes:

To the Trustees of the College of Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN: Whereas, several unjust and malicious Insinuations have lately appeared in the public Papers and been spread through the City by the Heat of Party against the Rev^d Mr. William Smith, Provost of this College, some of them designed to misrepresent his Conduct and injure his Credit with Respect to the Pupils under his Care; we whose names are hereunto subscribed being such of the Students of the Senior Philosophy Class as are now in Town, think it our Duty, in Justice to the Character of our respected Tutor, to certify to you that for near the space of two years last in which we have been under his immediate Care, he never did, in any of his Lectures, take Occasion to introduce any Thing relating to the Parties now subsisting in this Province, or tending to persuade us to adopt the Principles of one side more than another. We further beg Leave to certify to you that, in the whole Course of his Lectures on Ethics, Government and Commerce, he never advanced any other Principles than what were warranted by our standard Authors, Grotius, Puffendorf, Locke, and Hutcheson; writers whose sentiments are equally opposite to those wild notions of Liberty that are inconsistent with all government, and to those pernicious Schemes of Govern-

ment which are destructive of true Liberty. That he readily embraced every opportunity of applying Morality to the sublime Truths of Religion and Christianity—on which subjects he always dwelt with a peculiar and affecting warmth, cautiously avoiding all Party Distinctions and controverted Subjects; as a sufficient Proof of which, we now lay our notes of the Lectures, which he delivered upon the several Branches of Morality, before the Trustees; and any other persons willing to inspect the same may also be favoured with them, upon application to any of us:

JACOB DUCHE, JR. (in his 19th year),
 JAMES LATTA (in his 21st year),
 FRANCIS HOPKINSON (in his 19th year),
 HUGH WILLIAMSON (in his 21st year).

PHILA., June 21st, 1756.

The committee appointed to examine into the charges made a report in writing. It was thus:

REPORT.

Agreeable to an Order of the Trustees of this College and Academy, at their last meeting, Setting fourth that several Insinuations had lately been inserted in the public Papers, injurious to the Character of the Rev^d Mr Smith, and that the same, if just, might be of Disadvantage to this Institution, we, to whom it was referred as a Committee to inquire into the grounds of these Insinuations, do report, that we have perused the Publications made in the late News papers and are of Opinion that nothing therein insinuated ought to prejudice the College and Academy; because, on examination, it must appear to every one, as it really does to us, that no single Master can, by the Constitution of the College and Academy, carry on any separate or party-Scheme, or teach any principles injurious to Piety, Virtue, and good Government, without an evident failure of Duty in the whole Body of Trustees and Masters; the general Scheme of Education being fixed, a part of it assigned to every Master, The Visitations of the Schools by the Trustees monthly, and in the Interim between their Meetings, the Government, the Morals, and the Education of the whole Youth committed to the Faculty, which consists of the Provost, Vice-Provost, and Professors, who have it in charge to examine into and report to the Trustees at their Stated Meetings whatever shall appear wrong in any of the Professors, Masters or Scholars.

We have likewise, at the Request of the Trustees, examined and inquired into the Conduct of the Rev^d Mr. Smith, and do report that, during his Employment in his present Station as Provost of the said College and Academy, it has been becoming and satisfactory to us. His Application, his Abilities and Labours in the Instruction of his Pupils, have been attended with good success, and approved by the

Trustees and Audience, at the late public Examination of the Senior Philosophy Class, who are now recommended for Admission to their first Degree; moreover, such of this Class as are now in Town, consisting of Young Men from nineteen to twenty-one years of age—from a motive of Gratitude and Justice to M^r Smith's Character, which they think had been aspersed and injuriously treated—have laid before us their Note-Books, which contain the Substance of his Lectures to them on the Subject of Religion, Morality, and Government, which were taken at the Time they were delivered, and were always open to the view of the Trustees at their monthly or occasional visitations; and have voluntarily presented to the Trustees an Ample Testimonial of his Conduct towards them whilst they were his Pupils. From these facts, and our own personal Knowledge of Mr. Smith, we are of Opinion that he has discharged his Trust as a capable Professor and an honest man, and that he has given sufficient Evidence of the goodness of his Principles.

This report, having been fully considered, was unanimously approved by the trustees, who ordered the same, with the minutes relating thereto, to be published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a paper owned and edited by Dr. Franklin and Mr. David Hall; but of course controlled by the former.

The report, with its accompanying minute, was left by some of the trustees with Mr. Hall, to be inserted in the *Gazette*. He returned them, with the following letter. The letter reveals the beginning of an estrangement, which afterwards grew wider, between Dr. Smith and Dr. Franklin. Dr. Smith's friends subsequently adverted to Dr. Franklin's action in this matter as one evidence among others—exhibited more strongly from 1761 to 1763—that he or his known friends were willing to break down the College which he had himself founded, in order to break down a man who in it was now rising into political importance, and threatened in that department to become more potential than himself.

David Hall to the Trustees.

July 15th, 1756.

GENTLEMEN: Upon considering the Paper you left with me this morning, and finding in it notice taken of some Insinuations published to the Disadvantage of M^r Smith; but as those Insinuations were not published in our Paper, and as it has some Relation to the Party Disputes that have for some time subsisted, which we have carefully avoided having any concern with, I cannot but think it more proper to publish this by the same Channel through which the Disputes have

hitherto been carried on on both sides ; especially as, in all Probability, there will be some answer or Remark offered upon it, which we should be under a necessity of publishing if we printed this, and be thereby engaged in an affair which we all along have been endeavouring to avoid. I therefore *return* it to you in Time, that it may be published in the other paper, if thought proper, and am

Your very humble Serv^t,

DAVID HALL.

CHAPTER X.

QUARREL WITH ROBERDEAU, ETC.—FAST SERMON IN CHRIST CHURCH—MR. BARTON TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH VISITS HUNTINGDON—LETTER OF MR. BARTON TO DR. BEARCROFT—TRUSTEES TO THE SOCIETY—DR. SMITH TO DR. BEARCROFT—DR. SMITH TO BISHOP SECKER—ACRELIUS LEAVES AMERICA—DR. SMITH TO DR. BEARCROFT.

DURING the year 1756 the feeling between the Assembly and the adherents to the Proprietaries continued to run high, and among the latter Dr. Smith was prominent. Being on one occasion at the Coffee House (the Merchants' Exchange of that day, then recently established by Col. Bradford, and still standing at the southwest corner of Front and Market, a place which was for a long time the head-quarters of all genteel strangers and of our Provincial officers, as well as of our active citizens in private life), Dr. Smith was charged by some one of a circle with which he was conversing with an excessive devotion to the Proprietary party. He denied any excess of devotion.

One of the company, Mr. Daniel Roberdeau, made a public statement of what Dr. Smith had said, and Dr. Smith denying very positively that Mr. Roberdeau had rightly reported him, Roberdeau made an affidavit that what he (Roberdeau) had said was true. Singular enough to add, he went to Dr. Jenney, the rector of Christ Church, an aged man, never entering much into Dr. Smith's plans, and to the vestrymen and wardens of the church, and to the Rev. William Tennent and the elders of the New Presbyterian Church, and to seventy merchants, etc., of Philadelphia, and procured from them a certificate that, in their opinion, he (Roberdeau) was "an honest man"—the most ridiculous part

of the whole matter being that the allegation against Dr. Smith was that he had used these words :

I am not of one party more than another. I only dress the sentiments of the Proprietary side in proper language, and if it were not that there are men of sense among the friends of the people, I would do the same by them.

The matter became a town-talk. Gilbert Tennent was a Presbyterian, and personally no friend of Dr. Smith. His elders followed their master, and the "seventy merchants," being all personal friends of Roberdeau, and probably selected on that account, were not good witnesses against Dr. Smith ; independent of which there was no question about whether Mr. Roberdeau was "an honest man." Dr. Smith would, doubtless, have been willing himself to certify that he was so. The only question was whether he had rightly understood what Dr. Smith—in an animated conversation, in which several persons participated, and had got disputatious and "altogethery"—had really said.

The testimony of the whole body of signers to the certificate was of no relevancy to the issue, seeing that none of them were at the Coffee House at the time when the conversation occurred. And, as respected the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Tennent and his elders and the "seventy merchants," Dr. Smith paid no great regard to it. As respected, however, the rector, minister, vestry, and wardens of Christ Church, he felt somewhat aggrieved. They had been guilty of great forgetfulness of what was due to a minister of the church whose faith they themselves professed. He blamed them to their face, as did most judicious men. It is agreeable to add that they made the best *amende* that they could. It was in a document, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, thus :

Whereas, the vestry of Christ Church, in this city, have been blamed as if their late Certificate to the character of Mr. Daniel Roberdeau, now a Member of Assembly of this Province, had been granted to give him an Advantage over the Rev. Mr. Smith in the Dispute between them, we, the subscribers, members of said vestry, think ourselves bound to declare for ourselves severally, that when we signed the said Certificate we had no such Intention, and imagined that it was to be made use of in the Common Method of such Certificate, and not to be inserted among any public or Party Papers, with the View to prejudice a Gentleman for whose Character as a minister of the Church of England we have the

greatest tenderness, and who, during his Residence among us, has discharged the office of Provost of the College and Academy of this city with Reputation, and has occasionally officiated in the Congregation to which we belong, much to the satisfaction of the audience; nothing that we know of having ever been said to his Prejudice till the appearance of some Party Papers, during our late unhappy Debates, to which we paid the less Regard, as the true Character of men are to be taken from their Life and Conversation, and seldom to be learned from Papers of that nature.

Signed by the Vestry of Christ Church, Phila.

The truth was that good Dr. Jenney, who was now seventy years old, and had been struck with paralysis, had lost, in some degree, his mental power; and that his worthy assistant, Mr. Sturgeon, without age or paralytic stroke, had no such superabundance of his own as to be able to supply his rector's calamity. Rector, assistant, and corporation generally, had about this time, from the infirmity of the head of the corporation, fallen into the hands of a political party opposed to Dr. Smith. The whole history is given at pages 215-261, further on in this book, in a letter of Dr. Smith to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The *amende* was soon made more publicly honorable; for the government of Pennsylvania, having appointed the 21st of May, 1756, as a day for a public fast, Dr. Smith was invited by Dr. Jenney to preach in Christ Church. His sermon, which is printed in his collected works,* was on "hardness of heart, and contempt of God's merciful visitations," which he declared to be "the certain forerunners of more public miseries." He applied the subject to the colonies in a parallel between their state and that of the Jews in many remarkable instances, alluding pathetically to the misery under which the Province was groaning in consequence of Braddock's defeat, and the inroads of the French and savages on the distressed and hapless frontier; a subject which seems to have taken possession—as it might well take possession—of the mind and heart of Dr. Smith as a Christian and a patriot.

Dr. Smith sought to promote the cause of the crown not only from the pulpit, but apparently in some political organizations in the interior. We thus interpret the first part of the following letter. The questions before the country were questions of life and death; of the supremacy of infuriated savages, with the tomahawk in

* Vol. II., p. 91.

their hands, or of a civilized government protecting its citizens from them. In such a moment he felt that his rights and duties as a man and as a citizen were not destroyed by his profession as a minister. His views of the duties of the clergy in such a case are already given in his letter to Mr. Barton.*

It appears from this letter, we may add, that Dr. Smith was himself contemplating a journey towards the frontier. He afterwards made it, as appears by his own letter (*infra*) of November 1st, 1756, to the Bishop of Oxford, and by a letter which we now give, from Mr. Barton to Dr. Bearcroft, the Secretary of the Propagation Society. Though the letter of Mr. Barton does not all relate to Dr. Smith, it all relates to a subject in which he interested himself, and it all has connexion with our proper subject. In this visit Dr. Smith went as far west as Huntingdon, on the Juniata. He was accompanied by Mr. Secretary Peters, George Croghan, and Conrad Weiser. The object of the visit appears from the letter of Mr. Barton to have been in the interest of the Free Schools, but I find no account of his having established a school at Huntingdon. In a memoranda made by him at this time he mentions having baptized upwards of an hundred persons, many being children brought by their parents more than fifty miles, in order to receive the sacrament. In a list of their names I find that of Brotherline, Parkerson, Edmerson, Sell, Swank, Dean, Weston, Spanogle, Nearhoof, Drake, Prigmore, Ingard, Shirly, Hoffman, Westbrook, etc., etc.

It were but fair to suppose that the Rev. Mr. Barton was the first Episcopal clergyman stationed at Huntingdon. At that time there could have been none farther west.

The Rev. Mr. Barton to Rev. Dr. Smith.

CARLISLE, September 23d, 1756.

REV^d DEAR SIR: I wish I had received yours sooner, I would have recommended to you to procure a letter from M^r Alison to M^r Thompson, and one from M^r Tennant to M^r Bay. I am afraid the Scheme is come too late; The Country has already settled a Ticket so that it will be no easy Matter to prevail upon them to change it. However, rest assured, I shall use my utmost Endeavour; as will also Mr. Lishy; who has been with me about it.

I am not surprised that all is Confusion with you, for the British In-

* *Supra*, p. 110.

terest seems to totter! Braddock defeated!—Minorca taken!—Oswego destroyed,—I had like to have said sold!—Our Fellow Subjects daily murder'd, & carried into Savage Captivity;—and a great Part of Pennsylvania already depopulated & laid waste!

The present War seems big with Ruin! God knows what may be the Issue, but the English Colonies on this Continent have Reason to dread the sad Effects of it. We are Ten Times the Number of the Enemy, but our Misfortune is, that we do not cherish that Harmony & Unanimity that was formerly wont to make Englishmen terrible.

Some of our petty Colonies are, at this Time, aiming at separate Interests & independent Glory;—Some think the Danger at a Distance, and therefore will not be concern'd;—Others either swarm with Papists, or are govern'd by a Set of Men whose religious Principles are contrary to the very Nature & Design of Government, & will not part with their peaceable Testimony to rescue the Country from Destruction.

As you will no Doubt have a full Account of M^r Armstrong's Expedition to the Kittannon in the Papers, I shall only observe to you, that the famous Captain Jacobs fought, & died, like a Soldier. He refus'd to surrender when the House was even on Fire over his Head; And when the Flame grew too violent for him, he rush'd out into the Body of our Men flourishing his Tomahawk, & told them he was born a Soldier; & would not die a Slave.

If you should come as far as York, I should be glad to see you, having some affairs to communicate to you. I faithfully assure you that I am,
Your affectionate Friend & Serv^t,

THO. BARTON.

TO THE REV^d M^r WILLIAM SMITH.

Mr. Barton to the Rev. Dr. Bearcroft.

HUNTINGDON IN PENNSYLV^a, Nov^r 8th, 1756.

REVEREND SIR: It gives me a real concern that I have never been able to send you any accounts since I entered upon my mission till now. Our distresses here have been such that in short I knew not what to write or what to do. These considerations will I hope still support me in your esteem and incline The Hon'ble Society to pardon me, as I intend to be the more particular now to atone for my past silence; I foresee a long letter and must therefore bespeak an indulgence.

After a short and very agreeable passage I arriv'd at Philadelphia about the 16th of April, 1755, and immediately wrote to the people of Huntingdon who came generously with their waggons and brought away my effects. As soon as I settled my affairs and visited my friends I set out for this place about the latter end of May, when I was received with a hearty welcome, and was much pleased to find the poor people fill'd with gratitude under a due sense of the weighty obligations they were under to the Hon'ble Society for the favors confer'd upon them, and

what pleased me still more was, to hear that they had struggled hard to keep alive some sense of religion among their children by meeting every Sunday and getting one of the Members to read prayers to them.

My first business was to visit and make myself acquainted with the State and members of the Congregation at York, Huntingdon and Carlisle, and having settled Wardens & Vestrymen in each, they all met and according to their numbers agreed mutually that I should officiate three Sundays in six at Huntingdon, two at Carlisle and one at York. Upon hearing that within the limits of my mission there were large numbers of the Communion of the Church of England in the Settlements of Canogochieg, Shippensburg, Sharmans Valley, West Penns-Borough and Marsh Creek, I determined to visit each of those places four times a year to prepare them for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and to baptize their Children.

I had the pleasure to see my hearers encrease daily; which amounted to such a number in a few weeks at Huntingdon that I have been sometimes obliged to preach to them under the Covert of the Trees, and when it was my turn at Carlisle, I am told that people came 10, 50 and some 60 miles. The Dissenters also (who are very numerous in these parts) attended constantly & seemed well disposed, always behaving themselves decently and devoutly. The more rational part of them appear well reconciled with our Church and some of the principal of them offer'd generously to subscribe to me.

I now began to consider myself (as the Rev^d Mr. Provost Smith expresses it in a letter to me), "as one who had advanced to the very frontiers of the Messiah's Kingdom and among the first who had unfolded his everlasting Banners in the remotest part of the West."

From the advantage of my situation bordering upon nations of Savages I entertained strong hopes that it might please the Lord to make me a happy Instrument to subject some of these poor ignorant Creatures to the Kingdom of God and of Jesus Christ, and hearing that a number of them were come down from the Ohio to Carlisle to dispose of their furr and Deer Skins, I made it my business to go among them and endeavour as much as possible to ingratiate myself into their good opinion. Next morning I invited them to Church, and such of them as understood any English came and seemed very attentive the whole time. When I came to visit them in the afternoon those that had been at Church brought all their Brethren to shake hands with me; and pointing often upwards discoursed with one another some time in their own language, I imagine they were telling them what they had heard, and indeed I observed them to be pleased with the relation.

This gave me reason to think that the Indians were willing to be instructed and were susceptible of good impressions; and if they found Missionaries divested of sinister and selfish motives they could easily be

prevailed upon to exchange their savage barbarity for the pure and peaceable religion of Jesus.

Just when I was big with the hopes of being able to do service among these tawny people we received the melancholy News that our forces under the Command of General Braddock were defeated on the 9th of July as they were marching to take Duquesne, a French Fort upon the Ohio. This was soon succeeded by an alienation of the Indians in our Interest, and from that day to this poor Pennsylvania has felt incessantly the sad effects of Popish Tyranny and Savage Cruelty! A great part of five of her Counties have been depopulated and laid waste and some hundreds of her sturdiest Sons either murdered or carried into barbarous Captivity.

At a time of such publick calamity and distress, you may easily conceive, Rev^d Sir, what must be my situation whose fortune it was to have my residence in a place where these grievances were felt most. I repine not, however, at my Lot in being placed here; but rather esteem it a happiness, since I hope I may say God has enabled me to do some service to our pure Protestant Religion, in spite of its most inveterate Enemies.

Tho' my Churches are Churches militant indeed, subject to dangers and trials of the most alarming kind, yet I have the pleasure every Sunday (even at the worst of Times) to see my people crowding with their Muskets on their Shoulders; declaring that they will dye Protestants and Freedmen, sooner than live Idolaters and Slaves. The French King has rather served than injured the Protestant Cause in these parts, For the people have seen so much of the cruel Barbarities of those who call themselves the subjects and allies of His Most Christian Majesty, that they detest the very name of Popery.

Among a people thus disposed I should think myself extremely happy, were they barely able to keep me above want, which at present, indeed, they are not. It is but a little time since these Counties were erected. They were chiefly settled by poor people, who, not being able to purchase lands in the interior parts of the Country, came back where they were cheap. Many of them were so low at first, that two families were generally obliged to join in fitting out one Plough; and before they could raise a subsistence were necessitated to run in debt for a Stock and for what maintained them in the Interior. As soon as they became industrious, the fertile soil gave them a hundred fold, and in a little time rais'd them to affluence and plenty. When they were just beginning to feel the comforts and taste the fruits of their industry, a barbarous and cruel enemy came and ruined them! The County of Cumberland has suffered particularly, and the condition of its remaining shatter'd Inhabitants is truly deplorable! Many of them are reduced to real poverty and distress; groaning under a burden of calamities; some having lost their Husbands, some their Wives, some their Children; and

all, the labour of many years ! In this Condition (my Heart bleeds in relating what I am an Eye-witness to), they now wander about, without Bread of their own to eat, or a house to Shelter themselves in from the Inclemency of the approaching winter ! They have left many thousand Bushels of Wheat and other Grain behind them in their Barns and Store-houses, which must become a Spoil to the Enemy, while the just owners of it must either beg or Starve ! Since I sat down to write this Letter, I have received accounts that a poor family had fled for refuge into this Country above six months ago, where they have remained ever since ; but finding they could not subsist, chose, a few days ago, to run the risk of returning home to enjoy the fruits of their labour, where they had not time to unlode their Cart before they were seized by Indians, and murdered.

Carlisle is the only remains of that once populous County. They have a Garrison of about 100 Men, but how long they will be able to defend themselves is very uncertain, as the Enemy have threatened that place in particular. They still have their share of my ministrations, and seem extremely thankful to the Hon^{ble} Society, upon whose bounty I am chiefly supported.

By the reduction of Cumberland the County of York is become the frontier, and should the Enemy carry their ravages this far, I shall be a considerable sufferer, for upon my arrival at Huntingdon, I found the Glebe still under its native woods, and the people not able to make any improvement upon it. This put me under the necessity of purchasing a small plantation and building on it at my own expense, by which means I embarrass'd myself in debt, in hopes the people would assist me in paying for it, which, indeed, they promised to do. But this dismal turn in our affairs renders it impracticable. From York I have still less to expect, as the Town is chiefly inhabited by Dutch, and not many of our Communion among them. Upon the whole, I believe the people will be able to do very little for me, till we have some favourable change. I do not design, Rev^d Sir, by anything I have said, to derogate from the merit of my good parishioners ; that would be ungrateful, as I have reason to think that they are a worthy, well-disposed and kind sort of people, who possess the greatest friendship and esteem for me, and am persuaded would willingly do anything in their power to afford me an easy support and maintenance.

This mission in a few years would have vied with the ablest in this province, as it was in a flourishing state and could not contain less than 2,000 persons, Members of the Church of England ; but so melancholy is the transition, that it cannot afford to build one Church ; so that I officiate sometimes in a barn, sometimes in a waste house, or wherever else convenience offers.

I have baptized since my arrival 160 Infants, 10 Adults, and an Indian Girl, who has been brought up in a Christian family since her Infancy ;

after due examination and instruction. The Number of my Communicants is 58, which I have but little expectation of encreasing, till this Storm is blown over! But I assure you, Rev^d Sir, no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to bring many to Righteousness. Whatever hardships or discouragements may attend my Ministry, I hope I shall ever keep in view the importance of my undertaking, and always strive to answer the pious and laudable designs of the Hon^{ble} Society in appointing me their missionary; by doing all in my power to promote the Glory of Almighty God and the Salvation of Mankind. I received lately from the hands of D^r. Jenney the Society's Instructions to their Missionaries in North America, which are very seasonable and justly adopted to our present circumstances; and if duly observed and properly enforced, may do infinite service to our bleeding Country.

I have often observed and indeed regretted it as a misfortune that our Missionaries in this part of the World are so little acquainted with one another, And though in the 12th instruction of the Society's collection of papers, it is recommended to them to "keep up a Brotherly correspondence by meeting together at certain times as shall be most convenient for mutual advice and assistance," yet no such thing is observ'd and I dare affirm that many of them have never had an opportunity of conversing with four of their Brethren since they left England. How many advantages we shall lose by such a neglect at this time of publick and eminent danger, I shall submit to the judgment of the Hon^{ble} Society.

M^r. Provost Smith has been lately up here to settle Free Schools, who is the only Episcopal Clergyman, beside M^r. Secretary Peters, that I have had the happiness of seeing in these Counties since I came into them. M^r. Smith has been pleased to communicate to me the Hon^{ble} Society's design to extend their care to the instruction of Indian Children at the Academy in Philad^a. Which good scheme I believe M^r. Smith will heartily endeavour to put into execution & do everything in his power to make it answer the glorious ends proposed by it. If I can assist him in any part of it, he shall always find me ready and willing to do it. Happy had it been for us had this scheme been resolved upon many years ago. For it is probably from the neglect of this necessary duty of instructing the Indians, that these Colonies derive the greater part of the Miseries they now sadly groan under.

While the French were industrious in sending Priests and Jesuits among them, to convert them to Popery, we did nothing but send a set of abandon'd profligate men to trade with them who defrauded and cheated them, and practic'd every vice among them that can be named, which set the English and the Protestant Religion in such a disadvantageous light, that we have reason to fear they detest the name of both.

It is said by some of our Brethren who have lately escaped from captivity that they heard the Indians say they thought it no Sin to Murder

the English, but rather a meritorious Act, and if it was a Sin the French had old Men among them who could forgive all Sins. Others observe that they crossed themselves every Night and Morning and went to prayers regularly. That they often murmur'd and said the English it was true had often made them trifling presents, but that they took care they should never carry them many Miles before the Traders came after them, to cheat them, giving them only a little Rum in return. Whereas the French always paid them well for their Skins, &c. ; built houses for them; instructed their children and took care of their wives when they went to war.

By such neglect and such treatment have we forfeited an alliance that would in all probability have secured to us a quiet enjoyment of our possessions and prevented the dreadful consequences of a Savage War.

Several Sachims or Indian Kings in their Treaties formerly with this Government earnestly solicited that no European should be permitted to carry Rum to their Towns; Upon which an Act was pass'd by the Governor and Assembly of this Province, prohibiting any person under a penalty of Ten pounds, to sell, barter, or give in exchange, any Rum or other Spirits to or with any Indian within the province. But the difficulty of producing proof against offenders, as they were chiefly far back in the Woods, where they would deal clandestinely out of the view of any but themselves, made this Act not answer the good intentions of the Legislature. So that the Traders still continued to sell strong Liquors to the Indians, whereby they were often cheated and debauch'd to the great dishonor of Almighty God, Scandal of the Christian Faith, and hindrance of propagating true religion among them. Yet I don't despair but some methods may be fallen upon to reclaim them, and make them sensible that their attachment to the English will be their truest interest, and greatest happiness.

And indeed (in my humble opinion) nothing can promise fairer to produce these happy effects than this scheme proposed by the Hon^{ble} Society. In the conversion of Indians many difficulties and impediments will occur, which European Missionaries will never be able to remove. Their Customs and manner of living are so opposite to the Genius and constitution of our people that they could never become familiar to them. Few of the Indians have any settled plan of habitation but wander about, where they can meet with most success in hunting, and whatever Beasts or Reptiles they chance to take are food to them. Bears, Foxes, Wolves, Raccoons, Pole Cats and even Snakes, they can eat with as much cheerfulness as Englishmen do their best Beef and Mutton. But such hardships are easily surmounted and such an austere life made agreeable, by such as from their infancy have been accustomed to them. So that Indian boys educated at the Academy under the care of able Masters, where they can be visited by their relations and taught every thing necessary for them to learn, at an easier

expencc than in any of the Universities in Europe, will be first to be employed in this Grand and Glorious work and the most likely to succeed in it.

However defective these thoughts may be, I have ventured, Rev^d Sir, to communicate them freely; and if I have luckily dropt any hint that can be improv'd to the advantage of this important scheme, I shall esteem it a happiness; As I shall always think it my duty to pay the highest regards to the Hon^{ble} Society's directions.

I might justly incur the censure of ingratitude, did I conclude this Letter without presenting my most hearty thanks, which I sincerely do, to that Hon'ble Body for appointing me their Missionary. And I shall ever retain a grateful sense of the many friendships and favours where-with I was honour'd when in London by particular Members of it.

I am, Rev^d Sir, &c.

THOMAS BARTON.

We now come back to the agreeable topics of the schools for poor Germans and of educating Indian children; the progress of the former and the practicalness of the latter is interestingly told in the following letters, the first one doubtless from the pen of Dr. Smith as much as the last.

The Pennsylvania Trustees to the Society in London:

PHILADELPHIA, September 24th, 1756.

To the Right Honourable and worthy Members of the Society for promoting religious Knowledge and the English Language among the German Emigrants in Pennsylvania, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN: We have been duly honoured with your several Letters thro' the Hands of your worthy Secretary and Fellow Member, the Reverend Dr. Chandler, part of which have been directed to Us jointly, and part to the Reverend Mr. Smith. We have, from Time to Time, faithfully endeavoured to follow your Orders and Instructions, and beg Leave to assure You of the sensible Pleasure it gives Us to find our Conduct approved by such an honourable Body of Men, in the Management of so useful and excellent a Charity. But nothing, in this whole Business, gives Us more real Satisfaction than to be so strongly assured, in your Letter of January 28th, 1755,—“ That
“ the whole of what you aim at is, not to proselyte the Germans to any
“ particular Denomination, but (leaving all of them to the entire Liberty
“ of their own Judgments in speculative and disputed Points) to spread
“ the knowledge of the avowed uncontroverted Principles of Religion
“ and Morality among them, to render them acquainted with the
“ English Language and Constitution, to form them into good Subjects
“ to His Majesty King George, whose protection they enjoy, and make

“ them Friends to the Interests of that Nation which hath received them
“ into her Bosom, blessed them with Liberty, and given them a Share
“ in her invaluable Privileges.”

Such a noble and generous Declaration is truly worthy of the noble and generous Spirits from whence it comes. It is worthy of Men who have embarked on a Principle of Doing Good for its own Sake, and who, by their Birth, Education, and liberal Turn of Mind, are elevated far above the narrow Distinctions that blind the Vulgar. We have likewise the Honour to assure You, that such a Declaration is also perfectly agreeable to our Sentiments, who, by Reason of our Publick Situation in this Country, could never have engaged in the Management of any partial Scheme. Nor indeed would such Scheme have answered, in any Shape, your pious and noble Design. For whatever is proposed for the Benefit of the German Emigrants must, in its Nature and Plan, be as Catholic and General as their Denominations are various; especially as far as regards the Education of their Children; in which Point they are exceeding jealous and tenacious of their respective *Dogmas* and *Notions*.

We ought long ago to have addressed You in this public Manner, but have been hitherto prevented; partly by the great Distress of our Country and the frequent Absence of many of Us from Town; and partly by the necessary Time it took to give You a Notion of the Expence, and settle Accounts of various Articles and different Commencements, in such a manner as to commence from stated Periods in Time coming. Nevertheless, although these Things have delayed this public Letter, and may perhaps sometimes have interrupted the Course of our more private Intelligence, yet We have not been wanting in our Attention to the Progress of the Schools. It will appear by the Minutes sent You to June 16th last, and by those which accompany this Letter, that Messieurs Smith and Schlatter have done their Part; and some of Us in our Journey to the Frontiers have also occasionally visited several of the Schools.

Upon the whole, they are in as promising a State as can reasonably be expected in a Country so much harrassed by a Savage Enemy, and subject to so many Alarms to disturb that Peace and Tranquillity which are so essentially necessary to the Cultivation of Knowledge. You are already informed that three of the Schools We had planted have for some Time past been entirely broken up, being near the Frontiers, where the People for near a year have been flying from Place to Place, and but little fixt in their Habitations. The other Schools remain much in the same State as when You received our last Minutes; and We are now not without Hopes of enjoying more internal Quiet for the future and keeping our Enemy at a greater Distance.

Along with this, You will receive the Remainder of the Minutes and a State of the Accounts to July 1st, by which You will find, that, including the Purchase of the Press, £600, the Sum already drawn for is

expended for one Year and a half, excepting a very small Balance, and the Outstanding Debts, which We shall give Credit for as fast as they can be collected in. We must now continue to draw £100 Quarterly, till We receive your further Orders. This will do our Business, and We hope so good a Work will not be suffered to drop for want of that Sum. The carrying on the printing Work has been expensive at first setting out; but great part of that will in Time be defrayed by the debts due in the Country. And 'tis also to be considered that the distributing religious Books was part of our Design; for which Reason We were at a considerable Expence with the Dutch Copy of the "Life of God in the Soul of Man," 500 Copies of which are yet remaining, and the other 500 are gone out among the People, and have proved most acceptable at this Time.

Permit Us to assure You that We shall at all Times think Ourselves happy in contributing every Thing in our power, under so illustrious a Society of Men, to the forwarding such an excellent Design, for the Honour of Great Britain, and the Benefit of those poor People who have taken Refuge under her Wings, and with due Care may be preserved as his Majesty's most faithful Subjects, and zealous Defenders of the Protestant Cause.

We have the Honour to be

Your most obedient and most humble Servants,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,	JAMES HAMILTON,
CONRAD WEISER,	WILLIAM ALLEN,
WILLIAM SMITH,	RICHARD PETERS.

Dr. Smith to the Rev. Dr. Bearcroft.

PHILADELPHIA, November 1st, 1756.

REV^d AND WORTHY S^r: Your Favour of March 25th, in the name of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I received about the first of Sept^r, and have spoken to several proper Persons relating to the Scheme you propose "of instructing & maintaining a Number of "Indian Children at the Academy at Philadelphia under my Care at "the Expence of the Society, with a View to initiate the said Children "in the Principles of Christianity." I have observed in a letter to my Lord Bishop of Oxford, of this Date, how much pleasure it would give me to contribute towards so good a Design, and a Design so perfectly agreeable to the original Plan of the worthy Society;—"The "glorifying the Name of Jesus, by the further Enlargement of his "Church, and particularly by spreading his everlasting Gospel among "the Heathen Natives of America; as well by Instructing and civilizing "those of them that are grown up, as by laying a Foundation for educating, cloathing, and training up their Children in the knowledge "of morality, true Religion, the English Tongue, & in some Trade,

“Mystery, or Calling, should they be disposed to follow it.” I have further hinted in that Letter that, altho’ Almighty God has not thought fit hitherto to give any remarkable Success to the pious labours of the Society in the great Work of Converting the Indians, yet as such a Conversion, if ever it is accomplished, must probably begin in the rising Generation, it would be well if, in every Frontier Colony, there were a Provision made in the most public Place of it for maintaining and educating a Number of Indian Children; and who knows the Time when, or the Means by which, God may be pleased to bless the great Work at last? I have also in the said Letter hinted several other Things on this Head, which I need not repeat here, as his Lordship is a constant and worthy Member of the Meetings of the Society, at which this important Scheme will be further deliberated.

I proceed then to your Query as to the Expence of such an Undertaking. This, indeed, it is not possible exactly to answer. However, they may be cloathed, fed and educated for about £20 Sterl. one with another. But then there is a considerable Expence which, perhaps, you have not thought of. Wherever we have Indian Children, their Parents will be coming down twice or thrice a Year to see them; and must be maintained, not only during their Stay, but on their Journey, Going and Coming, besides receiving a considerable Present every Time, which is an Article not to be dispensed with. This Expence, however, I believe the Province would defray very willingly; and on that Head Mr. Penn is to be consulted. I should be glad to be informed what Number the Society would propose to maintain of these Children, and under what Regulations, that I might be able to settle all the Parts of the Plan with the Trustees of our College and Academy, and to fall upon Means of defraying any Expences that may arise over and above the Society’s Allowance. If it was thought advisable, some of them might be placed in the Country at the Charity-Schools lately created among the Germans, in the Management of which I am concerned. But tho’ this method would be something less expensive, yet I should not think it so advisable, because the farther distant from their Parents, and the more public the place is at which these Children are placed, so much better would it be in the political Consideration of attaching them more strongly to our Interest, by giving them Opportunities of seeing and knowing the principal Persons in our Government.

Another Expence will be in getting them to consent to such an Education. And this is only to be done by getting our Government here to engage its Credit for their good Usage, and making it worth the Pains of the Provincial Interpreter to go among them & use his Influence for that purpose; that so the Parents may be gradually reconciled to part with them.

Now there is a greater chance of getting all this done by making such a Provision in our public Academy than any where else that I know.

This Province has always preserved its Faith remarkably with the Indians. The chief Men in the Province are engaged in the Trusteeship of our Academy, and its Foundation is on the most catholic and liberal Plan.

I find Dr. Jenney is not very fond of the Design, and says that our Trustees have little Regard for Religion. But the Truth is that from the first he has opposed the Institution, because it was not made a Church Establishment & all the Masters to be of that Persuasion. His Zeal for the best Church on Earth is certainly commendable; but it may be carried too far. Had our College been opened on that Plan in such a Place as Philadelphia, the Students would indeed have been a very scanty Number. The People would not have borne even the Mention of such a Design at first. However the Church, by soft and easy Means, daily gains Ground in it. Of Twenty-four Trustees fifteen or sixteen are regular Churchmen; and when our late additional Charter was passed, I, who am a Minister of the Church of England, had the Preference to two other Ministers of other Persuasions of longer Standing than me in the Institution, and was made Provost of the same by the unanimous Voice of the Trustees. We have Prayers twice a day, the Children learn the Church-Catechism, & upon the whole I never knew a greater Regard to Religion in any Seminary, nor Masters more thoroughly possessed of the truth of our common Christianity. And glad should I have been could I have dispelled Doctor Jenney's Prejudices, and persuaded him to be convinced with his own Eyes. But he never would set a Foot within our Gates.

You will not think that I mean by this to throw any Reflection on a Gentleman so much my superior in years. I would only endeavour to prevent your being prejudiced against our Institution by any Thing he may say from a well-meant Zeal to have the Church established faster in this Province than the Temper of the People will allow. If any Thing farther than my Word be necessary concerning our Academy, I can get all the Clergy in the Country to Certify to its Credit, and to the Expediency of your Proposal for educating Indian Children at it. And, indeed, if the weight of the Trustees, their Authority in the Government, and the Reputation of our College and Academy cannot engage the Indians to consent to the Design, certainly the Credit of a Church Vestry or any private School will be ineffectual. I hope soon to be favoured with the Society's further Commands on this Head that I may know how to frame my Conduct accordingly.

This will be delivered to you by the Rev^d Mr. Acrelius, a learned Swede, and late Commissary to the Swedish Churches on Delaware, who now returns to considerable Preferment in his native Country, as the Reward of his past faithful Labours. He is a sincere Friend to the Church of England, and has been useful to many of our destitute English Congregations, particularly Newcastle, by preaching and using

our Service in English. He is well acquainted with the State of all our Missions in this Province; and it may be worth the while to inform yourself concerning some of them, particularly Chester and Newcastle. He is a worthy and discerning Man, and as he is never to return among us, must be impartial.* Along with him there goes a young Gentleman of the name of M^cKean, of whom I have a good Character from people of Reputation.† I wish you could serve him in any Degree.

I was at Newcastle lately, and find all the People mightily set upon having M^r. Cleaveland for their Missionary; and at their pressing Instances he now supplies them, as he is kept out of his Mission at Lewes by a most worthless Fellow of the Name of Harris. I wish M^r. Cleaveland may be ordained at Newcastle, which he will soon render a flourishing Congregation, as he is a worthy Man & a popular Preacher. As for the People of Lewes they deserve no Notice till they return to their Senses and discharge their present irregular Minister, which they will soon do if left to themselves. I hear that a whole Revolution is proposed among the Missions, M^r. Craig for Oxford, M^r. Ross for Newcastle, & M^r. Cleaveland for Lancaster. Such a Step I fear will not be agreeable to all the parties concerned, and particularly to Newcastle, which in that case you will find will be reduced to great Distraction. D^r. Jenney would be willing to have M^r. Craig near him; but Lancaster perhaps would not like the change. But these Things are not my Business any farther than as an impartial Spectator that regards the Interest of the Church.

M^r. Barton is indeed a most worthy & useful Missionary. He is the Darling of his People, & has been obliged for a twelvemonth past sometimes to act as their Captain & sometimes as their Minister. He has been the means of keeping them together at the Risk of his Life, when they would otherwise probably have been dispersed all over the Continent. They are under continual Alarms from the Savages, and I believe able to pay him but little. I have just been up among them. They do all they can for M^r. Barton; but if the Society do not grant him some Gratuity over his Salary, in these distrest Times, I fear he must leave them & seek a Living elsewhere. For on any Alarm his House is their Rendezvous, and the Number of poor becoming every Day a greater Burden, who being driven from their Houses and Homes would melt the hardest Heart into the kind Offices of Charity. I shall always rejoice if in my present Station I can be any way instrumental in executing any of your Commands, or promoting the great Work in which you are so assiduously engaged. May God prosper and direct all

* For a further account of Acrelius, see *infra*, pp. 148-9.

† This was a brother of Thomas McKean, afterwards Chief-Justice and Governor of Pennsylvania. He became a useful missionary of the Church of England in New Jersey.

the Designs of the worthy Society to his own Glory, which is the unfeigned Prayer of

Worthy Sir, Your most Affectionate Brother
and Obedient humble Servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.

P. S.—Direct to W^m Smith, Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.

We have now two noble letters; on subjects partly political and partly religious, the one topic at this time interfusing itself inseparably with the other.

*Dr. Smith to the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Secker).**

PHILADELPHIA, November 1st, 1756.

MY LORD: The Misery and distress of this unhappy province, bleeding under the Murderous knives of a savage enemy, instigated and led on by popish cruelty, have been so unspeakably great, and the confusions arising from a Quaker Government, obstinately persevering in their absurd pacific Polity, while the sword of the enemy was at our throats, have so thoroughly engrossed my attention, and engaged my weak endeavours to defeat such wicked principles, and procure relief to a miserable people; that I hope to be excused for not having sooner returned my humble acknowledgments for the honour of Your Lordship's letter of February the first, 1755, by the Reverend M^r. Barton.

I am extremely rejoiced that the worthy Society are so well convinced of the importance of sending Missionaries to the Frontier of our Colonies; and that they took in good part my endeavours to set that matter in a true and striking point of view. The more I consider it, the more I see its importance to the Protestant interest. If the people of the Frontiers were duly sensible of our inestimable privileges, and animated with the true Spirit of Protestantism, they would be as a wall of brass round these Colonies; and would rise with a noble ardour to oppose every attempt of a heathen or popish enemy against us. For none were ever brave without some principle or another to animate their conduct; and of all principles, surely a rational sense of British freedom and the purity of our holy religion, is the noblest. Indeed nothing but such a sense, propagated and spread to the utmost verge of our Colonies, can keep our people from being drawn off and mixing with our popish enemies the French, who are still coming nearer and nearer to us, and have lately planted a fine Colony of German and other Catholics on the Ohio, near where it falls into the Mississippi: from whence they now supply all their Garrisons on that river, and which will undoubtedly

* "American Colonies MS." Lambeth Palace, No. 1123, II., No. 105.

prove a drain or colluvies to receive many of our disaffected Germans and others.

It was from apprehensions of this kind, that I took the liberty to write so fully to the Society when M^r. Barton went for holy orders; and since that we have still farther accounts of the growing state of the said French-German Colony. It was from the same apprehensions I so warmly pressed, and so earnestly engaged in, the scheme for planting English schools among our Germans, which now flourish as well as the distracted state of the Country permits; and Your Lordship may depend, that they shall always be conducted with "a due regard to the interests of the Church of England." For, in truth, it is but one part of the same noble scheme in which the venerable Society are engaged; and wherever there are Missionaries near any of the schools, they are either employed as Masters, or named among the deputy trustees and Managers of the school. In short, till we can succeed in making our Germans speak English & become good Protestants, I doubt we shall never have a firm hold of them. For this reason, the extending the means of their instruction, as far as they extend their settlement, is a matter that deserves our most attentive consideration. I am pleased therefore that your Lordship, and the Society, have given me leave to mention such other places on the frontiers as may be fit to place Missionaries in, so that the Kingdom of Christ may keep pace in its growth, with the growth of the English Colonies. This liberty I shall not fail to make due use of, and likewise to offer a scheme for uniting with the church, all the German Lutherans of this Country; which I am sure would easily take effect. But this is not the time for anything of that nature. Our frontiers at present are so far from extending themselves, or wanting the erection of New Missions, that I fear some of those already erected must fall. Poor M^r. Barton has stood it upwards of a year, at the risk of his life, like a good Soldier of Jesus Christ, sometimes heading his people in the character of a clergyman, and sometimes in that of a Captain, being often obliged, when they should go to church, to gird on their swords and go against the enemy. If he and two worthy presbyterian Ministers, had not stood it out, I believe all the parts beyond Susquehanah, where his Mission lies, would have been long ago deserted. I ventured out three weeks ago to visit him and some of our German schools in his neighbourhood, and found him universally beloved by his people. But their love is the most they can give him in their present distress state; and therefore I wish your Lordship would move the honourable Society, to make him some gratuity above his Salary in these troublesome times. I am sure he both wants and deserves it.

I enclose a letter which I sent him after Braddock's defeat, and which he printed with a Sermon. I hope Your Lordship will think it worth perusal, as it agrees so nearly with the sentiments contained in the excel-

lent instructions lately sent over from the Society—But, alas! we are here in a sad situation. To meddle with the duty of defence, or paying taxes, or supporting our invaluable rights, will in this province infallibly expose us to party rage. The Quakers, although their own preachers dare publicly propagate notions of non-resistance, non-payment of taxes, and other rebellious doctrines, yet they are sure to wreak their utmost vengeance against us, if we venture, in consequence of our duty, to oppose such poisonous tenets. I have ever been exposed to the Martyrdom of my character on this account; but I remain yet unhurt; and were it otherwise, I should glory in suffering in so good a cause. It is true, I shall never meddle otherwise in such matters, than becomes a good subject, who is a friend to Government, yet at the same time I scorn to burn incense on the altar of popular folly, or to be a silent spectator of my country's ruin. To conceive Your Lordship, however, with what temper I have managed my part of the opposition to such destructive tenets, I enclose a paper called Plain Truth, which I hope your Lordship will also peruse, as it will give a most striking representation of the present state of the province, and the moderation as well as warmth of those arguments by which we are obliged to combat the doctrines that have so long most unnaturally tied up our hands, and exposed us to be passively Slaughtered by a cruel foe.—

I had the honor to receive a letter lately from the Rev^d Dr Bearcroft in name of the Society, relating to a plan for educating some Indian Children at the College and Academy of Philadelphia. This I think a most excellent proposal and perfectly agreeable to the great original design of the Society: namely—"The glorifying the name of *Jesus*, by the further enlargement of his church, and particularly the spreading his everlasting gospel among the heathen natives of America, as well by instructing and civilizing those of them that are grown up, as by laying a foundation for educating, clothing and training up their children in the knowledge of morality, true religion, the English tongue, and in some trade, mystery or lawful calling, should they be disposed to follow it." This the Society have been frequently attempting in various places, and though God has not yet been pleased to grant any remarkable degree of success, yet still the design is worthy of being persisted in. For if ever the savages are converted to Christianity, their conversion must begin among the rising generation by a more general education of their children, since the few that have been hitherto educated by us, are but as a drop of tincture thrown into a large collection of waters, and lost therein; being too inconsiderable to have any effect. It would be well, therefore, if in every Colony, bordering on any Indian Nations, there were a provision for educating such of their Children as can be persuaded to accept of it, and the more publicly this is done, so much the better; who knows the time when, or the means by which, the Lord may be pleased to bless the great work. If but one savage should be truly illu-

minated with the true spirit of Christianity, it is worth all the expense—Perhaps even that *one* might convert thousands—and after all, if they should return, like the sow to her wallowing in the mire, yet still their being publicly educated among us, will give them connections with us, and at least leave some impressions of humanity among them, especially to such of us as they may have known at school.

The great difficulty is to persuade them to accept of such an offer. The Government must be security for their good treatment; and none but the provincial interpreters with the credit of our Governors and great men, can prevail on them to trust us with their children. In this view, the College and Academy of Philadelphia has a fair chance. The province have never broke faith with the Indians, and the chief men in the province, are engaged in the trust and direction of our Academy. We have now two Indian Children of a considerable family who have been at it these two years, and can now read and write English, &c., and if any body can engage more to come, it is M^r Weiser,* our interpreter and the credit of the Trustees of the Academy. As I have the honor to be Provost of it, nothing shall be wanting on my part in so good a work. I have mentioned the terms to D^r Bearcroft more fully, to which I beg leave to refer Your Lordship for such points as are not here mentioned, and perhaps this letter may be of use with regard to some things I have not had time to mention in his. I enclose a view of the College-part of our institution by which your Lordship will see that our plan is an extensive and liberal one. The Academy is the lower part of it, confined to the English language, writing and the mechanic arts.

The bearer of this is the Rev^d M^r Israel Acrelius, a learned Swede, who has been several years Commissary to the Swedish Congregations on Delaware, and now returns to considerable preferment in his own Country, as a reward of his faithful labours. He is well entitled to the honour of Your Lordship's Notice, and knows the state of all the Missions in this province perfectly well. There is a good deal of confusion in some of them, and as he is an impartial person, his account will no doubt be of weight should he be called upon. He has often preached in English, and made use of our service. His chief abode was near Newcastle, which now apply to have M^r Cleveland for a Missionary, as he could not find admittance at Lewes, whither he was sent by the Society, which deserves no further notice till they discharge the disorderly and worthless man who has excluded M^r Cleveland. The people of Newcastle are very fond of M^r Cleveland† and he is a worthy man, and will prevent the church from going to pieces, as I fear it otherwise will, if three or four removes are made in our Missions, which I hear pro-

* See Appendix No. III.

† Rev. Mr. CLEVELAND died at Newcastle, Del., of dropsy, in 1757. *Society's Abstract for 1758*, p. 45.

posed, without any good reason that I can learn. There are many other circumstances that deserve consideration before such removes are made, which I have no call to mention, as I am but little connected with what relates to Missionaries—I leave all to M^r Acrelius,* who will be on the spot, and can have no interest in being partial, as he is never to return to this place.

I hope Your Lordship will excuse the length of this letter, and take in good part the freedom wherewith I speak my honest sentiments, relating to the weighty subject it treats of. When Your Lordship can spare a few Moments from the important duties of your station, to favor me with any future commands in return to this (which I shall earnestly expect) the Honourable Mr. Penn, at his house in spring Garden will find means to convey it. I have the honour to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's most
dutiful Son & Servant

MY LORD OF OXFORD —

WILLIAM SMITH.

Dr. Smith to Rev. Dr. Bearcroft.

PHILADELPHIA, NOV^r 5th. 1756.

Since I wrote you the 2^d Instant, the enclosed were sent me from M^r. Barton's three Congregations to be forwarded to you. As I took the Liberty warmly to recommend these Congregations to the ven^{ble} Society, from a Conviction that nothing can preserve our Frontiers *separate* from a popish encroaching Enemy, except a sublime Sense of British Religion and Liberty, spreading itself along as far as our Colonies spread ; so it

* Rev. ISRAEL ACRELIIUS, whose name and labors have recently been made familiar to us by the admirable translation, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of his history of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, came to America in Nov., 1749, and resided in this country more than six years. On his return to Sweden, he resumed the pastoral duties at Fellingsbro, and died in 1800, at the advanced age of 86 years. In the year 1759 he published, in Sweedes, the work just spoken of, relating to the early history of the settlements on the Delaware river, entitled "Beskrifning om de Svenska Församlingars Fornä och Närvarande Tilstånd, utdet sa kallade Nya Sverige, sedan Nya Nederland, men nu fortyden Pennsylvanien, saunt nastliggande orter wid Allswen Delaware, West Jersey och New Castle County uti Norra America. Utigfwen of Israel Acrelius, fordetta Probst ofwer Svenska Forsamlingar i America och Kyrkoherde uti, Fellingsbro, Stockholm: 1759." [Description of the present and former state of the Swedish Congregations in New Sweden so called, since New Netherland and now Pennsylvania, and in the neighbouring parts on Delaware Bay, West Jersey and New Castle county, in North America. Published by Israel Acrelius, late Provost of the Swedish churches in America, and Pastor at Fellingsbro, Stockholm: 1759.] Sm. 4to, pp. 534. This work is divided into eight books; the first three contain the civil and political history of the country under the Swedish, Dutch and English governments, to the time when the author wrote; the five last are devoted to the ecclesiastical affairs of the Swedish congregations.

gives me Pleasure, and I am sure it will give the worthy Society Pleasure, to see so much Fruit, by the blessing of God, already sprung up in the new Mission of York & Cumberland, even amid all the Horrors of a most desperate War, with the bloodiest of all Enemies, a Race of merciless Savages. Our People now, inspirited by their zealous Missionary, & kept constantly in mind of their holy Protestant Religion & inestimable Privileges, exert themselves manfully for the Cities of their God against a Popish & Savage Enemy; and I am sure were not the Sense of these Blessings to be extended backwards, as far as our Settlements extend, nothing could prevent our People from being seduced by busy Jesuits, & mixing gradually with our French Foes. The whole Country is, therefore, under the highest Obligation to the Society for this New Mission, both in a civil & religious Light; and will be under still higher for every new one that is opened on the Frontiers. They will be as so many Watch-Towers, from which our faithful Missionaries "would cry aloud & spare not, on the Approach of every Thing that could hurt our holy Zion." I have promised my Lord B^p of Oxford, in Answer to a Letter of his Lordship's on that Subject, that whenever I know of any other Places on the Frontiers, deserving the Society's regard, I shall humbly propose the same; but that at present we cannot tell where our Frontiers will be;—so unsettled is our State.

I observe Mr. Barton's several Congregations have modestly hinted at their Inability to perform their Engagements. Yet I am sure they will do their best, & Mr. Barton does not complain; tho' when I was lately back in Company with our Governor to the Frontiers, I could learn that he was much pinch'd; & therefore I doubt not you'll kindly consider what I hinted in mine of the 2^d Instant, for the Presbyterians and other Dissenters are chiefly the Men that must defend this Country, & it is reasonable they should have their Share in the Government of it.

I did my Part to unite all the Protestants in one Interest, by publishing and distributing the enclosed Paper, called Plain Truth. It contains a most striking State of the Province, and is allowed on all Sides to be one of the best Papers that have appeared here. It has done much Good; but there is still much to do. Read it attentively and let me know your Sentiments concerning it; particularly the Note at the Bottom of last Page. This Assembly will not give us any Militia Law, better than the last which was justly repealed.

I wish this may find you well. You have been extremely sparing of your letters of late. I long daily to hear from you. Along with this you will receive Duplicates of the Minutes and Accounts to July 1st. I have also drawn upon you for the Quarter from July 1st to Oct^r 1st, 1756, £100 Ster., in two Bills; the one payable to B. Chew, Esq^r, Attorney-general of this Province, or his Order, for £93.7.10 Ster. The Balance of £6.12.2 I have drawn as a Present to a Brother of mine, whose Apprenticeship being expired, I think deserves that

token of my Esteem. I have advanced the Value & shall give Credit accordingly. I have desired my Brother to present it to you in Person, & hope you'll give him your best advice with Regard to his Conduct. I hope you will find him as I left him; Modest and virtuously disposed. I have no time to keep a copy of this, and hope you'll preserve it, as it contains my free and catholic Sentiments on subjects of Importance. I say keep a Copy; for it is probable I may see you sooner than you expect. I offer you the continuance of my sincerest good wishes, and am,

Rev^d Sir,

Your affectionate Brother & Serv't,

WILLIAM SMITH.

CHAPTER XI.

AFFAIRS OF THE COLLEGE—FIRST EXAMINATION—LIST OF THE STUDENTS—FIRST
 COMMENCEMENTS—CHARGE BY DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH PREACHES TO THE
 FORCES UNDER GENERAL STANWIX PREVIOUS TO THEIR MARCH AGAINST THE
 FRENCH AND INDIANS AFTER BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT—DR. SMITH TO GOV.
 SHARP—DR. SMITH TO DR. MORGAN—DR. PHILIP BEARCROFT TO DR.
 SMITH—THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE.

THE beginning of the year 1757 found the College of Philadelphia established as one of the principal institutions of learning in the colonies; in some respects, perhaps, as the first. In January of this year a public examination was held, at which the "Masque of Alfred," with a Prologue and Epilogue, as altered and prepared by Dr. Smith for the occasion, was represented by the students. The performance was honored by the presence of Lord Loudon and the governors of several of the colonies, who met at Philadelphia in the beginning of that year.

The "Masque of Alfred" was selected for the representation on account of the great similarity between the distress of England under the Danish invasion, and that of the Colonies in 1757 under the ravages and incursions of the Indians, a matter which, as we have already seen, took deep possession of Dr. Smith's faculties, mental and of the heart, and which he kept before the public in every way.

The following is a list of the youth belonging to the institution at that time:

PHILOSOPHY SCHOOL.

SENIOR CLASS.

John Allen.	Samuel Morris.	Thomas Mifflin.
Andrew Allen.	William Greenway.	Lindsay Coates.
James Allen.	Joel Evans.	Robeson Yorke.
Joseph Reade.	John Cadwalader.	James Murray.
John Morris.	Lambert Cadwalader.	Tench Tilghman.

JUNIOR CLASS.

Samuel Keene.	Abraham Walton.	James Cruikshanks.
John Chew.	John Luke.	William ———.
Philemon Dickinson.	John Stevens.	Hugh Hughes.
Alexander Lawson.	Alexander Wilcox.	Mark Grime.
William Paca.	William Gibbes.	John Searle McCall.
Samuel Powel.	Richard Peters.	Andrew Hamilton.

LATIN SCHOOL.

Benjamin Baynton.	John Murgatroyd.	John Diemer.
Thomas Bond.	Samuel Inglis.	Henry Elves.
William Hamilton.	Thomas Lawrence.	Thomas Coombe.
Jasper Yeates.	Samuel Nicholas.	Francis Moore.
Henry Dalter.	Perry Frazier Child.	Benj. Alison.
John Neilson.	Robert Strettell Jones.	Anthony Morris.
George Thomson.	John O'Kill.	John Johnson.

MATHEMATICAL SCHOOL.

Nathan Armitage.	John Sharpe.	William Hockley.
Henry Benbrige.	John Wilcox.	John Reade.
James Coots.	John Yeates.	Samuel Correy.
John Dunbavin.	Andrew Yorke.	George Ogle.
George Emlin.	William Karst.	Philip Francis.
Nathaniel Evans.	Thomas Hopkinson.	Abraham Denormandie.
James Gorrel.	James Haston.	Gillis Sharp.
John Jepson.	George Rundle.	Joseph Syng.
John Inglis.	George Davis.	John White Swift.
Charles Knight.	William White.	Thomas Tresse.
Thomas Maybury.	Thomas Murgatroyd.	John Wooden.
Cornelius ———.	James Sayer.	Thomas Moore.
Charles Pratt.	John Benezet.	Thomas Woodcock.
Thomas Plumsted.	Edward Welsh.	John Fullerton.
Thomas Philipe.	John Ord.	
Samuel Penrose.	William Davis.	

ENGLISH SCHOOL.

Andrew Bell.	Henry Keppele.	William Rush.
James Bingham.	Mathew Jackson.	Samuel Smith.
John Bingham.	Joseph McIlwaine.	Alexander Fullerton.
Phineas Bond.	William McIlwaine.	William Falkner.
Joseph Conyers.	William Merrifield.	John Montour.
John Deering.	George Morgan.	Richard Stanley.
Richard Duncan.	Robert Montgomery.	
George Gostelow.	Lindley Murray.	

This list makes a fine show certainly in the case of an institution so recently established and so little endowed.

On the 17th of May, 1757, the commencement of the College took place. Six students received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. They were Paul Jackson, Jacob Duché, Hugh Williamson, Francis Hopkinson, James Latta, and John Morgan; nearly every one of whom subsequently became eminent either in scholarship, in the church, in statesmanship, or in medical science.* I believe that a part of them had been acting as ushers or teachers in the institution. Dr. Smith always regarded the maxim, *Docce ut discas*, as one founded in truth.

He delivered the following charge:

GENTLEMEN: You now appear as candidates for the first honours of this institution. The free spirit that it breathes permits us not to bind you to us by the ordinary ties of oaths and promises. Instead thereof, we would rely on those principles of virtue and goodness which we have endeavoured to cultivate. Suffer me, therefore, ere you go, to sum up all our former labours for you, in this place, by one last and parting charge.

Surely—to live is a serious thing! And you are now about to step into life, and embark in all its busy scenes. It is fit, then, that you should make a pause—a solemn pause—at its portal, and consider well what is expected from you, and how you are prepared to perform it.

On the one hand, you will have all the dangers and indiscretions of youth to grapple with, at your first setting out in the world. Raw and unexperienced in its ways, you will be apt to consider yourselves as set loose from the reins of discipline, and to look abroad in it with conscious rapture, and the most buoyant hopes. The fulness of blood, the strength of passion, the constant call of pleasure, and the harlot-form of vice, will be apt to bear down that sober wisdom and cool reflection, which are your best guard. At every glance, elysian scenes and fairy

* The present Society of the Alumni, under the encouragement of the Faculty, and especially of Professor McElroy, an active member of it, have done great good service to the College by their recently published List of the Graduates; a work which, considering that it was what in fact might be called a first effort to make a complete work of the sort, was surprisingly full and accurate; though not content even with so good a degree of progress, I am told, that a new printed list is in preparation. May I take leave to suggest to the excellent Society of the Alumni, that after this their work shall be accomplished, there yet remains another, a volume like Professor Samuel Davies Alexander's "Princeton College in the 18th Century;" a work which shall give short biographical sketches of such of our early graduates as have left a name behind them. Princeton herself, rich as she is in honored names in early times, has no more in number, nor any higher in fame, than our own old College of Philadelphia.

prospects will open before you ; seemingly so variegated with beauty and stored with pleasure, that the choice will perplex you. But, alas ! these lead not all to the bowers of joy ! many will only seduce you from the path of virtue, by false appearances of happiness, and draw you on, through meades of unreal bliss, to the fool's paradise ; a deceitful region, which proves at last to be but the valley of the shadow of death, where snakes lurk under the grass—

And, mid the roses, fierce repentance rears
Her horrid crest *—

On the other hand, you will find the world inclined to make but small allowances for the slips of youth. Much—very much—will be expected from you. Your superior opportunities of knowledge, the many specimens of genius you have already exhibited, will give your friends and country a right to expect everything from you that is excellent or praiseworthy.

Oh ! then, let no part of your future conduct disgrace the lessons you have received, or disappoint hopes you have so justly raised ! Consider yourselves, from this day, as distinguished above the vulgar, and called upon to act a more important part in life ! Strive to shine forth in every species of moral excellence, and to support the character and dignity of beings formed for endless duration ! The Christian world stands much in need of inflexible patterns of integrity and public virtue ; and no part of it more so than the land you inhabit.

Remember that superior talents demand a superior exercise of every good quality ; and that, where they produce not this salutary effect, it were far better for the world to be forever without them. Unless your education is seen conspicuous in your lives, alas ! what will be its significancy to you, or to us ? Will it not be deemed rather to have been a vain art of furnishing the head, than a true discipline of the heart and manners ?

If, then, you regard the credit of this institution, which will travail in concern for you, till you are formed into useful men ; if you regard your own credit, and the credit of the many succeeding sets of youth, who may be fired to glory by your example ; let your conduct in the world be such, at least, as to deserve the applause of the wiser and better part of it. Remember you are the first who have received the honours of this seminary. You have been judged doubly deserving of them. O ! think, then, what pain it would give us, should we be disappointed in you, our first and most hopeful sons ! What a reproach would it be to have it said that, under us, you had obtained all sorts of learning, and yet had not obtained wisdom—especially that wisdom, which has for its beginning the fear of God, and for its end everlasting felicity.

* Thomson.

But we have every reason to expect far better things of you. And, in that expectation I shall beg leave to propose a few rules, which, being well observed, will contribute greatly to your success in life. They shall be confined to two heads.

1st, How to live with yourselves, and your God.

2dly, How to live with the world.

Perhaps this may be deemed a very needless work at this time. But my heart yearns towards you. I cannot easily part with you. And though I should only repeat what you have often heard in the course of our lectures in this place; yet, being laid together in one short view, and delivered before such a number of witnesses, 'tis probable the impression may be so much the deeper. And, that it may be so, I shall not amuse you with high drawn characters and visionary precepts; the creatures of fancy's brain, worked up beyond the life. Such may allure the eye, but they will not sway the practice. They may induce despair, but they will not quicken industry. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the living virtues, as they are within the ordinary reach of humanity, when assisted by divine grace and goodness. For it is they alone that can influence the conduct, and excite to imitation.

First, then, in living with yourselves and your God, let it be your primary and immediate care, to get the dominion of your own passions, and to bring every movement of the soul under subjection to conscience, reason, and religion; those three lovely guides set over the human conduct. Let your wishes be moderate, solicitous about nothing so much as the friendship of your God, and the preservation of your virtue and good name!

Accustom yourselves to an early industry in business, and a wise reflection upon human life. Beware of idleness, and the pernicious influence of bad habits. Possess yourselves of just and elevated notions of the divine character and administration, and of the end and dignity of your own immortal nature. Oh! consecrate to your God the first and best of your days! When you enjoy health of body, strength of mind, and vigour of spirits, then is the heart a noble sacrifice, and best worthy of being presented to the great Creator of heaven and earth.

But, alas! when the prime of our years have been devoted to the ways of pleasure and folly, with what confidence can we offer to our God the dregs of vice and iniquity; an old age broken with infirmity, and groaning under the load of misery? Though heaven be all merciful, and even this last offering not to be neglected; yet, to a generous mind, there is something peculiarly painful in the thought. And certainly, when the soul is fittest for pleasure, then also it is fittest to be lifted up, in manly devotion, to its adorable maker!

That your souls may be the more disposed to this exalted intercourse, continue to adorn them with every divine grace and excellence. As far as your circumstances will permit, continue through life the votaries of

Wisdom; and never drop your acquaintance with those sciences into which you have been initiated here. But, in the prosecution of them, weigh well the strength of the human understanding. Keep to subjects within its reach, and rather to those which are useful than curious. In your inquiries, never suffer yourselves to be drawn from the main point, or lost in a multitude of particulars. Always keep first principles in view; life is short; we can go but little farther, and that little will then only be of use, when clearly deduced from them.

For this reason, beware, above all things, of valuing yourselves much on any temporary acquisitions, or falling into the error of those who think they shew the depth of their wisdom, by disregarding that sublime system, brought down from heaven by the Son of God. Poor is the extent of human science at best; and those who know the most, know but just enough to convince them of their own ignorance. Vain, then, must they be who would be thought wise for despising the dictates of eternal wisdom, and would build up the pride of knowledge upon their ignorance of things of the most lasting consequence.

Such empty smatterers can have but small pretensions to common wisdom, much less to the exalted name of philosophy. The true votaries of this divine science will ever disclaim them.

Though we honour human reason, and think human virtue the glory of our nature, yet your education here will teach you to fix your hopes on a far more solid foundation. It will convince you that reason, when unenlightened, may be fallacious; and consequently that virtue, by it alone directed, will be devious. There are mists, diffused before the temple of happiness, which are only to be penetrated by the purer eye of religion.

Hence, then, you will be disposed to seek a sublimer wisdom than any that is to be attained by mere human efforts, confined to the works of nature alone, those fainter exhibitions of the Deity! You will see the necessity of studying his character, as exhibited in his holy oracles. There you will receive such august impressions of him, as will correct your philosophy, humble the pride of reason, and lay you prostrate at his feet. You will be taught to renounce your own wisdom, however excellent; and your own righteousness, however distinguished. You will be made to rejoice in the name of Christian, and triumph in the glorious relation you bear to Jesus, as shedding the brightest lustre round the human character. And consequently you will love to inculcate his holy religion, as a scheme of wisdom salutary to mankind, unfolding their best interests, training them up for eternity, and conducting them to the supreme felicity and perfection of their nature!

Thrice happy you, when by divine grace you shall have obtained this dominion over yourselves, and through the Redeemer's merits are thus united to the supreme good; every wish resigned, and every passion raised to the throne of your father and your God! then, and not

till then, you will have truly learned to live with yourselves, and with him that made you; till, after the close of your pilgrimage here, you are finally admitted to live and rejoice with him for ever!

I am now, in the second place, to offer you a few plain directions, how to live with the world. And on this subject I shall be but brief. For, being once initiated into the true enjoyment of your own nature, and actuated by a deep sense of God's universal presence, all your other actions will be duly influenced thereby.

With regard to benevolence, that great law of Christ, and fruitful source of all social virtue, why should I recommend it to you? If you truly love God, you must necessarily love all his creatures for his sake, and disdain a narrow unfeeling heart, coiled up within its own scanty orb. Your charity will be of the most exalted and fervent kind; extending itself beyond the vulgar attachments of family and friends, embracing the whole human species and ready to sacrifice every temporal consideration to their good.

Actuated by such liberal sentiments as these, you will always be ready to do good and communicate freely your superior knowledge. Your counsel and your assistance, your hand and your heart—will never be refused, when demanded for the benefit of others, and in a virtuous cause. Or rather, you will never let them be demanded, but freely prevent the readiest wish. Modest merit will be the object of your peculiar regard; and you will always rejoice when you can produce it to public view, in an amiable and advantageous point of light.

Believe me, my dear youths, you can acquire no authority so lasting, no influence so beneficial, as by convincing the world that you have superior talents, joined to inflexible virtue, and unconfined benevolence. Compared to such a foundation as this, the proud structures of vulgar ambition are but rottenness, "and their base built on stubble." A confidence placed as above, will give you a kind of dominion in the hearts of others, which you will, no doubt, exert for the noblest purposes; such as reconciling differences, enforcing religion, supporting justice, inspiring public virtue, and the like.

To this benevolence of temper, you are to add prudence, and a strict regard to the grace of character and proprieties of life. If you would be very useful in the world, beware of mixing too indiscriminately in it, or becoming too cheap in the vulgar eye. But, when you are in it, be affable to all, familiar with few, cautious in contracting friendships, steadfast in preserving them, and entering into none without the clearest virtue for their foundation and end.

Maintain such dignity of conduct, as may check the petulance of vice, and suffer none to condemn you; yet shew such modesty of temper, as may encourage virtue, and induce all to love you. Preserve a cheerfulness of countenance, never affecting to appear better than you are; and then every good action will have its full weight. It is dis-

honouring God, and discouraging goodness, to place virtue in a down-cast look, or in things external. The Christian life, far from being gloomy and severe, was meant to exalt the nature of man, and shew him in his best perfection—happy and joyful !

When you mix in company, you will often have occasion to be disgusted with the levity, 'tis well if not the vice, of the general run of conversation. Strive, therefore, as often as you can, to give it a chaste and instructive turn ; regarding always the propriety of time and place. And if, on any occasion, an ingenuous honesty of nature, and an abhorrence of vice and dissimulation, should oblige you to bear your testimony against what you hear, let it be evident to all that you are offended, not at the persons but at the things. Great delicacy is requisite in such cases ; and you must blame without anger, in order to remove the offence, and not to wound the offender.

'Tis true, sometimes an animating conviction of a just cause, an undisguised love of divine truth, and a consciousness of superior knowledge, will, in the best of men, on such occasions, produce a seeming warmth of expression, and keenness of expostulation ; especially when heated by opposition. But if, from the general tenor of your conduct, you have convinced the world of the goodness of your heart, such starts of passion will be forgiven by your friends, or considered only as the fire from the flint ; “which, being smitten, emits its hasty spark, and is straightway cool again.”

It will be your wisdom, however, to preserve the serenity of your temper ; to avoid little disputes ; and to raise yourselves above the world, as much as possible. There are really but few things in it, for which a wise man would chuse to exchange his peace of mind ; and those petty distinctions, that so much agitate the general run of mankind, are far from being among the number.

But some things there are, nevertheless, which will demand your most vigilant attention ; and some occasions, when to be silent or consenting would be a criminal resignation of every pretension to virtue or manhood.

Should your country call, or should you perceive the restless tools of faction at work in their dark cabals, and plotting against the sacred interests of liberty ; should you see the corrupters or corrupted imposing upon the public with specious names, undermining the civil and religious principles of their country, and gradually paving the way to certain slavery, by spreading destructive notions of government—then, oh ! then, be nobly roused ! Be all eye, and ear, and heart, and voice, and hand, in a cause so glorious ! “Cry aloud, and spare not,” fearless of danger, undaunted by opposition, and little regardful of the frowns of power, or the machinations of villainy. Let the world know that liberty is your unconquerable delight, and that you are sworn foes to every species of bondage, either of body or of mind !

These are subjects for which you need not be ashamed to sacrifice your ease and every other private advantage—For certainly, if there be aught upon earth suited to the native greatness of the human mind, and worthy of contention; it must be—To assert the cause of religion and truth; to support the fundamental rights and liberties of mankind; and to strive for the Constitution of our country, and a Government by known laws, not by the arbitrary decisions of frail impassioned men.

If, in adhering to these points, it should be your lot, as, alas! it has been the lot of others, to be borne down by ignorance, to be reproached by calumny, and aspersed by falsehood, let not these things discourage you—

All human virtue, to its latest breath,
Finds envy never conquer'd but by death.
The great Alcides, every labour past,
Had still this monster to subdue at last.—POPE.

While you are conscious of no self-reproach, and are supported by your own integrity, let no earthly power awe you from following the unbiassed dictates of your own heart. Magnanimously assert your private judgment where you know it to be right, and scorn a servile truckling to the names or opinions of others, however dignified. With a manly and intrepid spirit, with a fervent and enlightened zeal, persevere to the last in the cause of your God, your King and your Country. And, though the present age should be blind to your virtue, or refuse you justice, let it not surprize you—

The suns of glory please not till they set; POPE.

and the succeeding age will make ample amends to your character, at a time when the names of those who have opposed you will be forgotten, or remembered only to their lasting dishonour.

Nevertheless, though you must not expect to escape envy, or to receive the full applause of your virtue in your own day; yet there will always be some among the better few ready to do you justice, and to judge more candidly. Perhaps, it may be your lot to be singularly favoured by your friends, in this respect. But be not too much elevated thereby. The real good man, as he will never be more undaunted than when most reviled and opposed in his great career of justice, so he will never be more humble than when most courted and applauded.

The two great rocks of life, especially to youth, are prosperity and adversity. If such meet with any degree either of success or difficulty in the world, before they have learned great self-denial, they are apt, in the one case, to be blown up by an overweening conceit of their own importance; and, in the other, to be borne down by a timid distrust of their own abilities. Both dispositions are equally prejudicial to virtue—the former so far as it tends not to excite emulation, and inspire

to worthy actions; and the latter so far as it checks the native ardor of the soul, and ties it down to inglorious pursuits. But the same means will correct both. A larger commerce with the world, and a frequent viewing ourselves through a more impartial medium, compared to others of equal or greater merit, will bring down the one, and raise the other, to its just and proper standard. What was pride before, will then be converted into a sense of honour, and proper dignity of spirit; and what was timidity or self-distrust, will be turned into manly caution, and prudent fore-sight.

Time will not permit me to add more. Happy shall you be, if, by attending to such maxims as these, you can pass your days, though not with the highest approbation of others, at least with full satisfaction to yourselves! Happy, if in the eve of life, when health and years and other joys decline, you can look back with conscious joy upon the unremitting tenor of an upright conduct; framed and uniformly supported to the last on these noble principles—Religion without hypocrisy, generosity without ostentation, justice tempered with goodness, and patriotism with every domestic virtue!

Ardently praying that this may be your lot, I shall take leave of you in the words of old Pollonius to his son—

The friends you have, and their adoption try'd,
 Grapple them to your soul with hooks of steel.
 But do not dull your palm with entertainment
 Of each new-hatch'd unfledg'd comrade. Beware
 Of entrance to a quarrel——
 Give every man your ear, but few your voice.
 Take each man's censure, but reserve your judgment.
 This above all—to your own-selves be true,
 And it must follow, as the night the day,
 You cannot then be false to any man.—SHAKSPEARE.

These things I have sketched for you as the outlines of your duty. I pretend not to go farther. It is not my present business to offer a perfect plan for the conduct of life. Indeed my experience in it has been too small for such an arduous work. And I hope to be judged rather by what I have said, than by what could not properly be said, on such an occasion.

As for the rest, I shall commit you to the best of masters. Be sure, in all things, to learn of Christ. In following him you cannot err. And to do so will be your interest, and your greatest glory, at a time when human wisdom shall fail, and of the things that now are, virtue—immortal virtue—shall be the great and chief survivor!

Farewell! my blessing season these things in you.—SHAKSPEARE.

This charge was published in a pamphlet at the time. Appended to it was an oration in Latin, by Paul Jackson, a tutor in the College. The pamphlet had the following preface : *

Whether the Partiality of Private Friendship has made the Author of the following Charge too Sanguine in favour of the young gentlemen to whom it was delivered, Time will best shew. He has annexed a Latin oration by one of them, which will be a sufficient Specimen of the Gentleman's abilities who composed it. Other specimens might also be produced, which would redound greatly to the credit of the other young gentlemen, were any thing farther necessary than the ample Testimony they have already received from an institution which 'tis hoped will never prostitute its Honours to the Undeserving.

The eyes of the country were at this date—April 5th, 1757—turned to the forces under General Stanwix, who, after the dreadful defeat of General Braddock, were assembled to go to the defence of our frontier towns and settlements, then bleeding under the devastations of the French and their savages. It was expected that they would go directly against Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, but they were obliged to act only on the defensive for this year. A great part of them, however, were present at the reduction of the place in the year following, under Brigadier-General Forbes. They were a noble body of men, equally brave and humane, and with a noble commander. Having happily got possession of Fort Duquesne in November, 1758, General Forbes sent a part of his army to Braddock's field, some twenty miles away, on the banks of the Monongahela, to bury the sad remains of the dead that had lain there upwards of three years. This solemn scene was made yet more solemn by the tears of the soldiers, many of whom had lost their fathers, brothers, and dearest relatives in that fatal spot.

Just before their march, Dr. Smith, at the request of General Stanwix, preached to them, in Christ Church, a sermon, from Luke iii. 14, on "The Christian soldier's duty, the lawfulness and dignity of his office, as a servant of the public, for the defence of his country, and for the maintaining and asserting true religion and liberty." It was a fine, showy discourse, with something of the

* The title reads thus : "A Charge Delivered May 17th, 1757, at the First Anniversary Commencement in the College and Academy of Philadelphia, to the Young Gentlemen who took their Degrees on that Occasion, by W. Smith. To which is added an Oration in Latin, by Paul Jackson. 12mo. B. Franklin and D. Hall, Phila. 1757."

trumpet's sound; such as might be expected on an occasion so much calculated to rouse indignation, pity, and patriotism. It was immediately printed and widely circulated.

The following letter, from the admirable collection of autographs owned by Mr. F. J. Dreer, shows that the ardor of Dr. Smith in the cause of his country did not cease with the delivery of his discourse.

Dr. Smith to Governor Sharp, of Maryland.

PHILADELPHIA, April 27th, 1757.

SIR: I have taken the Liberty to enclose a Composition of mine for your Excellency's Perusal, and shall think myself happy if I shall appear to have been sufficiently animated with the sublime and interesting Subjects it treats of. My ambition is to acquit myself zealously for promoting the King's Cause, in the Estimation of the Discerning Few, among which Number M^r. Sharp will always be one.

If, after Perusal, your Excellency shall think that 10 or 12 copies might be of use among your Provincial Officers *for kindling that noble Enthusiasm, that unconquerable Passion for Liberty and the Protestant Faith*, mentioned in the sermon as the true Principle of a British Sol-diery, I shall, on having the Honour of a Line from your Excellency, send that, or any other number, either to your Excellency, or to M^r. Green. I have some Hopes of seeing Annapolis this summer, & have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obed^t humble S^t,

WILLIAM SMITH.

HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR SHARP.

Among the graduates of this year we have mentioned John Morgan. He went, it would seem, almost at once into service in the army; at this time, of course, in some other capacity than the medical; one in which he afterwards became eminent, and indeed one in which he served, for a short time, even in the then existing war, but towards its close.

*Dr. Smith to Mr. Morgan.**

PHILADELPHIA, May 1st, 1757.

MY DEAR SIR: We long impatiently to see you down here. It was thought best by M^r. Peters, M^r. Young, & your Friends here, that you should obtain your Leave from Major Burd than apply to the Governor, as all the other officers have been down occasionally on the same Footing. M^r. Peters writes to the Major, & you may come down

* For this letter, as for the last, I am indebted to my kind friend, Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer.

either by Leave, or as a recruiting officer, which last Mr. Peters thinks best, as you will be less hampered in Point of Time on that Plan. In whatever shape you come, pray come soon if the Service should not suffer, which I think it cannot.

I am

Yours,

W. SMITH.

In the midst, however, of all the stirring scenes of this epoch, we find Dr. Smith intent upon the great work of education. The following letter—an answer to one given *supra*, pp. 141–5—shows this fact. It appears from it too, that Dr. Smith had sent copies of his different discourses to Dr. Bearcroft.

*Dr. Bearcroft to Dr. Smith.**

CHARTER-HOUSE, July 1st, 1757.

REV^d SR: Your letter by Mr. Acrelius, a very worthy Divine, hath been maturely considered by the Society;† and after consulting Mr. Penn, who professes to approve of the Education of Indian Children in your College, & promises, what in him is, to countenance and help forward that design as much as the present turbulent times in Pennsylvania will admit, the Society are come to the Resolution of advancing as far as £100 sterling per annum, by way of trial for the Education of as many Indian Children as that sum will maintain in the College, if their parents will consent to put them under *your* care and Direction; and the particular Regulations concerning them are left to you; taking along with you the approbation of the Trustees of the College.

I much approve of your courage in bearing a Publick Testimony against those Quaker Doctrines that are subversive of all order and Society, in spite of all the obloquy malice hath and will throw out against you for it; and you may depend upon my best endeavours to do you Justice; if I meet with any thing of that nature here. I am glad Mr. Barton has proved himself so worthy a Missionary, and so very proper a one for the dangerous time and place in which his Mission is. The Society are most sensible of his good conduct, and to give him a substantial proof of it, they have given him a Gratuity of £20, as they have likewise to Mr. Acrelius, £30, for the many good services done by him during his residence in Pennsylvania, to the members of our Church. Mr. Robert M^cKean, who came over with him, is appointed Missionary to the Church of New Brunswick, in New Jersey, and will be the bearer of this.

* From the original MSS.

† The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

I cannot conclude without particular thanks for the Entertainment I received from your Epilogue, and the account of the College Exercise; and that you may go on, and prosper, and bring much fruit to Perfection, is the hearty wish of, Mr. Provost,

Your very faithful, humble servant,

PHILIP BEARCROFT.

To the Rev'd Mr. SMITH, Provost of the College for the Education of Youth, in Philadelphia.

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia Dr. Smith became acquainted with Mr. William Bradford, distinguished from his grandfather of the same name, by whom the art of printing was introduced, A. D. 1684, into our middle colonies, and from his accomplished son William, Attorney-General of the United States under Washington, as "Colonel Bradford." Colonel Bradford was, at this time, the largest bookseller, printer, and publisher in Philadelphia; and probably the largest in the middle colonies. He was also owner, editor, and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Journal*. He was an enthusiastic, active and efficient man in whatever he undertook; and his enterprises were numerous. Sincerely devoted through a long life to the honor of his country in every department, and fertile in such resources as would advance it, he had been for some time contemplating the establishment of a monthly periodical. His uncle, Andrew Bradford, had begun one, A. D. 1741, but the time was not then ready for it, and like a rival enterprise undertaken by Dr. Franklin in the same year, it was discontinued after a short experience. The difficulty for any new work had been to find a suitable editor. That, indeed, was the difficulty with the old one. Although Bradford had long known Dr. Smith, their relations, till of late, had not been intimate. Franklin as well as Bradford was a bookseller, printer and publisher; and the Provost's earlier relations of business had been with him. However, in the matter of the defence of the country and of the doings of the Assembly of Friends, Bradford was the strong supporter of Dr. Smith. In truth Dr. Smith was now fighting, A. D. 1757, in the New French war, a battle which Bradford had begun, A. D. 1744, in the Old one; for Bradford was one of the earliest and most active of the "Philadelphia Associators" of that day; a Lieutenant in a company which assisted to build and man its battery. Indeed, from youth to old age, he had but

one idea about the Society of Friends, so far as their capacity to govern the Province was concerned; and though he was much less animated in expression than Dr. Smith, he was not a bit less decided in view, or energetic in action. One purpose of the new periodical would be to support the cause of the Crown against France, and the interest of the Penns against the Society of Friends and Dr. Franklin. Both editor and publisher were, therefore, "hearted" in the new work. The parties saw in each other their required complements; and with such a literary support as Dr. Smith,—both ready and able with his pen, methodical in business, and with talents formed equally to gratify the learned and to attract those aspiring to learn,—Bradford felt that he could safely begin his work. Its first number came forth in October, 1757.

The title-page announces that the Magazine is "By a Society of Gentlemen." No doubt we may believe what the Magazine itself declares; that it received great assistance from the neighboring Governments, and particularly from two or three ingenious gentlemen in Maryland. It is undeniable, nevertheless, that its conduct clustered largely around the College and Academy of Philadelphia; and that the accomplished Provost of that College and Academy both largely animated and largely supported it. The design embraced Literature, Science, History, Politics, Moral Essays, and Current News, both Foreign and Domestic.

Ebenezer Kinnersly, distinguished as an Electrician, and whose discoveries in Electrical Science "the very ingenious Mr. Franklin"* is said to have appropriated in a way not quite honorable,† writes upon this subject of his studies, then a small one, but now astonishing the earth.‡ Thomas Godfrey, "a phenomenon for natural or intuitive knowledge in the abstruse parts of Mathematics and Astronomy," speaks upon the Quadrant,§ of which useful instrument, *he* and not Hadley, as our British friends would pretend, was the inventor. Professor Winthrop, of Cambridge, in New England, treats of the Causes of Earthquakes.|| Other persons give us essays on other parts of Science. One on the

* Page 112.

† Page 639. For some account of Kinnersly, see Appendix No. IV., where I insert a sketch from the pen of the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, LL.D.

‡ Page 627.

§ Pages 475, 527.

|| Pages 23, 111.

Noctiluca Marina, or the luminous appearance of the ocean in the night-time.* A second on the Causes of the *Aurora Borealis*.† A third on uncommon Sea-Animals,‡ including the *Sea-Snake*, "a great and amazing monster;" and, huger still, the KRAAKEN, an animal so vastly large that they who accept implicitly the sea-serpent are compelled to pause, the writer tells us, when they come to this great superior. Poetical pieces; Observations upon the Fine Arts; upon new publications at home and abroad, all appeared with regularity; and Dr. Smith, himself, contributed a series of beautiful moral essays, under the title of "Theodore, the Hermit." The tone of the work was thoroughly loyal to the Crown; and not in the least favorable to the Government of the Province by the Religious Society of Friends, or the irreligious society of the French and Indians. The literary part, the typography, paper and press-work, were all in advance of the day. The subscription list too was very large; the periodical having the double advantage of Dr. Smith's extensive knowledge of literary persons, and of Bradford's possession of all the posts; a matter long in his hands and obtained through the distribution of his newspaper.

The magazine makes a fair octavo volume of twelve numbers and a supplement. Dr. Smith's political troubles, and a purposed voyage to England made necessary, as we hereafter state, by them, arrested the continuance of it, although both pecuniarily and in reputation to editor and publisher, it was more profitable than such things commonly are.

The ability to edit as Dr. Smith did edit this work, in the midst of such anxieties and occupations as engaged his time and thoughts, indicates an order of talent not usual.

* Page 24.

† Page 25.

‡ Page 32.

CHAPTER XII.

ILLEGAL ARREST, TRIAL, CONVICTION AND IMPRISONMENT OF DR. SMITH BY THE ASSEMBLY OF FRIENDS—HIS SPIRITED CONDUCT—APPEALS TO THE KING IN COUNCIL—ACCOUNTS OF THE MATTER IN LETTERS FROM THE REV. MR. MCKEAN TO DR. BEARCROFT, AND FROM DR. SMITH TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—A LETTER FROM DR. JENNEY, RECTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA—DR. SMITH TEACHES HIS COLLEGE CLASSES IN THE WALNUT ST. GAOL—MR. MOORE REMAINS IN OFFICE, BEING ABSOLVED BY THE GOVERNOR FROM CHARGES OF MAL-PRACTICE.

WE come now to one of the most memorable years among the many memorable ones, which marked the long and much varied life of William Smith, Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. The record which we have now to make presents a melancholy proof of the weakness of human professions; and shows that the Religious Society of Friends, which, when out of civil power, could complain pathetically of the abuses of civil rulers, when in power could carry those abuses to a point which hardly any spiritual governors in Protestant lands at any time equalled. The history of the particular proceeding which prompts our remark has enough both of political instruction and of dramatic interest to justify an account of it somewhat in detail.

William Moore, Esquire, of Moore Hall, in Chester county in Pennsylvania, the first Judge of the Common Pleas, and one of the Justices of the Peace for Chester, had long distinguished himself as an active magistrate and an advocate for the defence of his country. In opposing the principles of the Religious Society of Friends on the subject of defensive war, Mr. Moore became very obnoxious to them. In consequence of this, the House of Assembly, in August, 1757, called him to answer before them to sundry petitions previously procured by some of their own members (as was said) from divers persons—convicts in his own court, Roman Catholics and others—charging him, in sharp terms, with injustice in the execution of his office.

Mr. Moore delivered a respectful memorial to the House, setting forth his innocence as to the matters charged; but denying their

authority to try him for his conduct as a magistrate, since they could neither examine upon oath, nor give any legal judgment *per pares*, and because all the matters charged against him were cognizable by common law. If the Assembly could try him, he might be tried and punished twice for the same offences—if guilty of any.

On receiving this memorial the House, in Mr. Moore's absence, proceeded to take the oaths or affirmations of all the petitioners *ex parte* in support of their several petitions; and, without other proof than these, they laid an address before the Governor charging Mr. Moore with oppression, injustice and corruption in office, and praying his immediate removal therefrom. This address of theirs the House caused to be published in their official organ, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

To this address the Governor answered that he would speedily appoint a day to hear Mr. Moore and his accusers face to face, and if found guilty of any mal-conduct, they might depend on his immediate removal; but that no man should be condemned unheard.

The annual dissolution and the election of a new Assembly—which was to take place on the 1st of October of this same year 1757—followed on the back of this; and Mr. Moore, fearing the address of so weighty a body as the Assembly, if passed unanswered, might prejudice him with the Governor, who was now to be his judge, determined to present a counter-address in his own vindication; and as the Assembly that had so maliciously and so unjustly accused him, as he conceived, had no longer an existence, he thought that he might exercise great freedom in saying everything relative to their conduct which could tend to justify his own. He accordingly presented the following address to Governor Denny. The date of this was October 29th, 1757; nearly a month after the adjournment.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR: Whereas the late Assembly of this Province, upon a Number of groundless and scandalous Petitions, most shamefully procured against me by one or more of their Members, from sundry Persons of mean and infamous Characters, did, on the 28th of September last, present to your Honour, and order to be published in the common Gazette, a most virulent and slanderous Address, charging me, in the bitterest Terms, with divers Misdemeanours and corrupt

Practices in my Office, without exhibiting any other Proof thereof than their own unjust Allegations, founded on the Evidence of the said Petitioners procured as above, and taken *ex parte* before themselves, who were invested with no legal Authority for so doing. And whereas, at the same Time that the aforesaid late Assembly presented and published such heavy Charges against me, they did most unjustly suppress and keep back from your Honour and the World, my Memorial delivered to them in my own Defence, six Days before their presenting or publishing their aforesaid Address, endeavouring as far as in their Power, to prepossess your Honour against me, by a partial Representation of my Case, and to make the World condemn me unheard, as they themselves have in effect done, thereby acting a Part unworthy of any public Body, except the most oppressive. Wherefore, for your Honour's Satisfaction, and in Justice to my own Reputation, least the aforesaid Address should fall into the Hands of any Persons who may not know the Character of the late Assembly, nor the particular Motives of their Rancour against me, I beg Leave to make some further Remarks, and hope to be indulged therein with all that Justice, Patience and Candor, which are due to one who is pleading his Cause against the severest and most grievous Accusations, and in Points the most nearly affecting his Character and Interest.

L. It appears from the Minutes of Assembly, November 1757, page 54, that the Country being then in the utmost confusion and distress, the Savage Knife of the Enemy hourly plunged into the Breasts of the miserable Frontier Inhabitants, I join'd with many others (who were too deeply affected with the Sufferings of their bleeding Fellow-Subjects, to be silent), in Representing to the Assembly, "the ill effects of "the Disputes in which they were then engaged, the alarming Situation "of the Country thro' the Want of a Militia Law, and the terrible Destruction made on our Frontiers on that Account; beseeching the "Assembly at the same Time, that if their Consciences tied them up "from doing their Duty in Points of such high Consequence to the "Preservation of the Lives and Properties of the People committed to "their Protection, to resign their Seats to others." That I not only signed such a Petition as this, in Conjunction with Thirty-five of my Neighbours, dated November 5th, 1757 (as is set forth in the aforesaid Minutes), but also drew up the same with my own Hand, I readily own; and think I should not have been acquitted in my own Conscience if I had neglected such an Act of Duty to my distress'd and suffering Country at that Time. From the Day of delivering the aforesaid Petition, I may justly date the Commencement of the Virulence of the Party against me. To the same Cause is to be attributed all the Petitions procured against me by one of the Members, or rather Tools, of the late Assembly, thro' the most unjustifiable Practices, many of them, at a Tavern, and at a Time when the Petitioners were render'd incapable of reading or

knowing what they signed ; and by the same Methods might have been made to sign Petitions against their nearest and most innocent Relations.

II. As to the Address itself, it appears to agree well enough with the Motives of its Authors and Abettors. It is from Beginning to End, one continued string of the severest Calumny and most rancorous Epithets, conceived in all the Terms of Malice and Party Rage, exaggerated and heaped upon one another in the most lavish Manner.

III. It asserts evident Falsehood, in saying that I refused to obey a Summons from the House to answer to the Charges against me. For, in the first place I never had any Summons, but only a private Notification from the Clerk, acquainting me of the Day fixed for hearing the Evidence against me. In the second place, I did appear before the House, and delivered to them my Reasons for declining to be tried before them, where my Cause could not be cognizable, as they had it not in their Power finally to acquit or condemn me. Tryals by our Peers (and not by the Parties against us) I take to be one of the highest Privileges of an Englishman ; which if I had submitted to give up, in my Case, by agreeing to be tried by a House of Assembly, and even by my Accusers themselves, I ought not only to have been deemed void of all Reason, and unworthy of the Commission I have the Honour to bear, but my Name would have deserved to be had in Reproach among all Freemen ; and a House of Representatives, who should be the Guardians of Liberty, ought to have been the last Persons to propose such an Infringement of the Rights of a British Subject. By these Considerations, founded on the Principles of Freedom, and a Love of our excellent Constitution, my Conduct was actuated, tho' it would otherwise have been much more agreeable to me, to have confronted those Slanders of my Character, and vindicated myself, as I am desirous of doing before your Honour, or any impartial and legal judicature.

IV. The last Thing I would observe with Regard to the conduct of the late Assembly in my Case, is, that it must be an Inlet and Encouragement to much false swearing, if the Evidence of such partial and corrupt Witnesses is taken in their own Cause, *coram non judice*, where they are not punishable by Law for perjury. For in such Cases, where such Persons have been procured to assert Facts by way of Petition, and are afterwards, contrary to their Expectations, call'd before a publick Body to support them, the Necessity they are under to justify their own conduct must convince every discerning Man, that, in such a Situation, the Transition from asserting to swearing falsely, will be no difficult Matter amongst them.

Upon the whole, it may be submitted, whether the Character drawn of me by the late Assembly, does not perfectly agree with their own Conduct, viz. : "That, regardless of the impartial and just Discharge
"of their Duty, and wickedly and corruptly through an avaritious Dis-

“position (to usurp Powers that do not belong to them) and designedly
“oppress and injure me, they have misbehaved themselves greatly, by
“taking Wages of the publick under colour of their Office, where no
“Services were done their Country, and by encouraging the bringing
“in a Number of petty suits before them by corrupt and wicked Prac-
“tices (in order to gratify their Party Rancour), to the great Scandal
“of Justice, Derogation of the Laws, and grievous distress of his Ma-
“jesty’s Subjects.” It may also be submitted whether it would not
have redounded more to their Credit, if, instead of making use of their
Power to sit as the Persecutors of those who have opposed their unjusti-
fiable Measures, they had employed their Time, and the publick Money
to better Purposes, by taking pity on the Sufferings of their distress’d
Constituents, and putting their Country into a Posture of Defence.
Had they done so, it might have saved the shedding much innocent
Blood, and prevented strife and contention among Neighbours.

The Treatment I have received, in having my Name branded in the
publick Gazette, before I had Time to be heard by your Honour, or
tried by my Peers, I hope, will justify the Freedom I have used with my
Opponents on this Occasion. Sorry I am to think, that their Conduct
has been so diametrically opposite to that Justice and Humanity which
heretofore distinguish’d their Predecessors in Assembly, and which yet
distinguishes the sober and better parts of the Inhabitants of this Prov-
ince. Will not the perusal of such virulent and malignant Papers induce
the World to think that Pennsylvania is no longer the Land of brother-
ly Love, Forbearance and Meekness, but of the most bitter Persecu-
tion and severe Calumny? For my part, I doubt not of being able to
justify my Conduct to your Honour and the World; and while that is
the Case, I am little solicitous about the censure of an Assembly, whose
particular Talent and Character are known to have been Slander and
Obloquy. And it is a favourable Circumstance for me, that in the
same Gazette, that has conveyed to the public their unjust attack upon
my Character, they have exhibited a Message to your Honour, which
will be a standing Monument of Scurrility and Abuse, seldom equall’d
in a civilized Country. And I had no Reason to expect that any greater
Regard would be shewn to me on falling under their Displeasure, than
they have already shewn to your Honour, your worthy Predecessors,
and to all the Members of your Council without Exception, who have
been loaded from Time to Time with the severest Reproaches that
Malice could invent or bestow, not even refraining to brand them with
the Names of Tyrants, Oppressors, &c., as is well known both here and
abroad. After such Considerations as these, I am so far from thinking it
my Misfortune to have been marked out as an Object of their Resent-
ment, that were I so vain as to desire my Name should be transmitted
to Posterity, I think it could not be done in a Manner more advan-
tageous to my Character, than in the Proceedings of the late Assembly;

provided it appeared that I had borne any constant Testimony against them, and that they had spoke ill, not well of me.

I shall not trouble your Honour any further on this Subject at present, hoping that what I have said will be sufficient to shew the Spirit by which my Accusers have been actuated, and to prevent the Consequences which they must have intended by their Misrepresentations of me.

I am

Your Honour's most obedient and Most humble Servant,

WILLIAM MOORE.

PHILADELPHIA, October 29th, 1757.

As the Assembly had published their address in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*—which was carried on by their own printer, Mr. Hall—Mr. Moore thought it proper to convey his answer through the same channel. He therefore carried his address to the printer of the *Gazette*, who refused to insert it until after he had consulted and obtained the leave of the Speaker and several members of the old House, who were chosen again into the new one, which had not yet met. Permission having been granted, the address was afterwards published in that paper. It was soon afterwards published also in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, the well-known paper of Colonel William Bradford. After it had been thus published, both by Mr. Hall and by Colonel Bradford in their respective papers, Mr. Moore applied to Dr. Smith to have it inserted in the German newspaper which Dr. Smith had been instrumental in establishing for propagating religious knowledge and the English tongue among the German emigrants in Pennsylvania.

In consequence of this application, Dr. Smith, happening to meet the German translator of that newspaper, spoke with him about inserting the address, saying that there could be no harm in printing what the Assembly's printer had done so long before, and what Colonel Bradford had also done, and that the Germans ought to see everything that was in the English papers. The translator was of the same opinion, took the copy from the English papers, and translated it into the German without Dr. Smith having anything more to do in the matter.

Soon after this—viz., in the beginning of January, 1758—the new Assembly met for business, and the first thing they did was to issue warrants for taking Messrs. Moore and Smith into close custody. Both Mr. Moore and Dr. Smith were accordingly—in the face of some of the most distinguished people of the city—

arrested by the Sergeant-at-arms of the House on the 6th of January, 1758, at the Coffee-House, where they happened to be. Dr. Smith was lodged in the old jail at the southeast corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. Mr. Moore was carried before the Assembly and ordered to prepare for his trial at their bar*—first, with respect to his conduct in the magistracy, in answer to the petitions that had been presented against him; and, secondly, for writing and publishing a virulent paper, entitled "An Address," etc., reflecting on the conduct of a former House, and which the present House had resolved to be a libel against their Constitution and the very being of Assemblies in general.

As to the first, Mr. Moore still denied the authority of the House to try him as a magistrate, for the same reasons that he had before denied it on in his address to the Governor; and, with respect to the second, he owned that, when he found his character so injuriously treated by the former Assembly, he thought it his duty, as far as he could, to remove the aspersions which they had thrown upon him; that he did write and publish the address which the present House termed a libel; that it was settled law, as appeared by "Coke's Second Institute," page 228, that nothing published in a course of justice to procure a man's own right could be taken for scandal, or be punishable as a libel; and that this was his case, who had not published his address maliciously and to traduce the Assembly, but to defend himself against a printed address of theirs praying the Governor to remove him from the magistracy as guilty of maladministration therein; that the address was written before the present House had a being, and therefore could be no contempt or libel against them; and that, if it was a libel against the Constitution or government in general, there were known laws and forms of proceedings in such cases, which he considered could neither be abrogated nor suspended, nor in any way prevented in their effects, by any single part or branch of the Legislature.

Immediately upon this the Assembly, with the forms and solemnity of a court of judicature, sentenced Mr. Moore to the common jail on account of his refusal to be tried before them, for his con-

* The House took Mr. Moore into custody the day before his hearing was to have come on before the Governor in consequence of the address of the former House. This was apparently done to prevent his having an opportunity of clearing himself, unless he would agree that the Assembly had jurisdiction to try him.

duct in the magistracy, and on account of his writing and publishing his said address, and reflecting on a former House in a document which they termed a libel against all Houses, etc. They commanded, at the same time, the sheriff of the county and city "not to pay regard to any of His Majesty's writs of *Habeas Corpus* that should be to him directed in the case of William Moore, as he should answer at his peril."

This done Dr. Smith was next brought to the bar of the House, and charged with "*abetting and promoting the writing and publishing of a libel entitled the Address of William Moore,*" which he answered immediately by pleading his entire innocence of the matters charged.

The House replied that they had sufficient proof of the charge, and that he must prepare to take his trial before them upon the same.

To this Dr. Smith answered that, as the gentleman who had signed the address had already acknowledged himself the sole writer and publisher thereof, and was punished for the same by the House, it seemed strange that they should look for any other publishers or writers; that he could easily prove his own innocence, but that he had hoped, when they considered the matter in all its consequences, they would not insist thereon; that the address had been written against a House not in being; that it had been the policy of all wise nations to leave it in the power of every subject to arraign the conduct of their highest officers when they swerved from their duty; that the meanest plebeian in Rome might have impeached a Consul at the expiration of his term; that the best check which the British nation enjoys against those clothed in superior power is the right of animadverting freely on their conduct, within the bounds and spirit of law, whereof a jury of themselves are the judges; that if the Assembly should proceed so far as to call men to account for what had been said concerning a preceding dissolved House, they might by the same rule call them to account for censuring any House that had subsisted a century ago, and by this means tie up the tongues and pens of men forever, sanctify the most iniquitous measures, and render it impossible even to write a history of former times without being subject to the prosecution of every future enraged House of Assembly; that the liberty of the press was concerned in Dr.

Smith's case; that if he had done anything, it was as a director of a newspaper, in which he had been exercising his best judgment, as was his duty; that two other persons had printed it, particularly the Assembly's own printer, and by the advice of several of their members; that they all stood on the same footing, and if they had offended against the laws, they should be tried by the laws and the verdict of their peers; that if the Assembly should try the matter, they had no law to proceed by, and were moreover the parties pretending to be injured, which rendered them very unfit to be judges; and that they might certainly trust their cause to the ordinary courts of justice and an impartial jury of their constituents.

Having said this, Dr. Smith was ordered to withdraw a little; and, being soon called in again, he was acquainted that the House had resolved that they would hear no arguments tending to call in question their jurisdiction and right to try the publication of a libel; that they had appointed the Tuesday following to begin his trial, and that he might have the assistance of counsel, if he desired it, and would name those he intended to employ.

Dr. Smith, considering that if, after hearing this resolve, he should still decline their right of trying him on the matters charged, it would be called a contempt of a House then in being—for which they would have voted a commitment, which, as he conceived, was all they had in view—told them that he must be guided by the determination of the House, and that he would choose the Attorney-General for his counsel, who was his particular friend, as well as a gentleman of whose abilities he had a high opinion. He also named two other lawyers—John Ross and William Peters—to be employed with the Attorney-General.

The House replied that he was welcome to the two other lawyers, but that the Attorney-General could not be permitted to plead at their bar in behalf of any prisoner, as they judged it inconsistent with the nature of his office and qualification.

Dr. Smith now prepared for his defence, which he had resolved to confine to two points:

First. To show that the paper was not a *libel*, even against the Assembly whose conduct it reflected on; and

Second. That if it was a libel, it was contrary to all precedents, and unwarranted by any law for a succeeding House to take cognizance thereof.

But, to his surprise, the first thing he heard at the bar of the House on the day of trial was the following resolve, viz.:

The counsel for Dr. Smith shall not be permitted to adduce any arguments to show that the address of William Moore is not a libel, OR to call in question the right of this House to take cognizance thereof.

This was, in fact, condemning him unheard, and depriving him of both points of his defence. The nature of the crime was predetermined against him; the jurisdiction of the House was not to be impeached; no matters of law were to be pleaded in his behalf. So that nothing was left but the examination of the evidences, and he was to be a sort of silent spectator of a mock trial before this new-erected judicature.

The examination of the evidences took up many days; Colonel Bradford and Mr. Hall both testifying that they had printed the address in their respective papers before it was in the other.

On summing up the whole, it appeared that of near twenty persons who had been consulted and applied to by Mr. Moore—some in writing and some in publishing his address—Dr. Smith was the most innocent, having had no hand in the writing and but very little in the publishing, namely, some occasional conversation with the German translator, who was the third publisher, and who had not published it until many weeks after both Mr. Hall and Colonel Bradford had done so.

The House now adjudged Dr. Smith “guilty of promoting and publishing a false, scandalous, virulent and seditious libel against the late House of Assembly of the Province, highly derogatory of and destructive to the *privileges of the Assembly*.”

Dr. Smith was now thus addressed by the Speaker:

Mr. Smith: The House, having inquired into the charge against you, have found you guilty of promoting and publishing a libel, entitled “The Address of William Moore, Esquire,” and do order you to be committed to the gaol of this county till you make satisfaction to *this* House.

Immediately after the sentence, Dr. Smith rose and tendered to the House an appeal to the King. The House rejected the appeal and returned it to him. On his desiring that the tender and refusal might be entered on their minutes, they asked him, with anger, if they were to be directed by him how to keep their

minutes. The Speaker then read a form of an acknowledgment made by the Bishop of Bristol in King James the First's time, and insinuated that the same would be sufficient from Dr. Smith. Dr. Smith now rose, and, with great dignity, said :

Mr. Speaker : I cannot make acknowledgments or profess contrition. No punishment which this Assembly can inflict on me would be half so terrible to me as suffering my tongue to give to my heart the lie.

This last sentence was uttered with much emotion ;—the speaker striking his breast with his hand as he spoke. The lobbies were crowded with people, all of more or less importance in our then little town : Thomas Willing, Lynford Lardner, Richard Hockley, William Peters, John Wallace, John Bell, James Young, Captain Vanderspeigle, Charles Osborne, and others, some of them officers of the crown, and all friends both of Dr. Smith and the Proprietaries ; several of them, too, being Masons, as Dr. Smith himself was.* Dr. Smith's bold defiance of the Assembly, uttered with an effect highly dramatic, and set off by the Provost's noble face and person, brought out a storm of applause from the auditors.

When this had subsided, and the House had vindicated its dignity by an arrest and fine of several of the parties, Dr. Smith was taken to jail. The warrant of commitment was thus :

PENNSYLVANIA, ss.

To James Coultas, Esq., Sheriff of the City and County of Philadelphia.

The House of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania hath this day adjudged William Smith for promoting and publishing a false, scandalous, virulent and seditious libel *against the late House of Assembly of this Province, and highly derogatory of and destructive to the rights of this House and the privileges of Assembly*. These are, therefore, in behalf and by order of the said last-mentioned House of Assembly, to require and charge you to receive the said William Smith into your custody within the common jail of your county, under your charge, and him therein safely to keep and detain until you shall receive further orders from this House.

Hereof fail not, as you shall answer the contrary at your peril. Given under my hand this 25th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1758.

THOMAS LEECH, Speaker.

* Thomas Lawrence, Charles Osborne, John Bell and John Wallace were all Masons. John Wallace was apparently at one time Treasurer of the Lodge. (See *The Grand Lodge of the Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, 1877. p. xxxii.

The *charge* against Dr. Smith, it will be remembered, was for publishing a *libel*, entitled, etc. The publishing of a libel is a common law offence. It involves no matter of privilege, and is punishable by the courts of common law. But condemnation by the Assembly for an offence punishable at common law would have been void. This was soon seen by the Assembly, and the defect was sought to be remedied by an allegation of a breach of privilege. The warrant of commitment alleged a new offence—a breach of privilege; one of which the House was the judge.

Dr. Smith now gave notice to the Speaker of the Assembly of Friends that he would not leave things where the Friends had placed them:

SIR: As I do not think that the refusal of your House to receive *or admit the appeal* which I tendered to them on Wednesday, the 25th instant, can either deprive His Majesty of his royal prerogative to hear appeals from any judgment in this Province, nor any of his subjects of their right *to make such appeal*, I think it proper to acquaint you and this House of Assembly that I am still determined *to lay my appeal*, case and complaint, before his Majesty in Council, and to prosecute the same, in such manner as I shall be advised in order to obtain that redress which I have reason to hope from the royal clemency and justice.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

To Thomas Leech, Esq., Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania.

The judgment and commitment for an offence not charged; the erection of itself, by the Assembly, into an extraordinary judicature whose authority was not to be questioned, and the denial by it of Dr. Smith's appeal, were obviously unconstitutional acts. An act equally unconstitutional is exhibited in an order which we copy from the Journal of the Assembly.

Such orders were hardly made even in the days of bad kings.

January 25th, 1758.

ORDERED, That M^r. Speaker do give in charge to the Sheriff to keep his prisoner, William Smith, Provost of the Academy of Philadelphia, agreeable to the directions of the commitment to him delivered; and *that he do not obey any writ of Habeas Corpus, or other writ whatsoever, that may come to his hands, for Bailing and discharging him from his custody on any pretence whatsoever, and that this House will support him in obedience to this order.*

The Friends, in directing the Sheriff to pay no attention to the King's Writ of Habeas Corpus, quite forgot themselves. They ought to have remembered that the Sheriff, by whomsoever appointed or elected, was the King's officer, bound of necessity to obey the King's writs directed to him; that this very office was instituted for executing them; so that their commanding him not to obey such writs was commanding him not to be a Sheriff, which at the same time they allowed him to be; and consequently was the absurdest of absurdities. The adjectitious clause about the *Habeas Corpus* was obviously made under fear that Dr. Smith might seek relief through the Courts; and the Assembly mean thus to obviate his act.

If the strange behavior of the Friends through all this matter did not proceed from ignorance, it proceeded from the intolerance which would confound law and justice to gratify revenge, and a lust of power. Unfortunately there were too many reasons to fear that it proceeded from the last.

Dr. Smith being resolved to attempt every legal method to attain his liberty before he should trouble the Crown officers in England with the exhibition of a case so little creditable to the Legislature of the Province, now, February 4th, 1758, sought relief, though he was aware of the technical difficulties which the Assembly had here put in his way, from the Judicial and the Executive powers at home.

He first addressed the Judicial Power:

TO THE HON. WM. ALLEN, CHIEF-JUSTICE OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNA.

The Humble Petition of William Smith, of the City of Phila.

Sheweth:

That your Petitioner is a Prisoner confined in the county gaol of Philadelphia, and, as he avers, unduly deprived of his liberty; your petitioner therefore prays your Honour to grant him his Majesty's Writ of Habeas Corpus, returnable immediately, or as your Honour shall think proper, so that your petitioner shall either be discharged or bailed, as the nature of his case upon the return of said writ shall require.

And your petitioner will pray, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

To this petition, the Chief-Justice made the following answer:

On view of a copy of the Petitioner's Warrant of Commitment, it appearing to me that, among other things, the Petitioner is committed

by the House of Assembly of this Province for a *breach of Privilege*, I do not think myself authorized in granting a Habeas Corpus, and in bailing the Petitioner during the sitting of the House, and therefore am obliged to reject the prayer of the Petitioner. WILLIAM ALLEN.

He now appealed to the Executive :

To WILLIAM DENNY, ESQ., Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Penna., and Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware.

The humble Petition of William Smith, of the City of Philadelphia, Clerk,
Sheweth :

That your Petitioner is a Prisoner confined in the county Gaol of Philadelphia by order of the House of Assembly of this Province, and, as he conceived, unduly restrained of his liberty, and by the Chief-Justice refused his Majesty's Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Your Petitioner therefor prays your Honor to grant him such Redress and Relief as your Honor, on Consideration of his case, which will be laid before your Honor, shall think suitable and just.

And your Petitioner shall Pray, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

PHILA., Feb. 4th, 1758.

Governor Denny's action appears by his endorsement on this petition :

The unhappy Situation of the Petitioner moves me with great Compassion, but if I have a Power* in any Shape to interpose in this matter, I do not incline to exercise it, as it might, at this critical Juncture, endanger the safety of the whole Province.

WILLIAM DENNY.

Feb. 6th, 1758.

There, therefore, remained nothing for Dr. Smith to do but to appeal to the King in council ; and although that would involve a voyage to England, waiting the law's delay, with perhaps the insolence of office, etc., this step he resolved to take. The oppressor's wrong had already come—wrong not to him alone, but to his college, his country and his King—and he was determined to have it redressed.

In the meantime he went to prison.

Such proceedings as these which we have described—a clergyman of the Church of England, the Provost of the College and

* The power here spoken of as perhaps existing was that of a dissolution of the Assembly.

Academy, a Trustee and Chief Director of all the German schools, put into the Walnut Street gaol—made something of a stir among the gentlemen of Philadelphia. It made a stir, in fact, over the land. We give a letter from a minister in New Jersey (a brother of Thomas McKean, afterwards Chief-Justice and Governor of Pennsylvania), and one from Dr. Smith himself about it:

*The Rev. Mr. McKean to Dr. Bearcroft.**

NEW BRUNSWICK IN NEW JERSEY, Feb^y 5, 1758.

REV^d SIR: Since my arrival here I have wrote you by two different Conveyances, one by the Pacquet, and the other by means of a friend *via* Ireland. In them I have troubled you with a particular account of my Voyage and other proper occurrences, as also the kind reception I have met with and the happy prospect I have as yet in my mission.

What I have further to communicate by this opportunity is, that the Rev^d Mr. Thompson at Chester in Pennsylvania had left that Mission before my arrival in America, and 'tis said is gone to some of the West India Islands. The cause of his going away I am uncertain of, tho', some have said, it was in consequence of a report spread by some means or other that he was removed from the Society's service. The Hon'ble Society's Letter for that Gentleman I have now in my possession and will return it or otherwise dispose of it, as soon as you will honor me with your pleasure on that head.

An extraordinary Affair has lately happened in Philadelphia, of which, Sir, I must also beg the indulgence to inform you; the cause of Religion, the Church of England and the Liberty of that Province (Pennsylvania) seeming to be highly concerned in it. The Case is thus. A certain William Moore, a Justice of the Peace and President of the Court in one of the Counties of that Province, having distinguished himself about two years ago in opposing the measures of the Quaker Assembly, by joining with many others in strongly soliciting a Militia Law, which was refused, became an object of the Quakers' resentment. Some time before the last General Election of Representatives for that Province, Mr. Moore was summoned before the then House of Assembly in consequence of some Petitions presented against him for maladministration in his Office. He appeared and delivered in a Memorial in his own defence. The Dissolution of the then Assembly approaching, they thought proper to publish to the World in the *Gazette*, the charges and accusations against Moore, omitting his Memorial of Defence. After that Assembly was dissolved, Moore thinking himself aggrieved by that publication presents an Address to the Governor, setting forth the injuries he had received and praying that the Governor would make

* Lambeth MSS.

enquiry into his conduct and if guilty to punish him accordingly. This Address was sent to M^r. Hall, Printer to the Assembly, who after consulting three of the principal Members whether he might publish it, and obtaining their consent, printed the same in his *Gazette*. After this another Printer, W^m. Bradford, published it in a weekly paper of his. Some weeks after the Rev^d M^r. Smith, one of the Trustees of the Schools erected in that Province for the propagating Religion and the English Language among the German Emigrants and Director of a German Press set up for conveying proper intelligence to these people and promoting the noble design of making them good Subjects, was applied to by several Germans and others who had heard of the aforementioned Address to reprint the same. Accordingly it was translated into the German Language and printed. The present Assembly, consisting mostly of the same Members with the former, looking upon this Address as containing things very severe on their conduct, Voted the same "a seditious and scandalous Libel," in consequence of which they arrested M^r. Moore by their Serjeant at Arms; had him before their House where he confessed his being the Author of the Address, and was thereupon by them sentenced to prison 'till the 1st of October next and was accordingly committed to the Common Gaol.

But this proceeding, which is here looked upon as a most extraordinary stretch of power and contrary to the constitution and fundamentals of an English Government, did not satisfy the incensed Assembly.

The Rev^d M^r. Smith has long been an object of the Quakers' hatred upon several accounts. They have suspected him for exposing to the World their pernicious conduct in refusing to defend the Country against the dreadful devastations and cruel barbarities of the Savages. He is, you know, Sir, at the head of the College and Academy, which has all along met with the greatest opposition from that party as they justly fear it will be a means of promoting true Religion and Loyalty and thereby exterminate their power. And what is still as vexatious and grating to them, and has met with the same opposition, is the scheme of the German Schools. These people (the Germans), who compose a large body in the Province, the Quakers had formerly under their direction and therefore were willing to keep them in ignorance. M^r. Smith has been extremely assiduous in promoting this great design and for this reason also has been marked out as an Enemy to their interests and projects.

The reprinting this paper (the Address) was conceived by the Assembly as a proper handle by which they might lay hold on M^r. Smith and thereby wreak their vengeance on him. He was in pursuance of a Resolve to this purpose Arrested, brought to the Bar of their House and after a sham Tryal of several days, was committed to close confinement in the Common Gaol "for" (as they expressed it) "promoting and publishing a Libel," while the two Printers who had published the

same a Month before were past unnoticed. The clamor of the People was however so great that they would have willingly dismissed M^r. Smith upon making a submission, but this he nobly refused, and when he received his Sentence declared as he was not conscious of any crime "his Lips should not give his Heart the Lie;" when M^r. Smith delivered this Speech the Audience gave a general clap in applause of his conduct.

This the Assembly construed into a contempt and had several persons arrested and brought before them, who after some slight submissions were discharged. M^r. Smith now appealed from this extraordinary and new erected Court of Judicature (who assume to themselves greater powers than the House of Commons in England) to his Sacred Majesty and offered to give any Bail to prosecute the same, but this Appeal was refused, and he is still confined, the Sheriff being ordered by them not to execute a Writ of Habeas Corpus, if such an one should be issued for this persecuted Gentleman's relief. The Case however will be laid before His Majesty; but in the meantime M^r. Smith bears the loss and injury, yet still is in good spirits considering the cause for which he suffers.

I hope Rev^d Sir, you will pardon my troubling you with such a long detail of this affair as I thought it a duty I owed to the cause of the Church, Religion, and the Province that gave me Birth to represent it to you, and believe me, Sir, I am so little a politician and meddle so seldom with such affairs, that I would not have presumed to say a word on this head to you if it had not appeared a case of the most engaging and important nature, and a severe stroke levelled at the interests of the Church of England thro' the person of M^r. Smith. This is a true state of the Case and unless protection from your quarter of the World can be had, which it is not doubted will be given, it cannot be conceived where these daring attempts may end.

Rev^d Sir, Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant,

ROBERT MCKEAN.

*Dr. Smith to the Bishop of London.**

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY GAOL, Febr^y 7th, 1758.

MY LORD: This will be delivered to your Lordship by M^r. Jacob Duché, a Young Gentleman of good Fortune, bred up in our College under me. He has distinguished himself as a Scholar and Orator on many Public occasions, and from the most disinterested motives has devoted himself to the Church. He proposes to spend some time at the University, in England and goes from this place in company with M^r. Hamilton, our late Governor. He is in every respect a Youth of the

* Lambeth MSS., No. 1123.

most hopeful parts and not unworthy the Honor of your Lordship's protection and notice.

I have heretofore hinted the persecuting spirit of the Quakers against all those who had the courage to avow themselves strenuous Advocates for the Defence of this His Majesty's Colony in opposition to those pernicious principles that would tamely resign all our sacred rights, civil and religious, into the hands of a savage and popish enemy.

Against me in particular they have had a long grudge, supposing me the Author of some Pamphlets published in London to alarm the Nation of the dreadful consequences of suffering such men to continue in power at this time. But finding no pretext to distress me, though lying on the watch for three years, the Assembly at last called me before them and committed me to gaol for having reprinted a Paper (in the German Newspaper under my direction as a Trustee for a Society in London) which had been printed four weeks before in both the English Newspapers, and in one of them by the Assembly's own Printer after consulting the Speaker and two other leading Members.

This appeared so partial that on my rather chusing to go to Gaol than make any acknowledgments to the House when I saw the other Printers passed over, together with the Members and ten other gentlemen who had advised the Author therein and some of them eminent Lawyers as may appear in the Depositions—I say, my Lord, this appeared so partial that on the refusal aforesaid the Audience set up a loud clap of applause. Every person of impartiality exclaimed against the Sentence of the House; a Majority of the Church Vestry and other leading Gentlemen petitioned them not to send a Clergyman of the Church to Gaol, offering any Sum Bail for me. But all this was refused unless I would meanly belie my conscience and acknowledge wrong where I had done none. I accordingly appealed from this strange sentence to His Majesty in Council, at the earnest desire of every person here who wishes to see the Privileges of Assemblies explained and the Liberty of the Subject ascertained.

Indeed, my Lord, there seems an end of all liberty both of Writing and Preaching here, if our Assemblies will be both Judges and Juries in their own case, taking upon them to Try Common Law Offences, Examine upon Oath and refuse a Trial by Peers. They likewise fixed the nature of the Crime as well as their own right to try it, refusing to hear any arguments on that head. The Trial lasted 13 days, and my Gaol is as comfortable as a Gaol can be, being crowded with Visitors from Morning to Night.

We are determined to push the Appeal with vigor, a large Sum being raised for that effect. D^r. Chandler will wait on your Lordship to propose a meeting between your Lordship, D^r. Nichols, D^r. Bearcroft, M^r. Penn and M^r. Hamilton, to concert the proper measures for defeating this Quaker persecution, in which all Churches and all Friends of Liberty are concerned.

I presume therefore to beg your Lordship's countenance therein. The Case and Depositions will be laid before your Lordship, and if you do not find it the cause of Religion, Liberty and persecuted Innocence, I request no favor.

I am,

Your Lordship's

Most Dutiful Son and Servant,

W. SMITH.

P. S.—I have sent your Lordship a small Charge delivered to my Pupils, together with an American Magazine which contains some account of my affair, and shall continue to send that Magazine for your Lordship's amusement during the war.

That we may not be suspected of a wish to paint out any shades, specks, or spots upon the character of Dr. Smith, we give the following letter from the Rector of Christ Church, preserved among the manuscripts at Lambeth. The reader will have an account of Dr. Jenney and of this letter further on in this volume. See pages 215-262; 286.

Dr. Jenney to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, November 27th, 1758.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE: The general joy of every friend of our Church at the exaltation of your Grace to the See of Canterbury could not but reach these parts and affect us here, as we are told it did those at home, particularly it gave me the greatest pleasure who have long ago been informed of your excellent Administration in the See of Oxford, from whence we cannot help expecting the like or greater advantages from one in a more exalted station from whence more good may redound to the Church.

As your Grace hath always been a most zealous Member of the Hon'ble Society for propagating the Gospel, &c., so your present situation puts it in your power to exert your pious disposition in this way more than formerly, and we of this Province have more than ordinary reason to mention this, because we cannot help observing mistakes in the Abstracts of that Ven'ble Body which we apprehend arise from misrepresentations from hence.

But what I am most concerned for & apprehensive of evil consequences from, is the practice of some Clergymen here to intermix what is their true and real business with Politics in civil affairs and being so zealous therein as to blame and even revile those of their Brethren who cannot approve of their conduct in this particular. I am very sorry to be forced to name one William Smith, who 'tis said is gone to England with this

view, and without doubt will wait upon your Grace. He hath always been exceedingly busy in Church in New York and this Province ever since A. D. 1744, since when he was admitted into the Hon'ble Societie's service, and I have not heard that I have ever in all that time been charged with a fault or any indiscretion; and I am very unwilling to have my reputation called in question now the first time when my great age and infirmities make it impossible that I can hold out long. I would not care to go out of the world in the ill opinion of any, especially so great a Man in station and character as your Grace. He pretends to be a great intimate of the Hon'ble M^r. Thomas Penn, our Proprietor, and several other great Men whose favours he boasts of, but I am in hopes that no great Man will support him in his misrepresentation of me without giving me an opportunity to clear myself. And I humbly pray that his forwardness will not prevail upon your Grace in particular to entertain anything amiss of me who am not conscious to myself of having done anything to deserve it.

I humbly thank God to prosper your Grace's Labours in his service: I earnestly pray your favorable Opinion of me and am,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most dutiful Son and

most Obedient Humble Servant,

ROBERT JENNEY.

We come back, however, to the beginning of 1758. The Provost was still in gaol. With the head of the College in a place so unlike the grove of Academus, and so little convenient for instruction, an alumnus of this day would, perhaps, wonder how the classes could get along, or how, indeed, the College could exist. There was no difficulty in the year 1758 about such a matter; never, at least, where Dr. Smith was the Provost, and the classes such as attended upon him. "The mind is its own place." The minutes of the College, under date of February 4th, 1758, have this entry:

The Assembly of the Province, having taken Mr. Smith into Custody, the Trustees considered how the inconvenience from thence arising to the College might be best remedied; and Mr. Smith having expressed a Desire to continue his Lectures to the Classes which had formerly attended them, the students also inclining rather to proceed in their Studies under his care, they ordered that Said classes should attend him for that Purpose at the usual Hours in the Place of his present confinement.

On his arrest by the Sergeant-at-arms at the Coffee House, January 6th, 1758, Dr. Smith was kept in confinement until the

25th of the month, when he was sentenced to jail. He here remained eleven weeks; being liberated about the 11th of April, by order of the Supreme Court on the adjournment of the Assembly. The Assembly meeting again, however, new warrants of arrest and commitment were issued. These, however, were not executed. But the Assembly meeting again in September, 1758, Dr. Smith was again arrested, and kept in confinement until the end of the session, when the House was dissolved. He then, in some way, got free. However, on the meeting of a new Assembly, this new body issued a warrant to take him into custody for not having made satisfaction to the former House. Whether he was actually found on this new warrant, I do not discover.

CHAPTER XIII.

DR. SMITH OBTAINS A COMMISSION FOR GODFREY, THE POET—MAKES AN ADDRESS TO THE COLONIES—MARRIAGE WITH MISS MOORE—THANKSGIVING SERMON—SAILS FOR ENGLAND.

THE spirit of active usefulness which marked Dr. Smith's character did not forsake him even under great anxieties and troubles. We almost recall in him the exiled Duke of Ardens.

———"Happy is your Grace,
That can translate the stubbornness of Fortune
Into so quiet and so sweet a style."

He had discovered, while editing the *American Magazine*, a young man named Thomas Godfrey, a son of the inventor of the quadrant, who possessed high poetical genius. He greatly interested the Provost, who published in the *Magazine* Godfrey's earliest poem, and after his death—too soon for his friends and the literature of the country—collected and published his writings. Godfrey, the father, who was a glazier, was very poor, and could do nothing for his son. The son—who was a man of genius for poetry and the fine arts—could do little for himself. Such a case was sure to interest Dr. Smith; and we find among his papers the evidences that he was now trying to obtain from the Governor a Lieutenant's commission for the unfriended youth. He obtained

it, and Godfrey joined the Pennsylvania forces now being raised for an expedition against Fort Duquesne.

Dr. Smith's literary and intellectual powers, in spite of his troubles at this time, were equally active with the affections of his heart. He now—in June, 1758, on the opening of the campaign of that year—wrote and published a paper, entitled: "An Earnest Address to the Colonies." It was addressed particularly to those of the southern district, and was written and published at the desire of Brigadier-General Forbes, when levying forces for the expedition against Fort Duquesne, which was afterwards taken by him.

This document, which produced a good effect, may, perhaps, reward the reader's perusal:

BRETHREN AND COUNTRYMEN: I am now to address you, in the most solemn manner, on the present posture of affairs, and the duty we owe to his sacred majesty, to our holy religion, and to our latest posterity, on this important occasion. As I would be understood by all, I shall not affect a vain parade of words, or pomp of style. Brevity and perspicuity shall be my principal aim.

The almighty Author of our nature has thought fit to create man a needy and dependent being, incapable of subsisting in a solitary state with any degree of happiness. In order to his well-being, a mutual interchange of good offices with his fellow-creatures is absolutely necessary.

Hence the origin and foundation of civil societies, which are nothing else but certain bodies of men linked together by common compact or agreement, for the better securing themselves against want, and defending themselves against danger. In consequence of this compact, every individual is under the most solemn obligations to contribute what he can, for the general welfare, and preservation of the community, whereof he is a part; and when this is done with zeal, fidelity, and an elevated sense of duty, it is denominated public virtue and love of our country; than which, human nature boasts of no qualities that are more amiable or more divine. Both reason and religion inculcate this in the strongest terms. A narrow, selfish spirit is odious to God and man; and no community ever subsisted long where such a spirit disgraced its members. It is scarce to be conceived how great a difference public virtue makes in the state of nations. Animated by it, the smallest remain powerful and safe; while, without it, the most populous are despicable and weak.

The little state of Sparta was an illustrious proof of this. To acknowledge no lord or master; to live independent and free; to be governed by their own laws and customs; to preserve themselves from corruption,

selfishness and effeminacy ; and to be the avengers of justice and the scourges of tyranny—were the highest wishes which Spartans knew ; and, whenever they were called to exert themselves on this score, they declined neither toils nor dangers nor sufferings. The blaze of public spirit then shone illustrious from bosom to bosom, till it had effectually subdued and consumed the enemies of their country. Their very women shared the holy flame ; and whenever the trumpet sounded the alarm of war, one fitted out a husband, and another a son ; charging them, by all the ties of love and honour and duty, not to disgrace the dignity of the Spartan name, and either to chastize the insolence of their enemies, or perish in the glorious attempt.

Seeing, then, my countrymen, such was the virtue of a Spartan, and even of a Spartan woman, what may not be expected from Britons ; who, added to all the advantages which the former enjoyed, have that of the Christian religion and its everlasting prospects to animate and inflame their conduct ? We are, or might be, the happiest and most enlightened people in the world ; and, by consequence, we ought to be the bravest.

Were we to cast our eyes over this globe, and to take a view of the condition of our fellow-creatures in other countries ; how should we bless our lot, and how dear would the name of Britons become to us !

Not to mention many parts, even of Europe itself, where the common people are in a manner the property of their lords, and on little better footing than their cattle themselves ; I might carry you through Asia and Africa, to shew you the deplorable state of human nature in those countries, groaning under a race of monsters that disgrace their very shape ; and in a condition so completely miserable, that you have neither seen nor can imagine any thing of the kind. The wild savage, that roams the American wilderness, is infinitely happier than they.

But I shall not take up your time with these eastern scenes of servitude and woe. Thanks be to God ! we are as far removed from the danger of them, as we are from the place of their existence. Our apprehensions are from another quarter. Our ambitious French neighbours on this American continent, are the only people on earth, from whom we have any thing to fear. It may, therefore, be proper to give you a sketch of the situation we should be in, under their government and power.

And, on this head, I would observe, first, that among them you would in vain look for that happy equality and security which you now enjoy. All the property of the subject lies, among them, at the absolute disposal of the sovereign ; and the poor labourer has no encouragement to be industrious or get before hand in the world, since he can neither be certain to comfort himself thereby, nor those with whom he is most nearly connected.

You have frequent opportunities of being informed of the manner in

which the French are forced to live near ourselves in Canada. You know on what poor fare all who can bear arms among them, are obliged to follow their arbitrary leaders through these inhospitable American woods; seldom enjoying a comfortable meal, unless by chance they can seize it from us, which makes them the more eager to dispossess us of these happy settlements, and to reap the fruit of our labours.

But, added to all their other miseries, the greatest is, that they are not only deprived of freedom of body, but even of mind. Instead of being permitted to pour forth the genuine worship of the heart, according to the dictates of their own conscience, before the great Creator of heaven and earth, they are obliged to pay a mock adoration to those "who are no gods!" Instead of putting their trust in his mercies through the only Mediator Jesus Christ, they are taught to put a vain confidence in relicks, and departed spirits, and those who can afford no help. Instead of following the plain dictates of common sense and the light of their own understandings, they must submit to be hood-winked, and to have their consciences ridden, by a set of priests and jesuits and monks and inquisitors, swarming in every corner!

But how different is the case among us! We enjoy an unprecarious property; and every man may freely taste the fruits of his own labours, "under his vine and under his fig-tree, none making him afraid." If God has blessed us with the good things of this life, we need not fear to make an appearance answerable to our condition; and what we do not spend ourselves, the laws will secure to our children after us. The king, upon his throne, cannot exact a single farthing of our estates, but what we have first freely consented to pay by laws of our own making. We cannot be dragged out, in violation of justice and right, to wade in seas of blood, for satiating the avarice or ambition of a haughty monarch. We need not fear racks, nor stripes, nor bonds, nor arbitrary imprisonments, from any authority whatsoever; or could such prevail for a time *above law*, yet, while the constitution remains sound, we may be sure the very act would soon destroy itself, and terminate at length in the utter ruin of the projectors.

It is our happiness too that our minds are as free as our bodies. No man can impose his own dogmas or notions upon our consciences. We may worship the God of our fathers, the only living and true God, in that manner which appears most agreeable to our own understandings, and his revealed will. The Bible is in our hands; we are assisted by an orthodox gospel-ministry; we may search and know the words of eternal life; and, what is equally valuable, we may convey what we know to our children after us, no man having it in his power to wrest their education from us.

This, my dear countrymen, is happiness indeed! and what still enhances it, is the consideration that we are not only called to enjoy it ourselves, but perhaps to be the blessed instruments of diffusing it over

this vast continent, to the nations that sit "in darkness and the shadow
"of death."

Surely the thought of this ought to rouse every spark of virtue in our bosoms. Could an ancient Spartan rush into the field of death, upon the motives mentioned above? and is there any danger which a Briton ought to decline for the sake of these inestimable privileges? or shall a French slave and popish bigot, at this day, do more for the glory of his arbitrary lord, than a freeman and Protestant, for the best of kings, and the father of his people?

This land was given to us for propagating freedom, establishing useful arts, and extending the kingdom of Jesus. Shall we, then, be false to such a trust, or pusillanimous in such a divine cause? We have hewn out habitations for ourselves in an uncultivated wilderness; and shall we suffer them to fall a prey to the most faithless of enemies? We have unfurled the Messiah's banner in the remotest parts of the earth; and shall we suffer the bloody flag of persecution to usurp its place? We have planted the blessed Gospel here; and shall we suffer heathen error to return where the glad tidings of salvation have once been preached?

No, countrymen! I know your souls disdain the very thought of such a conduct; and you would rather suffer ten thousand deaths (were so many possible) than be guilty of that which would entail infamy on yourselves, and ruin on your latest posterity.

Your readiness to join in the measures concerted for your safety, and to strike a decisive blow against the enemy, may much determine your future happiness and safety as a people; and I may well trust, when so much is at stake, you will not be backward in offering your service for a few months, under a General of humanity, experience, and every amiable accomplishment. I hope even to hear that our women will become advocates in such a cause, and entitle themselves to all the applauses so long ago paid to their Spartan predecessors!

I would not now wound you, with a disagreeable recapitulation of our past misconduct and fatal indolence, especially in these southern colonies. Many a time has it been in our power to crush out this dangerous war with a single tread of our foot, before it blazed up to its present height—But this we sadly neglected; and, perhaps, the all-wise disposer of events meant to shew us that, when our affairs were at the worst, he was mighty to save.

Never was the Protestant cause in a more desperate situation, than towards the close of last campaign. The great and heroic king of Prussia stood ready to be swallowed up of the multitude of his enemies. The British nation was torn to pieces by intestine divisions; its helm continually shifting hands; too many bent on sordid views of self-interest; too few regarding the public good; Minorca lost; Hanover overrun; our secret expeditions ending in disgrace; our forts in

America destroyed ; our people captivated or inhumanly murdered, and our fleets dispersed and shattered before the winds.

Yet even then, when no human eye could look for safety, the Lord interposed for the Protestant Religion. In the short space of two months, the king of Prussia extricated himself from his difficulties, in a manner that astonished all Europe, and will continue to be the admiration of ages to come ! And had we only done our part in America at that time, the pride of France would have been effectually humbled, and we should probably now have been rejoicing in an honourable peace.

But as that was not the case, the nation, in concert with the king of Prussia and other Protestant powers, has been obliged to make one grand push more for the general cause in the present campaign ; and if that is unsuccessful, God knows what will become of our liberties and properties. This we may lay down as a certain truth, that the expense of the present war is far too great to be borne long by the powers concerned in it. The British nation is labouring under a heavy load of taxes. These colonies are likewise drained to the utmost, and sinking under the burden, as we all feel. Peace, then, of some kind or other, must be a desirable event ; and upon our success this campaign it may depend, whether we shall dictate a peace to the French, or they to us. Should the latter be the case, (which God forbid !) it would be a fatal peace to us.

Rise then, my countrymen ! as you value the blessings you enjoy, and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and shew yourselves worthy of the name of Britons ! rise to secure to your posterity, peace, freedom, and a pure religion ! rise to chastize a perfidious nation for their breach of treaties, their detestable cruelties, and their horrid murders ! remember the cries of your captivated brethren, your orphan children, your helpless widows, and thousands of beggared families ! Think of Monongahela, Fort William Henry, and those scenes of savage death, where the mangled limbs of your fellow-citizens lie strewn upon the plain ; calling upon you to retrieve the honour of the British name !

Thus animated and roused, and thus putting your confidence, where alone it can be put, let us go forth in humble boldness ; and the Lord do what seemeth him good !

Dr. Smith's whole life would seem to have been one of incident and romance. We have mentioned the extraordinary manner in which he was arrested, tried and imprisoned for what might be called an accidental connexion with William Moore, Esq., though he had long known and respected him. Both were co-laborers in the cause of the country. Both were prisoners—fellow-prisoners—in its behalf. The matter ended, in this part of it, according to

rules of the drama. The daughter of Mr. Moore, Miss Rebecca Moore, was a frequent visitor to her father's cell. Dr. Smith, who had before this time known her many excellent qualities of understanding and had been already interested in her beauty, was deeply touched by her sweet devotion to her much wronged parent. An engagement of marriage was completed; and after the liberation of the prisoners, the ceremony of marriage itself was performed, June 3d, 1758, at Moore Hall, the house of the lady's father, by the Rev. William Currie, the Rector of St. David's Church, Radnor, Delaware county. To this alliance Dr. Smith was indebted for a well-assorted and happy connexion. It was every way judicious: family, fortune, and external circumstances, combined with considerations of feeling to make it wise. A year or two before this time he had made a purchase of property at the Falls of Schuylkill; a spot at which he continued to make purchases till 1767, when he owned about sixty acres. He built the mansion-house, still standing, in the year of his marriage or soon afterwards.*

Happy public events seemed soon to crown private felicity. The British arms now began to retrieve the disasters of Braddock's Field, and we find, too, among Dr. Smith's works printed at this time, *A Thanksgiving Sermon*, preached, September 17th, 1758, at *Bristol*, in *Pennsylvania*, on the signal Success of his Majesty's Arms in *America*, during the Campaign, 1758. The text, from Exodus xv. 1, is appropriate: "I will sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously."

During these months of trouble, anxiety, joy and thanksgiving, Dr. Smith was busy in getting ready his appeal to the Crown, for supporting it by evidence and for pressing it forward. It was a great work. He had demanded from the Assembly copies of its records. They were not given. He supplied the want by the affidavits of witnesses, who were cognizant of facts of his arrest, trial and imprisonment. The appeal had gone on before him to England; and on the 1st of April, 1758, had been referred to the Attorney-General at this time, Charles Pratt, afterwards well known both in England and America; and the Solicitor-General,

* It is agreeable to add that a portion of this estate still remains the property of the present writer; his son and his grandchildren making six generations (male) who have resided on it.

the gifted and ill-fated Charles Yorke. He was now ready to sail, and before the King himself defy the Religious Society of Friends in assembly assembled, in committee represented, or in individuality individualized.

In the meantime the case of Mr. Moore—the original cause of the whole trouble—had been disposed to the satisfaction of himself and Dr. Smith. The Governor, with advice of Council, appointed Thursday, the 24th of August, 1758, for the hearing of the charge of malpractice made by the Assembly against him, and ordered the fact to be notified to the parties concerned, and to the witnesses on both sides.

The parties having appeared at the time appointed, in the Council-chamber the Governor opened the hearing in the following words:

“Several Complaints were made against Mr. Moore, for Mal-practices as a Magistrate; I sit here, as my predecessors have done, not to determine as a Court of Judicature, but to satisfy my own Conscience of the Truth or Falsehood of the Charges. I am now ready to hear every Thing the Complainants have to offer, or that Mr. Moore can say in his Defence; that I may thereby be enabled to judge how far he is fit to be a Minister of Justice, under a Commission from this Government.”

All the 24th and the day following were spent in hearing the parties on both sides, and examining their evidences; and on Saturday, the 26th, the Governor, with the unanimous concurrence of his Council, acquitted Justice Moore, addressing himself as follows:

MR. MOORE: It is now near twelve Months since I received an Address from the Assembly of this Province, charging you with oppressive, extortionate, and illegal Practices, in the Office of a Justice of Peace for the County of Chester, which you have long had the Honour of holding, and requesting that I would remove you from that and all other Offices you enjoyed under this Government. From the Moment I received this Address, I determined to make the strictest Enquiry into the Truth of the several Charges that were made against you, and to put an End to any Tyranny and Oppression which, in the Course of that Enquiry, it might appear the People had suffered from you; and of this I gave the Assembly the strongest Assurances. I therefore soon afterwards appointed a Day to hear you and your Accusers Face to Face, of which I gave them and you Notice. The Reasons, why I did not make this Enquiry on that Day, and which have occasioned it to be so long

delayed, are so generally known, that I need not now make Mention of them. The Assembly, at my Request, furnished me with Thirty-two Petitions preferred against you, several of which containing Complaints of a mere private Nature, I do not think they properly lie before me, and have therefore referred the Parties, who conceive themselves injured, to seek Redress in the Courts of Law, in the ordinary Course of Justice. . . . As to those which regard your Conduct as a Magistrate, I have spent two Days with Patience and Attention in hearing every Thing that could be alledged against you in support of them. I am very sensible of the Difficulties and Hardships you must necessarily have been under, in producing Witnesses to defend yourself against Charges of this Nature, especially when I consider that several of the Transactions complained of are of many Years standing. It is, however, a great Pleasure to me, to find that you have been able to surmount all these Difficulties, and to acquit yourself of every Matter charged against you in the Execution of your Office, which you have fully done to my Satisfaction; and I think myself obliged, in Justice to your injured Character, in this public Manner to declare, That the Petitions appear to me to be entirely groundless; That you have acted in your Office with great Care, Uprightness, and Fidelity; and are so far from deserving Censure and Disgrace, that, in many Instances, you merit the Thanks of every good Man, and Lover of Justice.

So far things were going well. But the work of the Assembly was not yet undone. Nothing but the King in Council could undo *that*. Dr. Smith was now going to England.

CHAPTER XIV.

SAILS FOR ENGLAND—ARRIVAL IN LONDON ON NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1759—RECOMMENDATION OF DR. SMITH BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND OTHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD FOR A DOCTOR'S DEGREE—RECEIVES THE DEGREE OF D. D. FROM OXFORD AND ALSO FROM ABERDEEN—PETITION TO THE CROWN OFFICERS ABOUT HIS APPEAL TO THE KING—HAPPY CONCLUSION TO HIS APPEAL—HE COMES HOME—THE ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA ADDRESSED BY GOVERNOR HAMILTON IN AN AGREEABLE COMMUNICATION.

DR. SMITH sailed for England about the beginning of December, 1758. He arrived in London on the 1st day of January in the new year. The Provost Stillé gives the following account of his arrival :

He brought with him something of the prestige of a political martyr, and he had also gained a reputation as a writer which had extended beyond the limits of the Province. It was just at this period that the elder Pitt was planning a campaign to drive the French from North America, and thus complete in this country that destruction of French power, which his ally, Frederick the Great, had begun in Germany. It was the era of preparation for the conquest of Quebec, the cession of Canada, and the final overthrow of the French on this Continent. The Minister had infused into all classes his own bitter hostility to France, and something of his inflexible purpose to humble her by sea and on land. In such a state of public feeling it may well be supposed that a man who was looked upon as having undergone persecution and imprisonment (whatever might be the pretext alleged for it), because in the hour of danger he had urged, with unflinching boldness, the duty of defending a distant portion of the empire against a French invasion, would be received, wherever he went in England, with sympathy, if not with enthusiasm.

Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries, had been his warm personal friend ever since he had come into the Province, and he was by far the largest contributor to the funds of the College. He was at that time engaged before the Privy Council in one of his many quarrels with the Assembly of the Province, and he zealously aided Dr. Smith in bringing his business (which was, in truth, only one of the branches of the same controversy) to a speedy and favorable conclusion. But the principal service which he rendered him was placing him in communication with men of rank and fortune, who were at that time interested in the affairs

of the colonies, eager for information, and well-disposed to aid in developing their resources.

Another means of bringing him into relation at that time with persons of position and influence in England, was his connection with a Society for promoting the establishment of schools among the German settlers on the frontiers of this Province. This Society, formed several years before, was composed of prominent noblemen and gentlemen both in England and in Scotland, who were impressed with a fear lest the Germans should be led astray from the British interest by French and Popish emissaries, and had collected a considerable fund, both for the establishment of schools where their children might be taught the English language, and for the supply of true Protestant ministers among them.

But the favorable reception of Dr. Smith in England at that time was due not merely to the interest he excited as a political martyr, and to his efforts to make our German settlers good subjects and sound Protestants, but also in no small measure to his literary reputation. Provincial literature, at that time, it may be unnecessary to say, had not attracted much attention at home. It appears, however, that certain of Dr. Smith's writings had passed the ordeal of the dispensers of literary fame in those days,* and that their judgment was not unfavorable. An edition of his sermons had been published in London, in 1759, and a second edition was called for in 1763—a fact significant in itself of their literary value, for a volume of Sermons is not at any time very attractive reading, and in the middle of the last century, in England, sermons by a provincial author must have forced their way into notice by the weight of their own merit alone. The "Critical Review" speaks of one of these sermons (a funeral sermon) as "containing strokes equal to any in the *Oraisons Funèbres* of Bossuet!" It goes on to say:

Our judgment of this author, on the whole, is that what he says seems to come from the heart, and consequently cannot fail of affecting all who are not as void of pity as of public spirit.

The judgment of the "Monthly Review" was not less favorable, even if more discriminating:

The principal design of these discourses is to show the value of the blessings arising from the enjoyment of the Protestant religion and civil liberty. They are written in an excellent spirit, and in a sprightly and animated manner; the language is clear and forcible, the sentiments generally just and often striking.

The Doctor found numerous of the dignified English clergy ready to pay him honor. One of the most gratifying evidences of their disposition was given him in a recommendation dated the 12th of March, 1759, to the University of Oxford, from the Arch-

* The Monthly and The Critical Reviews.

bishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, St. Asaph, Gloucester and Oxford, to confer upon him the Doctorship of Divinity. The recommendation shows what evidences of merit and service were required in 1759 at Oxford, for an honor which now, in *this* our country, is disgracefully scattered round the land.

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.*

The underwritten Representation in behalf of William Smith, Cl., M.A., of the University of Aberdeen, and now Provost of the College of Philadelphia, in America,

Humbly sheweth,

That the said William Smith was regularly bred at the University aforesaid, and left the same in March, 1747, having resided the full Term of Years there required.

That in the year 1750 he was sent to London (on a Scheme soon afterwards laid aside), to solicit the Parliament for a better Establishment of the Parochial Schools in Scotland, and was particularly recommended to the then Archbishop of Canterbury.

That after this he accompanied some young Gentlemen to America, and resided upwards of two years at New York, having carried with him Letters of Recommendation from the said Arch-Bishop to Lieutenant-Governor Delancey of that place, who had been his Grace's pupil at Cambridge.

That in 1753, he visited the City of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, and was invited to take Care of a laudable Seminary of Learning, just founded there; to which he consented, on Condition of being allowed time to enter into holy Orders.

That towards the End of the year he did accordingly return to England, and was regularly admitted into the holy Orders of Deacon and Priest, by the Lord Bishop of London; having brought back ample Certificates of his good Behaviour in America, as well to the aforesaid Arch-Bishop, as to several other Bishops and Dignitaries of our Church; and particularly to his Grace the present Arch-Bishop, then in the See of Oxford.

That in May, 1754, he returned to Philadelphia, and with the Assistance of the Other Persons concern'd, immediately applied himself to regulate the Seminary under his Care, agreeably to the Circumstances of the Province; and having modelled it into the form of a College, with an Academy subordinate thereto, and obtain'd a Charter of Incorporation, he was appointed Provost of the same, which Office he has discharg'd ever since (being near the space of five Years), and given several Public Specimens of his Abilities and diligence therein.

* Printed from original pamphlet in possession of Dr. J. H. Brinton.

That he has had the Pleasure to see the Seminary rising and flourishing under him, even beyond Expectation ; so that it now contains near 300 Students and Scholars, from different parts of America (whose circumstances would not permit of an Education in their mother-Country). And besides himself as Provost, there is also a Vice-Provost (who is a Doctor of Divinity from Glasgow), with three Professors in the Sciences, and five Tutors or Assistants ; with a Power of conferring the usual Degrees in Arts, &c., as appears more fully from the printed account of the Institution.

That the said William Smith is also a Trustee for the Free Schools, lately erected, among the vast Body of his Majesty's German Subjects on the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, and Colonies adjacent, by an honourable Society in London ; in order to instruct the Children of the said Germans, in the English Tongue and Principles of Protestantism, and defeat the wicked Designs of the French and Papish Emissaries that swarm among them ; to which pious Work his sacred Majesty has been a generous and constant Benefactor.

That in Consequence of this Trust, the said William Smith has, besides the Youth of the College, upwards of 700 Children continually under his care, in different parts of the Country ; that he visits them frequently in their several schools, pays the Master's salaries, and superintends the Execution of the whole Design.

That he has, to his best Abilities, employed the Influence which he derives from these important Trusts, in order to promote Religion, Learning and good Government in those valuable parts of his Majesty's Dominions, and particularly to advance the pious Designs of the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel ; having kept a constant Correspondence with many of the Members, bred up several young Men, who now make a Figure in their Service, and several more are coming forward under him, who (being of less confined circumstances) propose to finish their Education in the most liberal manner at the English Universities.

That during all the late Disturbances in America, he has shown himself a most faithful subject to his Majesty's just Government, taking every Opportunity to excite the People to the Defence of their inestimable Possessions, and to discourage that pernicious Doctrine too prevalent there, viz. : "That it is unlawful for Christian men to wear Weapons and serve in the Wars," A Doctrine which has occasion'd the spilling much innocent Blood in Pennsylvania, enabled the French to establish themselves on the Ohio, within its Borders, and was the main source of that War whose Flames involve all Europe.

That, in particular, when the unhappy General Braddock was defeated and slain ; when the French and their savages broke in upon our Frontiers, carrying Death and Desolation along with them, and the whole Province was in Danger of being lost to the Crown of Great Britain,

the hands of near 300,000 Inhabitants being tied up by the absurd Principles of their Rulers, who under pretence of Religion refused all warlike measures for Defence; the said William Smith was among the Number of those who exerted themselves signally, on that Occasion, to rouse the People to a sense of their Duty; and join'd in laying an humble Representation of their distress'd State before his sacred Majesty in Council, by which means a temporary Relief was obtain'd and several of those who were scrupulous of bearing arms or voting money for the Public Defence were obliged to resign their Seats in Assembly.

That their Successors harboring Resentment against those who had been concern'd in these necessary Transactions, and particularly desirous to prejudice the Free Schools and Seminary of Learning under the said William Smith (the Propagation of Knowledge and Freedom of Inquiry being unfriendly to their dark System and Views) did about a Twelvemonth ago, in the most unprecedented manner, set themselves up above the Laws; by their own sole authority, without any due Form or Process, and without the Benefit of a Jury, trying, condemning, and imprisoning several of his Majesty's liege subjects, for alleged offences against former dissolved Assemblies; and even presumed to suspend Acts of Parliament by commanding his Majesty's High Sheriff not to obey any Writs of Habeas Corpus, that might be issued in behalf of the Persons so imprisoned.

That a Number of the principal Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, considering these outrageous Proceedings as subversive of the very Fundamentals of Liberty, did determine to support an appeal from the same to his sacred Majesty in Council, which appeal was accordingly made, and full accounts of the whole transmitted under the Great Seal of the Province; and the said William Smith (who had been a principal Sufferer in this affair) is now in England to solicit its speedy Determination which is soon expected; his Majesty having been graciously pleas'd to refer it to his Attorney and Solicitor-General, who have engaged to make their immediate Report thereon.

Now, whereas these things (many of which are of public Notoriety) have been represented to us by Persons in whom we can well confide, and whereas the said William Smith is personally known to most of us, and is placed in a station in America that gives him an Opportunity of being extensively useful to the Interests of Religion, Learning, and good Government in those valuable Parts of his Majesty's Dominions, to which he is about to return, We, whose Names are underwritten, think that it may contribute to the advancement of those Interests to confer on him, by your Diploma, the Degree of Doctor in Divinity; and we beg Leave to recommend him to your Grace and Favour for the same, not doubting but he will make it the Care of his Life to behave

worthy of so honourable a mark of your Distinction, and the hope we entertain concerning him.

THOS. CANT,
R. DURESME,
JOHN SARUM,
R. ASAPH,
J. GLOUCESTER,
Z. OXFORD.

LONDON, 12th March, 1750

On the 27th of March, 1759, Dr. Smith, in consequence of the foregoing recommendation, received his diploma.

We have occasionally seen diplomas from our American colleges—those particularly in small towns—where the Latin was a product of the college which conferred them. We doubt whether it would have stood the test of Lilly or old Ruddiman. We give the copy of the diploma from Oxford, and we add to it the copy of one which the Provost had previously received from his *Alma Mater*, the University of Aberdeen. If our own colleges will all confer their degrees in Latin as good as that of either of these degrees, and on persons no less distinguished by ability and learned than William Smith, they will make fewer mistakes than some of them do make.

VICE CANCELLARIUS (vacante Cancellarii munere) Magistri et Scholares Universitatis Oxon; omnibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit: salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Cum eum in finem gradus Academici, a majoribus nostris prudenter instituti fuerint, ut viris qui de Religione, Republica et Literis optime sint meriti, publici honores decernerentur—Cumque præclarè nobis compertum sit, non modo ex amplissimorum Præsulum testimoniis, perquam honorificis; verum etiam ex ipsâ rerum gestarum famâ, reverendum et egregium virum *Gulielmum Smith*, ex Academiâ Aberdonensi in Artibus magistrum, et Collegii apud Philadelphiam in Pennsylvania Præpositum; per complures annos, in provinciis Americanis, ita fuisse versatum, ut omnes sacri concionatoris partes cumulatè adimpleverit, juveniles animos optimarum Artium studiis et disciplinis excoluerit, propriæ etiam eruditionis atque ingenii, plurima exhibuerit specimina: necnon, in gravissimo rerum discrimine, popularibus suis auctor, atque hortator acerrimus, extiterit, ut, contra Gallorum impetus iniquissimos, arma pro Rege, pro Libertate, et communi omnium salute, capesserent; atque, adeo, cum suo ipsius damno, virum sese bonum, patriæque amantem, ostenderit:—

Nos igitur, hisce rationibus, virique Ornatissimi nominis et virtutis

famâ commoti; in frequenti Convocatione doctorum, magistrorum, regentium et non regentium (conspirantibus omnium suffragiis) die vicesimo secundo mensis Martii, Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo quinquagesimo nono habitâ; eundem egregium virum, *Doctorem in sacra Theologia*, renunciavimus et constituimus; eumque, virtute præsentis Diplomatis, singulis juribus, privilegiis et honoribus, ad istum Gradum quæqua pertinentibus, frui et gaudere, jussimus.

In cujus rei testimonium, Sigillum Universitatis Oxon commune, Præsentibus opponi fecimus.

DATUM in domo nostræ Convocationis, die vicesimo septimo mensis Martii Annoq Domini, prædicto.

DIPLOMA FOR THE DOCTORSHIP OF DIVINITY FROM THE UNIVERSITY
OF ABERDEEN.

UNIVERSIS et SINGULIS, in quacunque Dignitate constitutis, quorum hæc nossê interest, Senatus Inclytæ Universitatis et Collegii Regii Aberdonensis, S. I. D. S.

Noveritis nos, ea Auctoritate, quam summi ac potentissimi Principes almæ huic Universitati amplissimam indulgere, Tabellarum præsentium Latorem, Reverendum ac Eruditum Virum, Magistrum GULIELMUM SMITH, Verbi Divini Ministrum, et Academiæ Philadelphiensis Præpositum; SACROSANCTÆ THEOLOGIÆ DOCTOREM et MAGISTRUM constituisse, creâsse, proclamâsse, renunciâsse, ex Senatus Academici Decreto, promovente Reverendo Viro Doctore JOANNE CHALMERS, dicti Collegii Principalis, et S. S. Theologiæ, Professore primario, (Omnibus quæ Dignitatis Ratio, aut Academiæ Consuetudo postulat, rite peractis); Nec non eidem Potestatem fecisse, docendi, legendi, scribendi, commen-tandi, omniaque id genus alia præstandi, quæ hic aut alibi uspiam S. Th. Doctoribus et Magistris, concedi solent: Omnibusque Honoribus, Dignitatibus, et Privilegiis ipsum afficisse et ornâsse, quibus affici et ornari solent, qui ad illum Dignitatis Gradum, ullibi terrarum legitima Ratione evehuntur. Quod ut felix faustumque sit, Deum ter Opt. Max. precamur. In cujus rei fidem, Tabellas hasce, communi Universitatis Sigillo, et Chirographis nostris muniendas curavimus. Aberdoniæ, e dicto Collegio Regio, Anno A. C. M, DCC, LIX, Die vero Mensis Martii decimo.

JO. CHALMERS, Promotor.

JO. LUMSDEN, S. T. P.

JO. GREGORY, M. P.

AL. BURNET, Sub. Principalis.

THO. GORDON, Hum. Lit. P.

RODERICUS M'LEOD, P. P.

THO. REID, P. P.

GEO. GORDON, L. L.: O O. P. R.

JO. LESLIE, Gr. L. P.

These were agreeable incidents of his presence in England. But the great matter for which he went abroad was not a University degree. His conviction as a libeller of the Assembly of his Province, and a person who had committed a breach of its privileges, remained of record, unreversed and not annulled, made void and of none effect; which in taking his appeal he was resolved that they should be.

But alas! "the law's delay!" He had foreseen it and here it was. His appeal had been sent to his Majesty in April of 1758, or thereabouts, and graciously referred to his Attorney-General and his Solicitor-General. But there it stayed; neither officer had taken it up. The Attorney-General was infirm, and Dr. Smith was informed by some of those attending the Privy Council, that when applied to despatch this business, he declared that he could not "lose the benefit of the country air during the holidays on any consideration whatever." This was a little like "the insolence of office."

Dr. Smith now prepared a petition to the Attorney-General. He set forth the facts of his case, as we have less perfectly related them on pages 167-180; showed the illegality and public perils of such proceedings as those of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. "The House," he said, "in this mock trial, resolved that what I did was *libel*, and that THEY had power to punish for it. Had they resolved it *High Treason*, they could have punished me as well." He now, in language full of independence, dignity and pathos, proceeds to urge the Crown officers to attend immediately to the subject. After speaking of the delays encountered by him, he says:

I make no doubt, Sir, but a matter of this kind has its Difficulties; and am sensible of the Multiplicity of Business in which your important Station engages you at this time. But what I suffer, and what every zealous friend of the Government may expect to suffer from these People, is no way alleviated thereby. Hard, indeed, would it be if there could be *Right without Remedy*, and if a body of men in any part of his Majesty's Dominions could range at Pleasure thro' the wide Fields of Oppression in any part of Majesty's Dominions, in that old abolished Star Chamber manner, banishing, persecuting and imprisoning his best subjects from year to year, without Jury or any known Process of Law, and no Relief within our Constitution.

Twice have Mr. Moore and I suffered imprisonment on the same

score. For no sooner were we released by the Judges of the King's Bench,* in April last, on the adjournment of the house, than they met again, and issued fresh warrants to take us into custody. These, 'tis true, were not then executed, not knowing what might be the Issue of the Affair in England. But having met a 3d time in September last, and hearing that nothing was then done, we were forthwith taken into Custody, and kept till the end of the sessions and annual Dissolution; where it was thought the affair would rest, and the sentence expire with the house that made it. But herein we were deceived. For no sooner did the new house meet, in November last, than without any new Sentence or Offence, and without requiring any Satisfaction to be made to themselves, *they* also issued warrants to take us into Custody for *not having made Satisfaction to the former House*, altho' we had suffered the alternative of their Sentence, viz.: Imprisonment till the end of their sessions, and entire Dissolution.

Finding no End to these Proceedings, and that I must either be banished from my country or be a Prisoner for Life in it, or—which is still worse—submit to acknowledge in an American Assembly a Power above Law, and contrary to our great Charter of Privileges, I found myself obliged to embark for this Place, where I arrived the first Day of January last, having left Mr. Moore a Prisoner in his own House, and every Lover of Liberty in the Province anxious what might be the Issue of these strange Proceedings. Since I have been here, my Solicitor has been assiduous in representing my case, and I have waited with all becoming Patience, abstaining from every appearance of public appeals or Complaints; nor do I now come to make any, but to beg & beseech you by the Ties of Humanity, by your Hatred to Oppression, and Love of Justice and Liberty so often signalized, that you will bring this matter to some speedy Issue. I am sure you will think the delay of Justice in any case hard, but in mine it is particularly so. I am driven from my Family and Bread by a Jurisdiction new to us, and am forced to leave a Seminary of Learning with near 300 Scholars that were under my care, as well as a number of Public free schools, with about 700 scholars more, all which must suffer greatly in my Absence; and, indeed, it is but too obvious that this Persecution of me is intended, if possible, to destroy these useful Institutions and drive me from that country, as the spreading of Knowledge there does not suit the views and Policy of the *Ruling Party*.

In a Word, Sir, such is my present Situation that to stay much longer here would be certain Ruin to all my affairs there; and to return without some decision in my case would only be continued Imprisonment to me and the ground of more oppression to the rest of the country. In such Circumstances I hope you will not think a few moments of your time ill

* He thus designates the Supreme Court of the Province.

bestowed in doing what is in your Power to prevent so much Evil. What it is you can do, it would ill become me so much as to hint. This only I know that at present our assembly are so doubtful of their Conduct that any certain assurance of its being deemed illegal and highly disagreeable to his Majesty, who disdains oppression, would check their Progress effectually. But while they pass uncensured; 'tis hard to say to what Lengths their Boldness may proceed; certain I am that they have no Precedent for their conduct in the Transactions of the British Parliament; or if there be any Similitude to it, it was in warm Times not to be drawn into imitation; and it is also conceived that there is great difference between the august Representative Body of this Nation, acting by virtue of *undenied* Powers co-eval with our Constitution; and these subordinate assemblies, whose Powers were expressly delegated to them by particular Grants for particular Ends; and tho' a Power seemingly above Law might in some Instances be safely vested in so wise and numerous a Body as the British Parliament, who could not be supposed to follow the Dictates or gratify the Revenge of one or two Individuals, yet in these lesser assemblies, which are generally influenced by a very few leading men, every power of this kind (except what is essentially necessary to their Being) will be found dangerous in the highest Degree; all which (earnestly begging your speedy Determination) is humbly submitted by

Sirs, your most obedient humble Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

LONDON, April 30th, 1759.

A document like this was likely to have an effect, if any document whatever would have it. The law officers of the Crown took up the case, brought it before the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, before whom both Dr. Smith and the Assembly of Pennsylvania were heard by Council. The counsel for Dr. Smith presented the arguments which he had presented to the Assembly. We need not repeat them.

In answer to them it was insisted for the Assembly—

“That all Courts of Justice, and all branches of a Legislative Body, had a right to punish Contempts against themselves, and that the House of Commons in England had always asserted and exercised such right.

“That the libel in question was a manifest contempt of the authority of the Assembly, arraigning their publick acts, and charging the whole Body with injustice, oppression, and calumny, and as such, was the highest breach of Privilege, tho' not so called in the charge.

“That if it be once admitted that this libel was an Offence of this kind, and properly cognizable by the Assembly, it was highly improper to suffer the point of jurisdiction to be argued, on the nature of the paper to be debated at the Bar, wherein the Assembly had followed the example of the House of Commons in Great Britain.

“That according to the reasoning of the Council for the petitioner, as the Assembly, by the laws of Pennsylvania, meet and are dissolved annually, every House of Assembly would be subject to the scandal & abuse of every libeller, who would be content to wait till the dissolution; or if he presumed to insult them even during their sitting, might be sure to escape with impunity, by keeping out of the way till they were dissolved.

“That, though the Order to the Sheriff might be irregular, yet that it was made upon a presumption, that if the Writ of Habeas Corpus had issued, the prisoner must have been remanded, because it is a Commitment in Execution, and not bailable.’”

The Attorney & Solicitor-General gave it as their Opinion to the Lords of the Committee, that the paper in question was a libel, and that if it had been published whilst the Assembly was sitting, which it had aspersed, they would have had a right to have punished the authors & publishers thereof. But after that Assembly was dissolved, that kind of Jurisdiction ceased, and that the subsequent Assembly had no right to take up the consideration of this offence as a Contempt to themselves, who were not then in being, and consequently, could not be aimed at, described, or calumniated, by a Libel published before their election.

That this objection appeared upon the face of the warrant of commitment, and that the Distinction had been frequently taken with respect to proceedings for contempt, even by the House of Commons in Great Britain. But that even supposing the jurisdiction of that House in similar cases might be extended further, according to the Law and usage of Parliament, that this extraordinary power ought never to be suffered in inferior Assemblies in America, who were not to be compared, either in power or privileges, to the Commons of Great Britain, and that it was observable that the Assembly themselves had studiously avoided to declare the libel to be a contempt, or breach of Privilege, either in the charge or sentence pronounced, notwithstanding that the contempt

to themselves, the then existing Assembly was the only legal, or colourable ground upon which they could take cognizance of the matter, in order to punish the Offender.

And lastly, that they were of Opinion that it was a high and unwarrantable invasion, both of His Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and of the Liberties of the Subject, to order the Sheriff not to Obey His Majesty's Writ of Habeas Corpus, and that, as Mr. Smith was guilty of no offence against any Assembly then in being, and no Assembly had a right to proceed against him for a contempt to any former Assembly; and as the Law had provided sufficient remedy in all cases of illegal and Arbitrary commitments, it was their opinion that the petitioner should be directed to seek redress (as he should be advised), in the proper Courts of Justice, in His Majesty's Province of Pennsylvania; and that His Majesty, if it was His Royal pleasure, might graciously issue His Orders to the Governor of Pennsylvania, to take care that in all Cases, His Majesty's Writ should issue free according to Law, and that all Officers of Justice and others, should be protected in the due Execution of them, and that no person or persons whatsoever, should presume to disobey the same.

The Lords of the Committee, taking the Petition & Report, and the whole matter into their consideration, agreed in opinion with His Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, upon all the points above stated.

On the same day, at White Hall, the Privy Council were assembled. The record of its proceedings yet exists. There were present at the Council the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord President, the Earl of Cholmondely, the Earl of Kinnoul, the Viscount Falmouth, and Lord Berkley of Stratton.

A Report from the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs was now read. It gave an account of the whole affair of Mr. Moore and Dr. Smith in substance as we have presented it, and in a great part in the same language; stated the opinion as above given of the Law Officers of the Crown; and their own agreement in opinion with those officers. It ended with a recommendation for a report accordingly, and for proper warning to the Assembly and Governor of Pennsylvania for the future.

The Privy Council, after listening to the whole, give their Judgment and Declaration as follows:

The Lords of his Majesty's most honourable privy Council, this day took the said Report into consideration, and were pleased to approve thereof, and do hereby, in his majesty's name, declare His high displeasure at the unwarrantable behaviour of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, in assuming to themselves powers which do not belong to them, and invading both his majesty's Royal Prerogative, and the Liberties of the Subject; and their Lordships do, therefore, hereby order that the Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, of the said Province of Pennsylvania, do forthwith signify the same to the said Assembly accordingly, and take the utmost care, and use all the means in his power to support the Laws and His Majesty's Prerogative against all usurpations and encroachments whatsoever, by the Assembly of that Province, at all times and upon all occasions; and that the Governor or Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, do likewise take care that, in all cases, His Majesty's Writs do issue freely according to Law, and do protect all Officers of Justice, and others, in the due execution of them, and that no person or persons, whatsoever, do presume to disobey the same; and that, with regard to the petitioner, their Lordships are hereby further pleased to direct that he do seek redress (as he shall be advised) in the proper Courts of Justice, in the Province of Pennsylvania, whereof the Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, of the said Province of Pennsylvania, for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

Dr. Smith went to his bed that night a happy man. The climate of England agreed with him. Officially, he had been honored. Politically, he had been maintained. In the matter of fact and of law he had been justified. He now got ready to go home: having been in England something over eight months. Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia the Governor of Pennsylvania summoned the Assembly, and sent to them the following polite communication; one which it is probable Dr. Smith and his friends enjoyed quite as much as the Assembly.

MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR.

GENTLEMEN: Having been served by the Reverend Mr. William Smith, Doctor of Divinity, with an order made by his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, on the 26th of June last, upon the petition and Appeal of the said William Smith to his Majesty, complaining of Certain Hardships, and Oppressions, alleged to have been suffered by him from the Assembly of this province, for the Year 1758; I herewith lay before you both the said Original Order and the petition of the said Doctor Smith to me thereupon.

And as I am therein commanded, in the King's name, forthwith to

signify to you his Majesty's High Displeasure at the unwarrantable behaviour of the said Assembly, in assuming to themselves powers which did not belong to them, and invading both his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and the Liberties of the people, I do in obedience to the order, hereby signify the same to you accordingly.

JAMES HAMILTON.

February 13th, 1760.

While it may be inferred, from what has been said, that Dr. Smith during his stay in England was much occupied with the matter of his appeal to the Crown, and somewhat also with the collegiate ceremonies incident to his double doctorships—it would be an error to suppose that he was not equally occupied with the interests of his College in Philadelphia. He had been brought into new, strong and valuable relations with men of power, both in Church and State; and he was “sowing,” says Dr. Stillé, “the seed which produced a plentiful harvest when he came three years afterwards to England to gather it.”

CHAPTER XV.

COMMENCEMENT-DAY, A. D. 1759—VISIT OF THE GOVERNOR TO THE COLLEGE—
NAMES OF SOME OF THE GRADUATES.

THE Commencement-Day of 1759 was the only important event connected with the College which we have to note for that year. The newspapers of the time gave us a pretty full account of it; and at the same time bring before us a vision of antique gentility in style and manners as completely passed away in this our day and land, as has passed away the day in which the scene itself was exhibited.* The account is thus:

On Tuesday the 11th instant, the honourable James Hamilton, Esq., our Governor, was pleased to visit the College and Academy of this City, whereof his honour is a Trustee, and being received at the Gate, was conducted up to the Experiment Room, to take his Place among

* The Commencement-Day of this year was in December, and therefore later than usual. It was deferred until Dr. Smith should have returned. However, not to interrupt a narrative in our next chapter which runs through near two years, we give the account of the Commencement, disregarding order of time.

the other Trustees, who attended him from thence to the public Hall, followed by the Masters, Tutors, Graduates and Students, in orderly Procession; where, being seated, the following Address and congratulatory Verses were delivered, in the Presence of a large Number of the Citizens, viz.:

1. The *Address*, by the Provost, attended by the rest of the Faculty.
2. The *Latin Verses*, by the Rev. Jacob Duché, A. B., (public Orator of the College, Assistant Minister of Christ Church, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Stirling) attended by a Deputation from the Graduates and Philosophy Schools.
3. The *English Verses*, by Mr. William Hamilton, attended by a Deputation from the lower Schools.

THE ADDRESS BY THE PROVOST.

To the Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware.
The humble ADDRESS of the FACULTY of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

We the Provost, Vice-Provost and Professors of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, being met in Faculty, together with the Tutors, Graduates and Scholars of the same, humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Honour, on your second Appointment to the Government of this Province; and to offer our sincerest Wishes that it may be attended with all that Satisfaction to yourself, and Advantage to the Public, which your former *candid* and *uncorrupt* Administration gives us Ground to expect.

No Persons in the Community have greater Reason to rejoice in this Event, than we who are concerned in this Seminary. The Advancement of true Religion and sound Wisdom hath always been considered by every liberal Spirit, as one of the firmest Foundations of good Government and civil Order. The Sciences never had any Enemies but such as have at the same time been Enemies to the human Race; and, in a Country professing Humanity and Gentleness of Manners, the Interests of Learning and Knowledge will be among the last Sacrifices attempted in any Administration.

Our Hearts would suggest much on this Occasion—but we forbear every Retrospect which might damp our present Joy, as we can truly say that the Streams of Knowledge with us have never been polluted, or suffered to deviate from their right Course; so we trust their Sources will never be diminished or dried up, notwithstanding any Attempts for that End, so long as the Love of Virtue and useful Arts is capable of opening or influencing the hearts of Men.

To you, Sir, who are a Trustee of this Seminary, it would be needless to enter into Particulars. Had you not known it to be generous in its

Plan, free in its Constitution, and well-calculated to promote the great Ends of liberal Education, we are very certain that your Name would never have appeared in the List of its Patrons; nor should we now have had the very great Honour of saluting you at once, cloathed with the Authority of Government, and seated in your Place among your Fellow-Trustees here.

It is our Happiness, who now address ourselves more immediately to you, that we have heretofore received Marks of your Approbation; and that the Seminary under our Care hath been continually growing in its Reputation by Means of the many promising Youths, which it hath had the good Fortune to raise. In our several Spheres, we have ever made it our Endeavour, as it is our great Duty, to break through the Fetters of Prejudice; to promote sound Literature in all its Branches; to advance the Interests of true Protestantism and undisguised Christianity; and to propagate an enlightened Zeal for the Public, a steady Loyalty to our gracious King, a thorough Veneration for our excellent Constitution, and a sovereign Regard for Liberty, Laws and civil Order.

In the Continuance of such Pursuits and Endeavours as these, we cannot but expect your Countenance, Sir, who have already given us more—your Example both in public and private Life!

We shall only add, that the Time is approaching (and may it fast approach!) which will put an End to this tedious War; and with it, perhaps, under your prudent Administration, to those domestic Troubles that have been equally prejudicial to the Muses here. Then may we hope that general Benevolence and Harmony will be restored; the interests of Learning flourish, and the Lamp of Knowledge burn brighter and brighter, till its benign Rays have reached and illuminated the remotest Parts of this Continent!

Signed in Name and by Order of the Faculty,

WILLIAM SMITH, *Provost*.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, December 11, 1759.

THE LATIN VERSES BY THE REV. JACOB DUCHÉ.

AD VIRUM DIGNISSIMUM JACOBUM HAMILTON, PENNSYLVANÆ PRÆFECTUM, JUVENTUTIS ACADEMICÆ LAUREA DONATÆ & DONANDÆ CARMEN SALUTATORIUM, A REV. JAC. DUCHÉ, A. B. PUB. ORATORE HABITUM. AUTHORE JOAN. BEVERIDGE, A. M. LING. PROFESS.

Nos tibi devoti juvenes, dynasta verende,
Totaque Pieriæ nutrix Academia turbæ,
Jam reduci studiis plausuque assurgimus omnes;
Quæcunque optaris cedant et fausta precamur.

Multa quidem læti tibi nos debere fatemur
Hactenus, atque agimus memori tibi pectore grates;
Pluraque sed vestri monumenta & pignora amoris
Fas & jura sinunt; quum Rex moderamina rerum

Commisit fascesque sacros, curamque salutis
 Communis, statuitque Patres qui fœdere justo
 "Aut premere, aut laxas scires dare jussus habenas."
 Et merito ; quoniam virtutum lucidus ordo
 Circumstat ; decorant stabili constantia vulta,
 Intemerata fides, quondam fugitivaque virgo,
 Nunc Astræa redux, pretioque potentior omni.

Ad te confugiunt castæ, tua cura, Camœnæ,
 Quas furor insanus, quas implacabilis error,
 Invidia, aut asius ficto suo crimina vultu
 Dissimulans, metuensque diem, motimine magno
 Obruere ardebant. Sed tu tutare jacentes,
 Eripe languentes, & rebus consule lapsis.
 Exitio fœtum, quoties inimica Camœnis
 Ora ferox tollat, Lernæum comprime monstrum.

Sic te Numen amet, sic & Parnassia pubes
 Nomen HAMILTONI longum diffundat in ævum ;
 Post monumenta dabit multo potiora metallis ;
 Quæ neque civilis rabies, neque sera senectus,
 Flamma vorax, imbres, neque fracto fulgura cœlo,
 Nec furor armorum poterunt abolere nefandus.

Nunc fore speramus, (quid non sperare licebit
 Sub tali auspicio) Pallas quas condidit arces
 Ut colat ipsa suas ; studiisque dicata juvenus
 Floreat æternum ; resonet clamoribus æther,
 Plausibus & lætus, tibi quos Heliconæ colentes
 Ingeminent—Audin' ?—Nonne hinc Schulkillius amnis,
 Hinc Delavarus item, sedesque paterna salutant ?

Quo feror ?—aut ubi sum ?—Redeo. Te, Satrapa, grati
 Te curatorem, patremque fatemur amicum.
 Ergo tuæ vigili curæ nos, nostraque cuncta
 Credimus experti ; neque res erit illa pudori.

Vive, vale, musis sed vivito semper amicus,
 Vive decus patriæ, nostrum decus.—Ite Camœnæ,
 Protinus hæc nunquam perituris addite chartis.

THE ENGLISH VERSES BY MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON.*

SPOKEN BY MR. W. HAMILTON, ATTENDED BY A DEPUTATION OF
 SCHOLARS FROM THE LOWER SCHOOLS.

Once more we strike the long neglected Lyre—
 New Prospects rise, and sudden Transports fire.
 Once more we bid bright *Wisdom's* joyous Train,
 Fearless advance along the peaceful Plain ;

* He was at this time about fourteen years old.

With Wreathes of Roses strew the chearful Way,
 And pour from Hearts sincere the rapt'rous Lay,
 Bid *Discord* fly, the Rage of *Party* cease.
 And hail the glad Return of HAMILTON and Peace.

O! Friend to Science, Liberty and Truth,
 Patron of Virtue, Arts and rising Youth;
 Indulge our weak Attempts! with Smiles approve
 This humble Boon of Gratitude and Love.

And you, ye tuneful Sisters, sacred Nine!
 'Tis yours with Skill the Laureat Wreath to twine;
 To bid unfading Garlands richly bloom,
 And give to honest Praise its best Perfume.

Haste, gentle Maids, your honour'd Patron greet,
 And lay your fragrant Chaplets at his Feet!
 Your sprightliest Mien, and brightest Aspect wear—
 No *venal* Foe to *polish'd Arts* is here!
 Far other Scenes now wake your warmest Joy;
 Far other Thoughts your favourite Chief employ.
 Beneath his softer Sway shall Virtue shine,
 And Crouds of Vot'ries bend at Wisdom's Shrine!

Hail, happy Patriot, gen'rous, good and great!
 On Thee the Sons of Science humbly wait.
 O! midst the Toils of Rule, and public Care,
 Still may we hope thy wonted Smiles to share;
 Still deign to visit this our lov'd Retreat,
 Where every Muse has fix'd her every Seat.
 So may some Bard sublime, in future Days,
 Rise from these Walls, exulting in thy Praise;
 With Hand advent'rous snatch the Trump of Fame,
 And give to latest Times thine honour'd Name.

The above Address and congratulatory Verses being delivered,
 his HONOR was pleased to make the following ANSWER:

GENTLEMEN OF THE FACULTY: I Thank you for this kind Address of
 your Body, and for the Marks of Regard shewn to me by the Youth
 educated under your Care.

I should think myself greatly wanting in the Duties of my Station, if
 I did not countenance every Institution for the Advancement of useful
 Knowledge: And I am so sensible of the particular good Tendency of
 this Seminary, whereof I became an early Promoter, that I shall always
 be happy in affording it every reasonable Degree of Encouragement in
 my Power.

I am glad to find it growing in Reputation, by Means of the Youths
 raised in it, and doubt not but it will continue to do so, under the Di-

rection of Gentlemen, who have given unquestionable Proofs of their Capacity, and, on that Account, have received the highest honours from some of the most learned Societies in Great Britain.

Among the graduates for this year were several who became distinguished; among them Andrew Allen, a member of the Provincial Council, 1769-1775; Attorney-General, 1769; delegate to Congress, 1776: James Allen, described by Graydon, as "a man of wit and pleasantry, and who, for the gratification of his ambition, determined to be a man of business—the only road, in Pennsylvania, to honors and distinction;" Samuel Keene, born A. D. 1724, a clergyman of prominence in the Episcopal Church in Maryland, concerning whom see *infra*, p. 246: William Paca, of Maryland, delegate to Congress, 1774-1779, and *signer of the Declaration of Independence*; State Senator of Maryland, 1777-1779; Chief-Justice of Maryland, 1778-1780; Chief Judge Court of Appeals Maryland, 1780-1782; Governor of Maryland, 1782-1786; Judge of the District Court of the United States, 1789-1799: Samuel Powell, Trustee of the College; Speaker of the Senate of Pennsylvania; Mayor of Philadelphia; who, the Provost Stillé tells us, attended, with Dr. Smith, a levee of George III.

CHAPTER XVI.

DR. SMITH'S RETURN—BIRTH AND BAPTISM OF HIS FIRST CHILD, WILLIAM MOORE SMITH—THE REV. WILLIAM MACCLANECHAN—HIS HISTORY, AND A CORRESPONDENCE BY AND ABOUT HIM, IN WHICH DR. SMITH, MACCLANECHAN HIMSELF, EIGHTEEN PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS, AND DR. SECKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PARTICIPATE—ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, IN THIRD STREET, PHILADELPHIA, FOUNDED.

DR. SMITH landed in Philadelphia on the 3d of October, 1759. On the 13th his son, who had been born on the 1st of June previous during his absence, was christened in Christ Church, by the reverend rector, Dr. Jenney; the god-fathers being the Rev. Richard Peters, D. D., and the Rev. Mr. Duché. The child received the name of his mother's father, William Moore.

In a preceding chapter—the one before the last—we had to do with political excitements. We now come to one of an ecclesias-

tical sort; and one which, in its day, made much of a disturbance. Its effects, too, remained, and perhaps do remain; some of them good, we may hope; some the reverse of it. It will be seen with what vigor Dr. Smith came to the rescue of a venerable, reverend brother, enfeebled by age and infirmities, and of an honored parish brought almost to the throes of dissolution from the ambitious schemes of an ecclesiastical demagogue, who was leading a numerous, though not highly enlightened class in it to insubordination to the spiritual pastors and masters to whom it was their duty to submit themselves; not drawing up their minds—as they, with self-complacence, thought—to heavenly things, at all, but alluring them, by flowery paths, to a most dangerous downfall.

The Reverend WILLIAM MACCLANECHAN was apparently a native of Ireland. He emigrated from that country in 1736, with a number of Presbyterian families, to Portland, Maine, where he was installed as their pastor, but his congregation being unable to support him, he moved to Georgetown, east of Portland, where he officiated until 1744, when he went to Massachusetts. He is found in 1747–8, at Chelsea, until 1754, when he conformed to the Church of England in Boston. In the following year he went to London, and on the recommendation of Governor Shirley, was there ordained deacon and priest. He was then appointed Missionary, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to Georgetown, in Maine, at which place he remained from May, 1756, to December, 1758, and then went to Virginia, leaving his family in New England. After entering into some engagements with a Parish in Virginia, as he was returning to remove his family from New England there, he was invited to preach in *Christ Church, Philadelphia*; where he was much admired by a great number of the Congregation, who seemed desirous of obtaining for him a settlement in their Church. The Rev. Dr. ROBERT JENNEY, the Rector of it, had then, through age and indisposition, become incapable of much duty. But he had one Assistant, the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon; and an application of the Vestry had been made to the Bishop of London, Dr. Sherlock, in favor of a young gentleman born and educated in *Philadelphia*—Mr. JACOB DUCHÉ, requesting his Lordship to ordain him for another Assistant.

The advocates for Mr. Macclanechan, notwithstanding, insisted

on *his* being appointed a Lecturer, or Assistant Extraordinary, offering to support him by private subscription. Accordingly in May, 1759, about seventy-four members of the Congregation applied to Dr. Jenney and the Vestry for that purpose. The Doctor answered, "That he was willing, with the consent of the Church-Wardens and Vestry, that Mr. Macclanechan should have the use and liberty of his Pulpit to preach in, *during the pleasure*, of himself, the said Dr. Jenney, the Church-Wardens and Vestry:" And the Vestry added, that "he shall have this use, *during pleasure*, as a *Lecturer only*."

But, on June 19th following, a Majority of the Vestry met, and, the Rector not being present, proceeded "to *fix and establish* the said Mr. Macclanechan as an *Assistant*," and they agreed to address the Bishop of London, requesting his Licence for that Purpose, "according," as they said, "to the practice and custom of this Church in such cases used and approved."

An address was accordingly sent some time after, to the Bishop of London, dated Oct. 3d, 1759, and on the 11th of the same month, Dr. Jenney, joined by most of the Episcopal Clergy in the Province, sent a Counter-Address to the Bishop, setting forth, that his Lordship had already, "on the Application of the Church-Wardens and Vestry, been pleased to ordain and licence the Rev. Mr. Duché (since arrived and settled) as an Assistant with Mr. Sturgeon in Christ Church—that more than two Assistants were unnecessary—that Dr. Jenney's former Consent to Mr. Macclanechan's having the Use of his Pulpit was only *during Pleasure*—that Mr. Macclanechan had since given him and many others Offence, by his railing in the Pulpit against his Brethren, as not preaching the Articles of the Church—and that this and other sufficient causes (which were assigned), had moved him, in conjunction with his Brethren of Pennsylvania, to request his Lordship not to permit Mr. Macclanechan to settle among them."

The Bishop of London, having received both the Address and Counter-Address, refused his Licence to Mr. Macclanechan. But, before this letter had come to hand, Dr. Jenney had sent one to Mr. Macclanechan, forbidding him his Pulpit; upon this Mr. Macclanechan obtained the use of part of the *State-House* in Philadelphia, and set up a separate Congregation. Dr. Smith

in about eight weeks after his arrival in Philadelphia, wrote a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, giving him a full account of what had taken place.

Mr. Macclanechan's friends, finding that they could obtain no Countenance from the Bishop of London, but that the Bishop desired Mr. Macclanechan to withdraw from *Philadelphia* to *Virginia*, where his more proper duty lay, also addressed Dr. Secker, professing a regard for the doctrines and Articles of the Church, and setting forth "that they were about to erect a new "Place of Worship, to be called *St. Paul's Church*, and praying "his Grace to take them under his Protection and Patronage, as "the Bishop of *London's* Indisposition rendered him incapable "of Business." EIGHTEEN PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS, "unsolicited by the gentleman concerned," also addressed the Archbishop praying that Macclanechan might be "inducted" and settled in *Philadelphia*. This address Mr. Macclanechan accompanied by a long letter of his own, complaining of the treatment which he had received from the authorities of Christ Church.

The Church Clergy of Philadelphia, being informed of the Address of the Presbyterian Ministers, applied to their *Synod*, then sitting at Philadelphia, for a Copy of it; and to know who among them subscribed it, or whether it was the Act of their whole Body. The Moderator of the Synod sent a copy of the Address, but declined giving the names of the subscribers, saying it was not a synodical Act, and that the Synod could not answer for the private correspondence of their Members.* The Archbishop, however, in the month of October following, sent over the original Address, in which the names of the subscribers appeared in their own Hand-Writing; and the names became known.

The matter, so painful in its general character, was not without its ridiculous incidents. On the 30th of April, 1760, under the impression that "it might contribute to the general service of religion," Dr. Smith caused "a free and voluntary meeting or Convention" of the clergy "of Pennsylvania and the Provinces

* In a Synod of 1761, where Macclanechan's matter came up again, it was observed that Presbyterians did not approve of ministers being "inducted" into churches; "for induction, in a legal sense, is what we disapprove of." "Induction" being a proceeding and term of the Church of England alone, the idea naturally arose that Mr. Macclanechan, or some Church-of-England man, himself drafted the paper which the eighteen Presbyterian ministers, "unsolicited by the gentleman concerned," signed.

annexed," to assemble in Philadelphia. We speak of the Convention further on. He presided. Several clergymen were present; among them the Rev. Mr. Macclanechan, sitting as one of the assistant ministers of Christ Church. A committee was appointed to prepare an "Address" to the Bishop of London; an address, of course, chiefly of form and compliment. The Address was prepared, and Macclanechan, with the other clergy, signed it. Just after this a letter, from an authentic source, and that day received, was laid before the Convention, by which it appeared that the Bishop of London had refused to give a license to Mr. Macclanechan to act as an assistant minister in Christ Church. Upon this it was moved and carried, as the sense of the Convention, that, while Mr. Macclanechan might still sit in the Convention as a clergyman of the Church of England, he could not sit as a representative of the church just named. Macclanechan now asked that his name might be erased from the Address to the Bishop, which he had signed. The Convention refused to let it be erased. Thereupon, Macclanechan bounced up and jerked the Address out of the hands of the Secretary, meaning to tear or cut his own name out. Dr. Smith, who was then thirty-three years old, and at that time of his life distinguished by physical strength, stepped from his Chair, and very quickly, though without exhibiting the strain of a single muscle, pinioned, by pressure, one of Macclanechan's arms to his body, while, with his own two hands, he wrenched open the hand of Macclanechan which was holding the Address, and kept it; the whole operation being performed with as much neatness as if, at Mr. Macclanechan's request, Dr. Smith had been adjusting a sleeve-button. Having thus possessed himself of the manuscript, injured only by a small corner, with a few unimportant words on it, torn off, Dr. Smith resumed his seat, and went on with the duties of the Chair, as if nothing had taken place; Macclanechan, in the meantime, with a very literal observance of Dogberry's rules to his Watch, going out of the room protesting that the Convention was a parcel of crafty and designing men, and that he would have nothing to do with them. "He would take no note of them, but let them go, thanking God that he had got rid of knaves."

It was the wisest thing that he could do.

It may be added that, seeing how violent a man Mr. Macclan-

echan was, and how much in the nature of a mob his followers were, the Convention appointed a Standing Committee, composed of Dr. Smith, and the Rev. Messrs. Sturgeon and Duché, to look after the interests of the Church in Philadelphia; *ne quid detrimenti capiat*.

We give a few letters on the subject above generally spoken of. They are not all letters either from or to Dr. Smith; but they are all letters immediately connected with Dr. Smith's letters, in that they are all upon subjects on which his letters are written, and in which he was a principal, and, as we say, the most efficient actor.

Dr. Smith to Archbishop Secker.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 27th, 1759.

MY LORD: I did myself the Honour to write to Your Grace by last New York Packet, and mentioned the surrender of St John's, which I must now contradict, as a piece of false intelligence; for the early setting in of the cold weather obliged Gen^l Amherst to return without accomplishing his design. The French still hold that Fort as well as *Montreal*, and perhaps may stand it out till next Spring; but all these lesser places must soon follow their Capital, *Quebec*.

Having Your Grace's permission and Commands to write at all times freely about the state of Religion and our Church in these Colonies, I am sorry that I have so soon occasion to write a very long and, I fear, disagreeable letter on this head. But Duty calls, & I hope Your Grace will ever believe me incapable of any sinister Motive on such an occasion.

I value Your Grace's favor and protection above every other earthly Consideration. It saved me in the worst of times, & from the worst sort of oppression. My Antagonists are brought to sufficient confusion, and he who was like to be borne down, unheard, as a foe to his Country, is received back again into it, in the more agreeable light of an acknowledged Advocate for Civil Order and public liberty.

Such a happy turn as this accomplished chiefly, My Lord, by Your Grace's goodness, is not to be repaid by words or single acts, but by the gratitude of a whole life; and whenever I am found capable of making the least unworthy return, or of abusing Your Confidence in a single instance, I may justly be accounted among the worst of mankind.

Indeed, in the present fatal division in which I found our Church at my arrival (which I hinted at in my last, and now to give a circumstantial account of,) it is impossible that I should have any particular interest. The Church here can do nothing to place me in a more honorable or advantageous station than I hold at present. All sides, since my arrival, have desired my interest, but I have held it most

prudent to take no other public part, except to support the Rev^d Dr. Jenney in his just Orders, and to prevent matters (as far as I can) from running to extremity, till we receive a proper interposition of Your Grace's and our Diocesan's authority, by which alone the matter can be accommodated. As a foundation for such an interposition, I now proceed to my account; which I must begin a considerable way backwards, to give the more perfect idea of the whole.

The Chief Powers of this Government were originally in the Quakers, who were a Majority of the first settlers. But, in process of time, by the accession of men of other persuasions, they not only became a minority; but do not now even exceed one-fifth part of the whole. The number of souls, in this Province & Territories, is thought to be at least 250,000; and the state of Religious Persuasions, agreeable to the best Calculation I can make, from ample materials in my hands, is as follows, viz:

1. Of the Church of England about.....	25,000
2. Quakers.....	50,000
3. English, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, Covenanters, &c.....	55,000
4. English Anabaptists.....	5,000
5. German Anabaptists, or Menonists, and other Quietist Sects.....	30,000
6. German Lutherans, who are well inclined to be incorporated into the Church of England.....	35,000
7. Swedish Lutherans, who use the Liturgy & discipline of the Church in most Articles.....	5,000
8. German Presbyterians or Calvinists, who style themselves the <i>Reformed</i> ..	30,000
9. Roman Catholics, English, Irish and German.....	10,000
10. Moravians, and a small German Society called Donkers, about.....	5,000
In all.....	250,000

Notwithstanding this great disparity, the Quakers still hold the Chief places in the Government, which, from the above state, it is obvious they could not do by their own single interest. They have, therefore, made it their invariable rule (agreeable to the Maxim, *Divide et impera*) to divide and distract all other Societies, and to take off some men among them, who have been found mean enough to be so dealt with; and in proportion to the reluctance with which other Societies bear their being excluded from their just share of public Trust, does this subtle political body exert their dividing arts; from which cause proceed most of the confusions and distresses felt by the Ministers & Missionaries of the Church here, and the Continual Clamor kept up against them as *Hirelings*, &c., by this crafty levelling sect, and their Mercenary Adherents.

Now, My Lord, no religious Society here so well deserves the exertion of this Quaker policy, as the Congregation of Christ-Church in this City, which is already numerous enough to fill three large Churches, & consists of many of the most opulent and respectable families in the place. The Quakers, therefore, have always endeavored to get the

Ministers of that Church in the Interest of their unconstitutional policy (knowing the influence it would have on the other Ministers in the Province); and, when that could not be done, to give them as much uneasiness as possible, by stirring up part of their Congregations against them, and rewarding such disturbers with places & other Emoluments; particularly, procuring them to be elected Members of their Provincial Assembly.

The use of these observations will appear immediately, My Lord, for, this being a just view of the Quaker Policy, Your Grace will not wonder that when there is a prospect of a vacancy in so considerable an Office as the *Rectorship* of Christ Church here, that Party should stir themselves to fill it up with a person devoted to their interest, and to exclude every one whom they judge Capable of uniting and Confirming the Congregation in those laudable principles of Religion and Government, which are the Glory of our English Church.

In that light, My Lord, I flatter myself they did me the Honor to consider me, when they first endeavored to foment differences between the Rev. Dr Jenney's Assistant and me, by telling him that it was intended, on the Dr's decease, to put me over him in the Church, & offering to support him against me with their whole interest. The poor Credulous Man gave too much Ear to this; notwithstanding that he had little reason to expect to succeed Dr Jenney himself, having neither abilities nor consequence enough for the task, and knew moreover that my station as Head of the College put me above any anxiety about other Preferment here. The story, however, served the ends of the party, to weaken us by jealousies, and was the true cause of the part * Mr. Sturgeon acted during the grand struggle with the Quakers and their adherents about the King's Service and the defence of the Country, throwing himself wholly into the hands of that party, and doing sundry unfriendly things against me at their instigation, such as writing to Your Grace, &c., which I never knew of till my return, and do most heartily forgive him, notwithstanding the unkindness of his conduct in endeavoring to hurt me with Your Grace, at a time when I was so unjustly oppressed in the Cause of public liberty, and had no other support but the goodness of that Cause, and the favor of good and discerning men. Nevertheless, I should not so much as mention these things now, were they not connected with my subject, or could they do him any injury. But he has smarted sufficiently for his error, and is fully sensible of it, as the sequel will shew. For no sooner did the party find a man, whom they thought fitter for their purpose than Mr Sturgeon, than they threw him entirely off, and became his bitterest enemies.

* I mention Mr. Sturgeon only; for Dr. Jenney, for three years, has been incapable of going abroad, or doing anything but what he was advised to by those about him, who too often imposed upon his weakness.

This happened about last April, while I was in England. One Mr Macclanechan, who had been many years a dissenting Preacher in New England, having on some misunderstanding with his brethren, lately become a Convert to the Church of England, was employed by the Ven^{ble} Society in an itinerant Mission on the Frontiers of that Colony. This Station, however, was not very agreeable to his vagrant temper; for, by the best accounts I can obtain (of which the Society may more certainly inform themselves) he was not very constant in his attendance on his Mission, but was much on the ramble for better preferment. He spent much of his time in and about Boston, affecting the Methodist manner and doctrines to captivate the Multitude, and had his Eye chiefly on Dr Cutler's Congregation, where by reason of the Dr's age and infirmities, he had most frequent opportunities of preaching. But his manner becoming at length extremely exceptionable, and his designs being discovered by an application of many of the people to have him settled even during the Dr's life, as his Coadjutor and successor, which was like to be attended with much Confusion to that as well as the other Episcopal Congregations there, the Doctor, with much spirit, upon the advice of his brethren, not only rejected the proposal, but refused him any further use of his pulpit, which example was followed by all the other Clergy, which left him no opportunity of doing further hurt there.

The consequence of this was a determination to move Southward, and accordingly he went to Virginia, notwithstanding he was all this while in the pay of the Society. At Virginia he made some agreement to settle in a parish, and the people, in consideration of his pretended poverty and inability to move his family from New England, advanced him Money in bills of Exchange to the value of about £75. With this Money, he was on his way Northward about April last, and called at this City to turn his bills into Cash, where he was asked to preach. The novelty of his manner, his great noise and *extempore* effusions, both in praying and preaching, struck sundry of the lower sort of people, and made the party I have been describing, catch at him eagerly as one providentially sent among them, and much fitter for their purpose than poor Mr Sturgeon; whom they no doubt found too Conscientious to go the lengths they wished, and if they should have succeeded in getting him at the head of the Church, could never have been of much service to them; being but an unengaging preacher, averse to public bustle, and of but indifferent abilities, though otherwise a man of much apparent piety, that has taken much pains in his Office, & where he has erred, I believe was rather led away by bad advice, than any unworthy design in himself.

But, to return, it was accordingly proposed to Mr Macclanechan to lay aside all thoughts of returning to Virginia, and to settle at Philadelphia. To a man who was on the hunt for preferment, this Overture

was acceptable enough, and he consented to embrace it, notwithstanding his Contract with the Virginians, his acceptance of their Money, and perhaps his being at the same time in the Society's pay, during all these peregrinations, whereof their own accounts will best inform them. The matter was accordingly proposed to the Vestry here; but D^r Jenney and they objected that there was no vacancy; that there was one assistant in the Church already, and they had some months before addressed the Lord Bishop of London for another, namely the Rev. M^r Jacob Duche, that amiable Youth whom I had the honor of introducing to your Grace, whose Character stands so high in Clarehall where he finished his studies; a Youth that had been bred up in our College here, born in the bosom of our Church and of the highest expectations that ever any Youth brought into the Ministry; having the most Captivating Eloquence and every engaging accomplishment. They further added, that his arrival, to enter upon his Office, was then every day expected; that the Church would then be fully supplied during D^r Jenney's life; that a third assistant was an unusual as well as an unnecessary thing in a single Church; that the funds were already insufficient to maintain the rector and his two Assistants which they had already employed; that the new Church which they were building would not be ready for some years, and that it was uncertain who the Contributors might be inclined to employ in it; that M^r Macclanechan was a stranger to every body in this City, and that his manner and doctrines were moreover very exceptionable to the Rector and the principal people in the Congregation.

This did not satisfy the party. They then mustered their whole Force amounting to about 70 persons, signed a paper and came to the Vestry while sitting, insisting that M^r Macclanechan should be employed, and offering to maintain him by private subscription. This number, tho' but a handful compared to the body of the Congregation, took the Vestry off their guard when some of its principal members were absent, and extorted a kind of Conditional promise of granting M^r Macclanechan the occasional use of the Church along with D^r Jenney's two Assistants, till the matter could be otherwise accommodated; provided he should procure sufficient testimonials of his Character, which was now much questioned on account of two letters received from the Rev^d Messrs. Brown and Chandler, two worthy Missionaries in New Jersey.

D^r Jenney, however, still refused his assent, declaring that he wanted no other Assistant, and had a particular dislike to M^r Macclanechan; nor would he leave his Chamber to be present at some of the meetings on this Occasion. This incensed M^r Macclanechan's party; some of the leaders of which found means to force themselves to a Conference with the poor dying gentleman, threatening to keep back all their Pew-Money, out of which his Salary was paid, and to starve him alive if he did not comply; with other language too insolent & barbarous to be

used by any but such a party, to a poor old servant of the Church, who had already one foot in the grave. And all this was done with M^r Macclanechan's assent and approbation; the Consequence of which was, as they pretend, that D^r Jenney gave his Consent to what had been agreed upon, tho' he himself says he does not know what he did on the occasion, having been so ill-used; nor does it signify, since it was done so irregularly, and not in a meeting of the Vestry.

Matters being brought so far, M^r Macclanechan proceeded soon after to New England to bring his family and Certificates; but he brought none of any moment, but a letter from Mess^{rs} Caner and Troutbec; the purport of which was merely negative, viz., "that they did not know enough of M^r Macclanechan to give any character of him, but hoped the people of Philadelphia who had employed him would find no exception to his moral behaviour." This is the substance of all they said, which he procured from them, under pretence that his settlement at Philadelphia was already fixed, and that it would be hard and unkind to disappoint him, by refusing him a few lines from at least some of his brethren. Such a letter, however, seemed strange from men living in Boston, who, whatever they might pretend, could not be strangers to the man who had made so much disturbance in several of their Congregations; and indeed it did M^r Macclanechan no service here, more especially when it was found that Governor Pownall was so far from consenting to join in a character of him, that with his own hand he tore off the Province-Seal from one formerly drawn up. Nor can M^r Caner be excused for not writing all he knew about him, except by considering that he was told everything at Philadelphia was concluded upon, & that it would be only making more disturbance to write the whole matter. Added to this, perhaps, they were not ill-pleased to get fairly rid of him at Boston, for it is now known that neither they nor any of the other Clergy there, had for some time past allowed him any use of their pulpits.

Lame as this letter was, yet as it contained nothing directly for or against him, the violence of the party procured his admission into the Church on his return, which was about the beginning of September, a week after M^r Duche's arrival, and a month before mine. In drawing up the Minute of Vestry for his admission, he was artfully called an Assistant to D^r Jenney, and it was so entered, but without the D^r's joining in it, or any other regular form; every thing being in the utmost Confusion, and some of the Chief Vestry men absenting themselves.

Soon after this an address was framed to the Bishop of London, for his Lordship's approbation of M^r Macclanechan's settlement here, and the extension of his license to this Province. It was intended also that this address should be an act of the Vestry, but D^r Jenney's absolute refusal to sign it disappointed them. Never at loss, they then called themselves the Vestry without their Rector, and set forth in the body of

the address that he was consenting to what they did, out by reason of indisposition could not sign his name, which was so far from being true that by the same ship, and on the same day, both the D^r and his Assistants wrote to the Bishop against granting the license to M^r Macclanechan. Several of the leading men of the Vestry were privy to all this, when they suffered the address of M^r Macclanechan to pass them; and their reason for doing it was that they knew it would be ineffectual without the D^r's hand to it, and they thought it best to procure a little temporary quiet, by seeming to Comply; knowing that the Bishop's rejection of the address would enable them to act the proper part when necessary.

So far had matters gone before my arrival, when at New York I received the first notice of them from the Rev^d D^r Johnson, and the Rev^d M^r Barclay; who lamented much the distractions of our Church, and gave me some sketch of M^r Macclanechan's Character and behaviour to the Northward; adding that neither they nor any of the Clergy there would allow him their Pulpits, he being an avowed Methodist and follower of Whitfield's plan; occasioning much confusion wherever he came. And, indeed, the first time I heard him open his mouth in the Pulpit, it sufficiently confirmed what they had said. With a huge stature, and voice more than *Stentorian*, up he started before his Sermon; and, instead of modestly using any of the excellent forms provided in our Liturgy, or a form in the nature and substance of that enjoined by the 55th Canon, he addressed the Majesty of heaven with a long Catalogue of epithets, such as "Sin-pardoning, all-seeing, heart-searching, reinvigorating God"—"*We thank thee that see us all here to-day and not in hell*"—Such an unusual manner in our Church sufficiently fixed my attention, which was exercised by a strange extempore rhapsody of more than 20 minutes, and afterwards a Sermon of about 68 Minutes more; which I think could hardly be religion; for I am sure it was not Common Sense. I have heard him again and again, and still we have the same wild incoherent rhapsodies, of which I can give no account, other than that they consist of a continual ringing the Changes upon the words Regeneration, instantaneous Conversion, imputed Righteousness, the new Birth, &c.—But I find no practical use made of these terms, nor does he offer anything to explain them, or to tell us what he would be at. In short, My Lord, it would make the Ears of a sober Christian tingle to sit and hear such Preachments.

Thus did I find matters at my arrival, the next day after which I waited on D^r Jenney and delivered Your Grace's letter, which I found threw him into tears, & made him cry out he had been much abused by designing men. He did not offer to shew me the Contents, but thanked me for all my past Candor to him; said he would always do me justice while he lived, & hoped I would not join M^r Macclanechan and his party who wanted to take the bread out of his mouth. I told him

that he might depend I should do every thing in my power to make him easy while he lived, and to keep the Peace of the Church, which I could appeal to himself I had never offered to disturb, even when used ill by it. He said that was very true, and he hoped God would bless me for it; then he proceeded with many tears to report the substance of what I have set forth above concerning M^r Macclanechan, which seemed to affect him so much that I thought it best to beg his wife to try to compose his Spirits, and found means myself to slip away from him abruptly—His Case is indeed worthy of Compassion, and I am sure I shall slip no opportunity of administering him all the Comfort in my power.

The day following M^r Sturgeon Came to see me, and made very sincere acknowledgments for the part he had been unguardedly led to act against me—A few hours afterwards M^r Macclanechan came also. He spoke much of his popularity, the *Call* he had from the people to be their Minister, which he pretends gives the only right title. The Bishop's authority he spoke of very disregardingly, and said it could never bind the people. I replied that however that matter might be, it was certainly binding on him and me, who were of the *Clergy*; that the Bishop pretended no authority over the people, but that if he did not think fit to grant his license to any Clergyman, or withdrew it when granted, I presumed that such Clergyman would not be warranted to officiate or enjoy any of the benefits belonging to a Clergyman of the Church of England; and that, in this light, the Bishop's approbation was necessary to the removal as well as settlement of the Clergy here; else they were quite independent, and our Church wholly void of discipline. He hardly seemed to allow this reasoning, and as it was in my own house, I chose to drop the dispute.

When I see him he behaves civilly, but has too little regard to truth in his Conversation, and Continually calumniating his brethren. Several of his party had made repeated attempts to draw me to their side, telling me how easy it might now be to crush M^r Sturgeon, who had formerly been my enemy. But, as I thank God who has not made me revengeful in my nature, so I tremble at the thoughts of supporting a man who is aiming to intrude himself into the Congregation of another, in a manner that would put an end to all order, and destroy us as a Church here.

This, my Lord, is a faithful account of every thing that I can recollect in this affair worthy Your Grace's notice, in order to give a perfect idea of it. Nothing now remains but to subjoin Copies of some necessary papers.

In my last I sent Your Grace a copy of the Remonstrance of the Clergy of this Province, drawn up against M^r Macclanechan before my arrival, and a Copy has also been sent to my Lord Bishop of London; both which I presume having got safe to hand, I shall not now insert it. It was signed by D^r Jenney, his two Assistants M^r Sturgeon and M^r

Duche: by M^r Reading Missionary at Apoquimunk, M^r Neil Missionary at Oxford, M^r Inglis Missionary at Dover, and M^r Carter Missionary at the Bahama Islands, who was here for his health and a witness to all the transactions. It sets forth the manner of M^r Macclanechan's introduction as above, his want of Conformity to the rules and liturgy of the Church, the Confusions he is like to make, the little security any of them will have for the enjoyment of their living if such a precedent is suffered, his violence of temper, the bad light in which he stands with all the Clergy, wherever he has come &c.—

Soon after this remonstrance, D^r Jenney thought it necessary to give the following written Order. The occasion of it was, as set forth in it, owing to the exceeding ill temper of M^r Macclanechan, his disputing duty and precedency with the settled Assistants, & particularly obliging M^r Duche to put off his Surplice when about to assist in administering the holy Sacrament, and that in so indecent a manner that if M^r Duche had not been possessed of the meekest temper, it would have given much scandal on that solemn occasion—

COPY OF DR. JENNEY'S ORDER FOR REGULATING THE DUTY OF HIS CONGREGATION.

November 1st, 1759.

“To the Rev^d M^r William Sturgeon to be Communicated.

“Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, by a long Indisposition, “to render me incapable of officiating to my Congregation in person, “and I am now supplied with two Assistants, both regularly appointed, “*licensed* and received, with my approbation and consent, namely the “Rev^d M^r W^m Sturgeon, and the Rev^d M^r Jacob Duché; and whereas “sometime after the appointment of the latter of my said Assistants and “his being licensed and approved by the Bishop, agreeable to the joint “request of me and my Vestry, the Rev^d M^r Macclanechan was proposed and with much importunity pressed upon me, as a third Assistant notwithstanding my *known dislike to the man*, which I sufficiently “testified by *declining to sign any address to the Bishop* for licensing “him to this place, seeing neither the necessity for another assistant nor “the funds for his support, but have nevertheless for peace-sake (on “hearing that he was to be supported by a private subscription) agreed “to allow him the *occasional Liberty* of my Pulpit along with my said “two Assistants, till the Bishop's pleasure is known in this matter; “which liberty he has abused by disputing precedency with my two “Assistants aforesaid—

“Now, therefore, as far as in me lies, to prevent any further confusion and strife, I have thought fit, agreeable to the authority which “I enjoy as Rector and Incumbent of Christ-Church in this City, and “vested with the power of an Ordinary in matters merely Ecclesiastical “therein, to appoint, direct and ordain as follows; viz.

“That the duties of Preaching and reading Prayers in the forenoon & afternoon of every Sunday shall be performed alternately by the three persons aforesaid; the Rev^d M^r Sturgeon my first Assistant taking the first turn, the Rev^d M^r Duché my other Assistant taking the second, and the Rev^d M^r Macclanechan aforesaid the third, till the Bishop’s Pleasure is known in this matter, or till my further orders therein: Provided always, and it is the express condition of this order, that every person officiating in my Church Conform himself to the Order of Prayer & Rites ecclesiastical as established in our Church, and hitherto used in my said Congregation, without either diminishing, mixing or adding any thing in the matter or form thereof, or using any other prayer before or after Sermon than is well warranted by the Canons and Rubrick of the Church: And with respect to the rest of the Parochial duty, such as the Administration of the Sacraments and so forth, I do ordain that in all cases where Precedency is necessary, it shall be in favor of my two settled and licensed Assistants aforesaid.

“And lastly, whereas the Ven^{ble} Society for propagating the Gospel, out of their pious Concern for the Salvation of Souls, and with the express approbation of me and my Vestry, do pay an yearly Salary to my first Assistant aforesaid, as a *Sunday-Night’s* Catechist to the Negroes, which duty he has been necessarily obliged for some time past to discontinue, but is now at leisure to resume the same; I do therefore think it expedient that he do resume the same accordingly, and for that end I do appoint him the entire use of my Pulpit on Sunday evenings as usual.* Given under my hand at Philadelphia this day & year above said.

“ROB^t JENNEY.”

The same day that this order was given, and a few hours only afterwards, the following letter was sent to D^r Jenney by M^r Macclanechan’s party, which they hoped would have reached him time enough to prevent the order, by throwing the blame of all the differences on him and his Assistants. The manner in which it is written will convince your Grace how different the spirit of that party is from that of the D^r and his friends—

“To the Rev^d D^r Robert Jenney, Rector of Christ Church &c.

“REV^d SIR: Since your disability to serve this Congregation in public it hath pleased Almighty God to send among us his worthy and pious Servant the Rev^d M^r Macclanechan, whom the members of the Church, in Conjunction with the Vestry and your assent heartily received and established him to be Your Assistant, and from whose labors we

* This part of the Order was necessary, because Mr. Macclanechan & his people wanted to have the Pulpit on Sunday Evenings for a lecture.

“have the utmost reason to hope for a general reformation of manners;
 “and in consequence of his settlement he continued to officiate to the
 “great satisfaction of the Congregation, and a Manifest appearance of
 “adding to our numbers—Permit us, Rev^d Sir, now to acquaint you that
 “from the late behaviour of his brethren towards him, and from divers
 “reports (which we are averse to believe) you and they treat him in such
 “a manner as if you proposed to seclude him from further service among
 “us. The sudden change of the Evening lecture and Service to make
 “way for M^r. Sturgeon’s Catechetical Lectures to the Negroes, when no
 “Negroes were called for, expected or attended is a plain evidence of
 “what we fear and apprehend. Nor can we conceive the necessity of
 “taking up the Church on Sunday evening for M^r. Sturgeon to Catechize
 “a few Negroes, when wanted for the service of the Congregation,
 “which may be equally well done at the School-house, or any other
 “private place.

“Wherefore, Rev^d Sir, as you cannot serve us yourself, we must pray
 “your best Offices to promote harmony and peace among us; and in
 “order thereto we have a right to expect the public as well as private
 “good offices of this gentleman, M^r. Macclanechan among us; and
 “rest assured as we pay our Clergy, we have right, and shall insist on
 “the service of such who we conceive can serve us.

“We have been further informed that M^r. Duché the younger yester-
 “day forbad * M^r. Macclanechan more to officiate in any parochial
 “duties, he not having the Lord Bishop of London’s License for so
 “doing. The Report amazes us, and we would hope it is without
 “foundation. But allow us to say, in M^r. Macclanechan’s present state
 “and settlement among us, we shall ever consider him invested with
 “all the powers necessary for the discharge of any duties pertaining to
 “his Office, *as fully as if he had his Lordship’s License*; and we shall
 “consider, support and maintain him accordingly, notwithstanding
 “what M^r. Duché or any other can say to the contrary; his Lordship’s
 “*License means nothing here, as we humbly apprehend, without a*
 “*previous presentation from the people*. This we insist on, and is what
 “the late Lord Bishop of London acknowledged; and M^r. Duché would
 “do well to consider, before he meddles with other men’s matters,
 “whether he ever had such a presentation from the Congregation”—

Signed by the same people mostly, that first addressed the
 Vestry in favor of M^r. Macclanechan.†

* This was an invention of Mr. Macclanechan’s own; for Mr. Duché never said any thing of the kind, but in conversation insisted that no person could be Dr. Jenney’s Assistant without his own consent & the Bishop’s License or Approbation.

† A sentence written along the margin in the volume of London Documents, from which this letter is copied, says: “On receiving this strange paper Dr. Jenney sent for Mr. Macclanechan to ask if it was delivered with his privity; and he owned that it was.”

The usual way of settling all Congregations here, where the right of nomination is not in the Governors of the Province, or in the Society, is for the Vestry to recommend and the Bishop to approve: But an independent Right of the people to *call, settle and induct*, without any control, was never heard before M^r. Macclanechan brought it with him from the Dissenters and Congregationalists of New England. And indeed, if such a call of the people be necessary, he is on a bad footing; for he has nothing of that kind to shew in his own favor, or to transmit to the Bishop.

Moreover, what these people may pretend about the authority of the Bishop here, the royal Charter of the Province, by which we hold our liberties has put the matter out of doubt. For there, in the very grant of the Province, King Charles the 2^d of blessed memory, makes the Bishop of London's authority, for the time being, absolutely necessary, to the establishment of every Episcopal Congregation; nor would our laws, made in consequence of that Charter, know any Minister to be of the Church, that had not his Lordship's License and approbation.

"Our further pleasure is—that if any of the inhabitants of the said Province, to the number of twenty, by writing, or by any person deputed by them, shall signify their desire to the Bishop of London for the time being, that any Preacher or Preachers *to be approved* by the said Bishop, may be sent unto them for their instruction, that then such Preacher or Preachers may reside within the said Province &c."

But I shall weary Your Grace with this very tedious account. I shall therefore conclude it with begging Your Grace's directions as soon as may be convenient. Any letter to me will be carefully forwarded, if sent to the Hon^{ble} Thomas Penn, Esq^r, at his house in Spring Garden. I would further beg Your Grace to be pleased to speak with D^r. Nichols, or whoever may have the care of the Affairs of the Bishop of London for the time being; because this account to Your Grace is more circumstantial than any other sent on this occasion.

I hope Your Grace will find cause to advise that M^r. Macclanechan do forbear any further duty in D^r. Jenney's Congregation or during his life, seeing he has intruded himself into it against the Doctor's will, and without a vacancy, as is fully proved by the Doctor's own letters, and the papers he has signed; that the said M^r. Macclanechan do either return to his Mission if the Society think fit to receive him, or go to Virginia, or wherever else he can be provided for in a regular way. This matter, it is hoped, will require no great time for consideration, as every day increases our confusion; nor does any thing farther seem necessary to prove M^r. Macclanechan's intrusion, than the letters and papers signed by the incumbent himself and his brethren, which will admit neither of answer nor palliation. We pray for speedy directions,

and that they may be forwarded to such persons as may be thought fit to communicate them faithfully and see them executed. The bearer of this, who comes well recommended for an itinerant Mission in New Jersey, and with sufficient bonds & testimonials from the people, will take great care of any letters he may be trusted with for the Decision of this Affair. But in the meantime I must again request Your Grace's private directions as soon as Convenient. Your Grace may depend on the utmost temper and prudence on our part.

I had some other things to mention to Your Grace; but this has carried me to such a length that I must postpone them to another occasion. I am, with all duty and humility,

Your Grace's ever grateful & obliged
Son & Servant,

WM. SMITH.

His Grace of Canterbury.

P. S. Since concluding the above, Dr. Jenney and Mr. Sturgeon have been so good as to send the annexed paper, to be forwarded to Your Grace; by which it will appear that their too easy attention to some of my enemies, and not any imprudence or warmth of mine, occasioned any misunderstanding that might ever have been between us; which I do not know that it ever proceeded farther than a little jealousy on their part. But with every thing on this head, I have now for ever done, and shall never trouble Your Grace more on that score; hoping that I have done nothing more than a good man, anxious for every thing that affects his Character, ought to have done.*

Indeed it is quite obvious that all the affair in Christ Church was a matter of weakness, jealousy and ambition. Good old Dr. Jenney, who in his years of health and vigor had done true and laudable service in Christ Church, had now become old and was paralyzed. Dr. Smith was a showy orator, a man of charming manners, and Dr. Jenney thought that before death should deliver, Dr. Smith might oust him. Pious Mr. Sturgeon, though probably he did not think more highly of himself than he ought to think, still naturally hoped, in so conservative a cote as Christ Church, that preferment would not by letter and affection go, but

"—By the old gradation, where each second
Stood heir to the first."

He hoped that when, in the order of God's wise Providence, his venerable superior might be gone to his eternal reward, he, Mr.

* This postscript doubtless refers to the certificate in Roberdeau's matter and to Dr. Jenney's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (See *supra*, pp. 131-185). The annexed paper referred to in the postscript is not found.—EDITOR.

Sturgeon, might himself become the Reverend Rector. He too was jealous, therefore, of Dr. Smith. But behold! As soon as Dr. Smith went to England, where he now was, the Rev. Mr. Macclanechan spies out the prospects of advancement for *somebody* in Christ Church, and gravitates towards Philadelphia, where he alarms and terrifies both Dr. Jenney and Mr. Sturgeon. As we shall see by the sequel, they were both finally indebted to Dr. Smith, whom they had both disliked, been jealous of and sought to injure, for deliverance at last from the jaws of the lion.

Dr. Jenney to the Rev. Mr. Macclanechan.

JUNE 17, 1760.

REV^d SIR: About a twelvemonth ago, having been much solicited by sundry persons in my congregation, I granted you the occasional use of my Pulpit. You must certainly know that the only conditions upon which it was in my power to grant this were your conforming yourself to the Canons and Discipline of our Church, procuring sufficient Testimonials of your former conduct, & obtaining the Lord Bishop of London's License and Approbation for your removal to this place, but tho' you have had sufficient time you have not only produced no such License or Approbation, but on the contrary I am sufficiently assured that your whole conduct is so much disapproved of that you will never obtain any License, so that I might have been well warranted in denying you my Pulpit some time ago. But I must now tell you that your late conduct has been such that even if you were Licensed to preach here, I could not allow you any more use of my Pulpit till I had laid the matter before your Superiors; and therefore you are to take notice that you are henceforth to desist from Preaching in my Church or Congregation. My reasons for this I shall transmit to those who have the proper authority to take cognizance of them.

May God forgive you the disturbances you have made in my Congregation and the uneasinesses you have added to those which the Hand of Heaven and Infirmities of Age had already laid upon me.

Sir, Your Humble Servant,

ROBERT JENNEY.

Dr. Jenney to the Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church.

[Enclosing the letter which precedes.]

JUNE 17, 1760.

GENTLEMEN: I take this opportunity of laying before you a Letter which I have this day sent to the Rev^d M^r Macclanechan notifying my determination of refusing him the further use of my Pulpit and of

transmitting the reasons of my conduct to those who have the proper cognizance of them.

To you Gentlemen who have been witnesses to the manner of this man's introduction among us, and the confusions which he has ever since occasioned, it would be needless to say much at present. At the desire of many of you, tho' with much reluctance of mind, I allowed him the occasional use of my Pulpit upon the only conditions on which it was in my power to receive him, namely, his conformity to the canons and discipline of our Church, and his obtaining the approbation and License of the Lord Bishop of London for his settlement here. But with respect to the latter you will see by authentic proofs which I lay before you, in how bad a light he stands with his late employers, the Society at home, & how unlikely it is, that he should ever receive any License or Countenance to settle here. And in regard to his conformity to our Church, it is submitted to you, how agreeable to the canons are his Extemporary Praying & Preaching, his railings and revilings in the Pulpit, his leaving our Church and his duty during the time of divine service, & carrying many of the Congregation with him to other Societies. These things added to his known connexions with those who do not belong to our Church, and have an evident interest in dividing and distracting it, might have long ago justified my withholding my Pulpit from him. But of late his aspersions of the whole Body of our Church and Clergy, their Doctrines and Principles, their Lives & Writings, have been so bold and indiscriminate that I should have thought myself wanting in every duty had I suffered my Pulpit to be any longer employed for such purposes.

I trust therefore that I shall meet with your approbation & support in what I have thought necessary to do for the interest & Preservation of that Church wherein by the Grace of God I have been for fifty years a conscientious & I hope a faithful Minister.

I am, with much regard and esteem

Gentlemen, Your Afflicted

Minister & Faithful Servant,

ROBERT JENNEY.

Minute of the Vestry of Christ Church.

The Vestry taking the foregoing Letter into consideration and knowing the facts therein contained to be true, *Resolved*, that this Vestry do approve of Dr. Jenney's having refused Mr. Macclanechan the use of his Pulpit until the Lord Bishop of London's pleasure be known upon the matter.

A committee which had been appointed by the Convention which we have already mentioned to assist Dr. Jenney in his

troubles—Dr. Smith being undoubtedly the author of it, as he was also its effective member—supported him by a certificate as follows :

The Committee upon reading the aforesaid letters took that opportunity of testifying their hearty approbation of the measures which Dr. Jenney had taken in respect to Mr. Macclanechan. They think the Doctor would have been highly to blame had he permitted his pulpit any longer to be made use of for the purposes of railing against our clergy, & thereby weakening and overturning our happy establishments. Were it necessary the Committee could heartily join with Dr. Jenney in vouching for the Facts charged against Mr. Macclanechan, and could of their own knowledge add many others which would sufficiently shew him to be no Friend to our Church & unfit to receive any countenance in it.

WILLIAM SMITH,
WILLIAM STURGEON,
JACOB DUCHÉ.

PHILADELPHIA, June 27th, 1760.

“The Lord Bishop of London’s pleasure” and his displeasure both, were soon made known by a letter, which though anterior in date to the two preceding letters, did not arrive in Philadelphia till three days after they had both been written. The Bishop’s letter came, of course, as a powerful support to the act of Dr. Jenney, who was now guided largely by Dr. Smith.

The Bishop of London to Dr. Jenney and others.

LONDON, March 25th, 1760.

GENTLEMEN: I am expressly commanded by the lord bishop of London with his hearty commendation to you, to let you know that he has received your several letters and addresses to him relating to the Settlement of ministers in the church of Phil^a, and after having well considered the circumstances of your case, his lordship is firmly of opinion that two assistant ministers are sufficient for your church. Mr. Sturgeon has been many years among you, and has well supplied the duties of the church during the indisposition of your worthy minister, Mr. Jenney; and now of late, since the duty is increased, his lordship has at your request, ordained a very promising young gentleman, Mr. Duché; and at your request likewise has licensed him to be another assistant in the same church. In justice, therefore, to those two gentlemen, who have devoted themselves to your service, and in regard to your own recommendations of them, which have been strong in their favor, his lordship thinks proper that they shall be the officiating ministers in Philadelphia, and no other.

In respect to Mr. Macclanechan, his lordship has many reasons why

he cannot license him in the parts of Pennsylvania. He was ordained and licensed to a mission in the Society's service, from which he has withdrawn himself in a manner that does him no credit; since that, he has engaged himself to a parish in Virginia, and has received such marks of their favour that he ought to think himself under obligations to serve them. It is incumbent on him, therefore, to return thither, in order to obtain a proper Settlement from the governor and commissary of that province, in the parish where he may be appointed to serve; and not to give any disturbance in the congregation where ministers are already settled and established.

Therefore, gentlemen, the bishop desires, and expects it from you that you give Mr. Macclanechan no encouragement to remain in Pennsylvania; but on the contrary that you assist him in removing back again to the place where his duty calls him, and where he ought to be. His lordship orders me to assure you of his hearty good will and affection for you. With his sincere prayers for the welfare and prosperity of your church and country, I am, gentlemen, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

SAMUEL NICOLS,

Secretary to the Bishop of London.

The vestry directed that Mr. Macclanechan should be furnished with a copy of this letter, and that it should be read in church on the next Sunday morning, the 22d of June.

We come now, in order of date, to the

*Letter of Eighteen Presbyterian Ministers to the Archbishop of
Canterbury.*

PHILADELPHIA, May 24th, 1760.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE:

Encouraged by the amiable and excellent character we have had of your Grace as a sincere & catholick Friend to truth & practical Religion, we, ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination in the Province of Pennsylvania, New Jersey & New York, providentially convened in Philadelphia, *Unsolicited by the Gentleman concerned*, beg leave in the most respectful manner to address your Grace in the only way which our distance will admit as Witnesses & Petitioners for what we cannot but account the common cause of Truth & Religion and one of its successful & popular Advocates in these parts, namely, the Rev^d W^m Macclanechan. This Gentleman has for some time past officiated in Philadelphia as Assistant to the Rev^d Dr. Jenney, and has given such publick specimens of his zeal for the Doctrines of Christianity as contained in the articles of the Church of England, and so remarkable a blessing has attended his ministry in some striking instances of unques-

tionable Reformation from Vice and Infidelity, that, from what we personally know or have heard of him, we cannot but look upon him as worthy of our warm and hearty recommendation; and we beg leave to assure your Grace that, tho' we will not be accountable for any man's prudentials in every step of his conduct, even in carrying on the best design, nor presume to determine future contingencies, yet it is our humble opinion that his continuing to officiate in Philadelphia will greatly tend to advance our common Christianity; and therefore we most earnestly pray your Grace would use your utmost influence to have him *inducted* and settled in said city.

We are encouraged & even constrained thus far to intermeddle in this affair by our disinterested regard to those fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion & Protestant Reformation, in which we are so happy as to agree with that Church over which your Grace presides, & to the cause of Virtue & practical Piety; a Regard so warm & extensive that no differences in lesser matters, nor any selfish attachments to a party can extinguish; and by the candid invitation of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts, that the Inhabitants of these Plantations would transmit to them such accounts of their Missionaries as might enable them to form a just estimate of their character & conduct. And did your Grace but fully know the circumstances of this affair, you would be sensible that perhaps no application was ever made to your Grace with more unquestionable and self-evident disinterestedness & impartiality. Praying for your Grace's happiness and extensive usefulness, we are, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most respectful

and most Humble Servants,

JOHN ROGERS,	JAMES FINLEY,
ABRAHAM KETELAS,	JOHN ROAN,
ABNER BRUSH,	JOHN MOFFAT,
ALEXANDER McWHORTER,	ROBERT SMITH,
ROBERT KENNEDY,	GILBERT TENNENT,
WILLIAM TENNENT,	CHARLES TENNENT,
SAMUEL DAVIES,	JOHN BLAIR,
MOSES TUTTLE,	CHARLES MCKNIGHT,
BENJAMIN CHESTNUT,	WILLIAM RAMSEY.

The Synod, as we have stated, disowned the act of these eighteen brethren pressing for the "induction" and settlement of Mr. Macclanechan. Presbyterians did not know what "induction" meant.

With this letter, another, now following—from the Rev. Mr. Macclanechan himself—was sent to the Archbishop.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE:

I here present you with a brief Narrative of my Conduct and Circumstances, since I entered into the Gospel Ministry in the Church of England; with a brief and honest Account of the State of Religion in the Plantations, so far as I have been acquainted with it.

In the Year 1755, I went to London for holy Orders, well recommended by [to] many Persons of Distinction, among whom your Lordship was one. I had the Pleasure of being kindly received, by many dignified Clergy of our Church. I was ordained Deacon and Priest, in about a Month after my Arrival, and was appointed an itinerant Missionary on the Eastern Frontiers of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England. The Spring Ships bound for [New] England sailed, before I was ready to take a Passage in one of them; by which Means I was detained above four Months in London. Unwilling to spend my Time idly, and St. Ann's Church, in Lyme house, wanting a Minister, I cheerfully undertook the Duty; and (blessed be God) I laboured not unsuccessfully. And I was warmly invited to continue there. But the poor Inhabitants of the Eastern Frontiers in New-England wanted me more, and I thought had a better Title to me; for which Reason I declined settling in that amiable Church, where Ease, Pleasure, and Profit would have been my Portion; and chose rather, for a Time, to preach the Gospel to the Poor in the Wilderness, where I knew Dangers and Difficulties would await and surround me. During my Stay in London, I preached in sixteen Churches; and the Rev'd Dr. Bearcroft, without my Request, certified that my Behaviour in London was worthy the good Character transmitted from New-England.

I embarked at Gravesend the 8th of August, and arrived at Boston the 10th of October following.

I did not think it safe to move my wife and Eight Children, on the Eve of the Winter, to the Wilderness, especially as there was no Place prepared by the People for my Reception. I therefore brought my Family to Boston, and wintered there. During this Time, I was not forgetful, nor negligent, of my Duty as a Clergyman of the Church of England: I preached at Stoughton, Needham, Watertown and Woburn. These Places enjoyed not the public Worship of God according to our Liturgy: I hope my Labours were not entirely lost in those Places. I was the first Church of England Clergyman that had ever preached in Watertown; and without Vanity, I may say, that I was the Instrument of opening up to the People there the Excellency of our Church Service, and bringing them to be Members of the Church of England. I laid the Foundation; may God enable the Gentleman that is now settled there faithfully and successfully to do his Duty.

As early as I could with Safety, I embarked for Kennebec; where I was kindly received by the poor Inhabitants; and to their Service I

entirely devoted myself. I preached twice every Sunday, and frequently on Week Days. I travelled among the People, visiting them, and baptizing their Children, and doing them every good Office in my Power. The War with the French and Indians becoming very hot, I lived in an old dismantled Fort, without Arms, Ammunition or Soldiers; and there was not an English Inhabitant on the Western Side of Kennebec River, between me and Quebec.

In this Dangerous Situation I continued, travelling not less than 1000 or 1200 Miles every Year, in the Discharge of the several Duties of my sacred Function. I was allowed £50 sterling annually from the Society: A great Part of this Sum I was obliged to spend in maintaining the Men who rowed me from Place to Place; the Remainder was no Ways sufficient [*to*] support my Family. I frequently wrote to the Rev'd Dr. Bearcroft, and begged that my difficult and dangerous Circumstances might be laid before the Society. I received several Letters from the Doctor, but no encouragement of being appointed to any other Place. At length, almost worn out with Fatigue, and myself and Family being daily in Jeopardy of being killed or captivated by the cruel Enemy, I resolved to take a Tour to the Southward, and see what Providence would do for me. I took a Passage to Virginia, and there being many vacant Parishes, I was soon appointed to one, where I performed I believe to the Satisfaction of the People. I found I might be provided for in that Colony, and had a Prospect of doing Service; and therefore thought it my Duty to hasten to the northward, to deliver my Family from the Danger of the common Enemy. I must here beg Leave to inform your Grace that I received no Sum of Money from the Church where I preached, to enable me to bring my Family to that Part, nor even Pay for the Time I served them in my sacred Office. This I am obliged to acquaint You with, because it has been represented to the Lord Bishop of London, that I was under strong Obligations to return to Virginia, because of many generous Donations to support me and my Family. This Report is malicious and false, which will soon appear in a very public Manner. This Digression I thought necessary, because 'tis possible that the same Story has been or may be conveyed to your Grace.

On my Journey to New-England, I arrived at the opulent City of Philadelphia, where I paid my Compliments to the Rev'd Dr. Jenney, Minister of Christ's Church in that City, and to the Rev'd Mr. Sturgeon, Catechist to the Negroes. The Doctor for a long Time has been incapable of doing Duty in the Church; and at that Time Mr. Sturgeon happened to be indisposed and incapable of doing Duty. I was invited by the Doctor and Mr. Sturgeon to preach, and I accordingly preached fore and Afternoon, for which I received the Thanks of these Gentlemen. I intended the Tuesday following to have pushed on my Journey, but was persuaded to spend another Sunday with them. Accordingly

I preached fore and Afternoon again, and Mr. Sturgeon read Prayers. On Monday several of the Congregation paid me a Visit, and expressed their very warm Desires, that I should continue for some Time to preach and perform the other Duties of my Function, on Probation, with a View to settle with them; to which I consented, and proceeded according to an Act of Vestry in my Favour. The 19th of June the Vestry again met, and with the Advice of the Congregation elected, settled, established and confirmed me an assistant Minister to the Rev'd Dr. Jenney, and voted to address his Lordship the Bishop of London for his Licence to me to this Church, so being I produced good Testimonials of my moral and religious Life in the Places where I had lived. I procured ample Testimonials of my christian Behaviour, from the People among whom I had laboured in the Society's Service, and from many Gentlemen of Distinction, both of the Church and Presbyterians, who had been acquainted with me for many Years. These Credentials I laid before the Vestry, who unanimously approved of them, and accordingly wrote a Letter to the Bishop of London for his Licence for me. I likewise wrote a Letter to his Lordship, and to Dr. Bearcroft, and I doubted not of being favoured with a Licence. But alas! While I thought all was well, and had no Mistrust of any Plot or Design against me; then were the crafty employed, in contriving Means to dissuade his Lordship from sending me his Licence. God knows what Art and low Cunning they have used, and how they have abused the good old Bishop, and (I doubt not) many other Clergy. Several Letters and Addresses have been sent to the Bishop of London, as if from the Vestry and Parishioners, recommending strongly the Rev'd Messrs. Sturgeon and Duché as Assistant Ministers to Dr. Jenney, and desiring that I might be dismissed. This Fallacy, this unparalleled Piece of Perfidy, will in a fair and reputable Manner be laid before your Grace, by a Multitude of the honest and worthy Members of the Church of England in this City. To their clandestine Addresses his Lordship, the Bishop of London, has given great Credit. For their Request is granted, and Messrs. Sturgeon and Duché are appointed Assistant Ministers to Dr. Jenney, and I am dismissed. The good Bishop has not thought proper to answer the honest Letter sent to him by the honest Vestry regularly assembled, nor to my Letter. This is a little surprising, if his Lordship received our Letters; and as Dr. Bearcroft, to whom they were inclosed, informed me that he forwarded them, I cannot think how they could have miscarried. However, the one Party is favoured, and their Request granted; and the other despised and condemned without a hearing. His Lordship's Letter discharges all People from giving any Encouragement to me to live in any Part of this Province, and charges them to assist in moving me to Virginia. But before this extraordinary Letter arrived, Dr. Jenney, and a Majority of his Vestry, assembled, in three Hours from the Time the Warning was given, and dismissed me;

declaring that they were well assured that his Lordship's Letter would be to the same Purpose.

Is this the Reward of my arduous Labours? No. Heaven has, and will reward me. Have I been often in Danger, by Sea and Land, and among the merciless Savages; and am I now in Perils among false Brethren, of whom I might have expected better? They have done me much Wrong: the Lord forgive them. I am unwarrantably and cruelly thrust out of the Church; but, Glory be to God, not out of the Church of Christ. I am dismissed from this Church, without being allowed to speak for myself; and the Doors are shut against me for preaching the Doctrines of the Gospel, the Faith of our holy Church. Blessed be the Lord, who has thought me worthy to suffer for his Name's Sake.

Ought I then tamely and cowardly to submit to the despotic Act of this superannuated Ruler with a Majority of the Vestry, many of them being as much prejudiced against the Articles of our Church, as they are against me the Preacher of them? Shall I now cease to preach a crucified Christ, according to the Power that was given me, by the Bishop and Presbyters of the Church of England; when, in my Ordination they so solemnly laid their Hands on my Head, and I as solemnly promised (by divine Aid) to preach them, and to banish all strange Doctrines? No, no; God being my Helper, I will not, I cannot, I dare not. Woe be to me, if I preach not the Gospel; not with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom, but in Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power.

One Door has been shut against me; God has opened another. I was dismissed by the Doctor and Vestry, in Manner aforesaid, on Wednesday; the Bishop's Letter arrived the Saturday following; and I read Prayers and preached at the State-House on Sunday, to above, perhaps, Five Thousand Hearers. The Benefit of assembling, in this spacious Building, for the public Worship of God, we shall enjoy, till the Church be built, which will be with all possible Expedition.

For this Blow at Christian Liberty makes all good Men pity and help us. This alas! will render Prelacy contemptible in this Part of the World: For a free People will ever esteem it their Privilege, to choose their own Minister; a Right, which they in the Plantations will not care to give up. Let not my Lord imagine, that I write thus through Disregard to our Church. God forbid. I am grieved at my very Soul, that our holy Church, by such an unwarrantable Procedure, is thus wounded. Let none imagine, that we are about to erect a Church separate from the Church of England. No; we shall strictly adhere to her Liturgy, Doctrines and Discipline.

Thus I have informed your Grace of my Conduct and Circumstances, from my entering into the sacerdotal Office to this Day.

By your Grace's Letter to Dr. Johnson, of which I have had the Favour of a Copy, I am emboldened to give You an imperfect, but honest, and melancholly Account of the State of Religion in our Churches in the Plantations, so far as I am acquainted.

We have in our Churches a Form, but little of the Power, of Godliness: nay, in many Places the Power thereof is derided. Arminianism is become the most fashionable Doctrine, and is highly applauded among us. In short, the Church of England is far from flourishing in the Plantations; and the Cause is very obvious.

Missionaries are sent here to propagate the Gospel, who have never studied Divinity. These are to instruct and guide Souls in the Way to Heaven; these indeed are blind Guides. What will the Consequence be? The Ditch must be their Portion. Is it not a Pity, that such Novices should be sent to instruct poor Sinners, who, instead of endeavouring to convince them of their ruined State by Nature and Practice, preach up the Dignity and Purity of Nature; instead of shewing poor Sinners the Need of a Saviour, they make *themselves* their own Saviours! How many Clergymen have we in the Plantations, who never had a Thought of entering into the Ministry, till they failed in the Business they were brought up to: Some to the Law, some to Physick, and others to Merchandize or Shop-Keeping! when they could not live by their Employments, being ignorant or imprudent, then their Friends consulted; saying, what shall we do to provide for our poor unhappy Relations? When all Methods failed, then it is proposed; let us procure them Recommendations, and send them home for holy Orders. This melancholly Truth is too plain to be doubted; and Dissenters have Reason to say, that, instead of propagating the Gospel, the Church Clergymen are propagating the Errors of Arminius, and are artfully and industriously introducing Deism.

The Donations of Christian People to the Society are improperly appropriated, not only in being bestowed on Men unfit for the Gospel Ministry, but in appointing Missions, where they have no Claim to the Society's Charity, and in neglecting the Frontiers, East and West; which ought principally to be taken notice of, and provided for.

While I am speaking of the Frontiers, permit me to beg your Grace's Favour in Behalf of the poor Inhabitants on the Eastern Frontiers of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England: Three at least ought to be sent to those Frontiers.

One to George Town and Harpswell, one to Frankfort and Withcossit and Newcastle, and another to Walpole, Harrington, Townsend and Pennaquid: and indeed a fourth would be necessary at Miesscingquois, Broad Bay and George's. But above all, Care should be taken to send worthy Ministers, of sound Principles and good Morals.

Thus have I plainly and faithfully informed your Grace of the melancholly Condition of Religion in the Churches in these Parts. Were I to give you a particular Account of the erroneous Doctrines, which are propagated in the Plantations, it would fill many Sheets.

Your Grace fills the highest Office in the Christian Church, and you are able and likely to do the most good. I have no View but the

Enlargement of my Lord and Master's Kingdom ; this, by his Grace, I shall labour.

My highest Ambition is, and ever shall be, to win Souls to Christ. I therefore seek Refuge and Protection in your Grace, from that Contempt and Rage to which I am exposed, and which I have undergone, for preaching faithfully the Doctrines of our holy Church.

I humbly beg, that if I am charged with any Crime or Misdemeanor, I may know the Faults of which I am accused, and my Accusers ; and have the Liberty of speaking for myself. If I am guilty, let me suffer ; but if I am the honest Man and faithful Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I shall enjoy the Felicity of your Grace's Smiles. This will silence the screaming Owls ; this will still the swelling Waves, the rushing Billows and mighty Tempest, that is [*are*] raised against me.

That your Grace may long continue, a great Ornament to Christianity, and an Instrument, in the Hand of our great Lord and Master, of doing much good in his Church, is, may it please your Grace, the hearty Prayer of

Your Grace's dutiful Son

and most obedient Servant,

WM. MACCLANECHAN.

Dr. Smith to Archbishop Secker.

PHILADELPHIA, July 1, 1760.

MY LORD : Before my return from England, the Clergy of this Province had agreed that it might be of Service to Religion & promote Harmony & better acquaintance with one another to hold a free & voluntary Convention at Philadelphia. They accordingly met here May 1, being the time of our public Commencement, and did me the honor of chusing me their President, as Dr. Jenney was unable to discharge that office. And herewith I transmit a copy of their Minutes, together with a humble tender of our Duty in a joint Address, which is enclosed to your Grace.*

On perusal of the minutes your Grace will be pleased to observe that a like friendly meeting is purposed next May ; before which I hope to have the Honor of hearing from your Grace, in answer to our said humble Address, that such Meetings, when held only for the purposes of Religion, & conducted with mutual temper and love, without any vain parade, or assuming powers & authorities which we have not, will meet with your Grace's countenance & approbation, as they have also been countenanced by our present worthy Governor and the Government here.

Our last Meeting was productive of the best consequences, in attaching us closely to each other, at the present crisis ; and I hope, on the

* An account of the Convention, with a Copy of the Addresses, including that of the Archbishop, is given further on. See pages 262-273.

face of our proceedings which lie full and genuine before your Grace, there will appear all the marks of temper and decorum of conduct. To preserve this at every future Meeting shall be my earnest endeavour, so far as any influence of mine extends.

Along with the minutes of the Meeting or Convention your Grace will receive the Minutes of such transactions as have come before five of us, who were men appointed to be a standing committee to assist and advise Dr. Jenney in his present troubles, and to do such other things as might be for the general good of the Church. There is also an ample state of the Missions, &c., transmitted by us; all which Papers are sent under cover to Dr. Bearcroft, to be by him presented to your Grace.

I have already troubled your Grace sufficiently on the affair of Mr. Macclanechan, & as I hope this shall be the last time I shall have occasion to mention his Name, I shall briefly lay everything concerning him in one view, from the time of his coming into our Church to the 17th June last, when he left it to set up a private Meeting or Conventicle of his own; that so your Grace may be taken in nothing unprovided or uninformed. These particulars I am enabled to give by Letters from Mr. Caner and Mr. Apthorp; the former of whom has promised to write to your Grace in confirmation of what he has wrote to me.

Mr. Macclanechan, he tells us, had various Removes among the Presbyterians, owing to his own imprudent and restless Temper, till about four years ago he offered himself to the Church, recommended by Mr. Shirley to the Kennebecque Mission, on account of his robust constitution; to which he was appointed in the beginning of the year 1755, from which time his salary commenced. While in London he made an acquaintance with Dr. Ward, & got a quantity of his Quack Medicines, with which he embarked, purporting to settle wherever he could in the double capacity of Quack Doctor and Quack Preacher. In his way he stop'd at Halifax and endeavoured to settle himself as a Physician there, as I am informed. But matters not answering, he left that & got to Boston the September following, near 7 months after his appointment to his Mission. When he came to Boston, instead of proceeding to Kennebeque, Mr. Caner writes that he took a House on Lease for three years & began to practise as a Physician, pretending to perform extraordinary Cures, by means of certain Nostra. At the same time Dr. Cutler being indisposed, he made a party to force himself in the Dr.'s congregation. Mr. Caner seeing this remonstrated to Mr. Macclanechan that he would write to the Society if he did not proceed to his Mission (for which he was receiving his Salary), and forbear disturbing other Congregations. At length, viz: the May following, 18 months after his appointment, he went to Kennebeque for the first time. As soon as he was gone, Mr. Caner learned that he was deeply in Debt, which soon brought him back to Boston with a view to take the Benefit

of the Act of Insolvency. Mr. Caner, thinking that this would bring a reflexion on the Church, writes me that he once more sought Mr. Macclanechan out (who appeared now only on Sundays), and assured him that if he proceeded in that manner he would be obliged to write to the Society & procure his dismissal. He asked what he could do, seeing his creditors prevented his going abroad to discharge the duties of his mission, and his Family were in a suffering condition. Mr. Caner advised him to endeavour to get a Living in the back parts of Maryland or Virginia, where, by good Economy, he might maintain his Family & save something to pay his Debts justly. He took the hint, went to Virginia, made an Agreement for a Cure as he says of £150 ster: p^r ann^m, obtained half a Year's Salary in advance, and was in the way to bring his Family, when unluckily he hit upon this Town, forgot all his engagements to the People of Virginia, as he had before done to the Society, & looking on Philadelphia as a better place to exercise his double profession, determined to settle here. Mr. Caner, by Letter, once more remonstrated to him his want of Talents for such a place as Philadelphia and his unfaithfulness to his former engagement, all to no purpose.

All this happened during my absence in England. As for the rest your Grace has been already informed of it. During the Winter his chief aim was in all his preaching to run down the Clergy and persuade the People that he himself was the only sound Divine. He scarce ever staid to hear any of the other Preachers in our Church, but when it was not his own turn to officiate, went to another Society of Swedes in Town, preached in their meeting & carried his Followers with him, whom he had also brought to hear nobody but himself. When the Presbyterian Synod met he associated much with the New Light part of them, as they are called, & procured an Address from them to your Grace in his favour, a Copy of which with our Letter on the subject is in our Minutes. Whether they have sent the original I know not, but happening to have a larger interest with the members of that Synod than Mr. Macclanechan, having been long connected with the principal men among them (one of whom, Dr. Allison, is Vice-Provost of our College), I obtained a Declaration from their Body disowning their public knowledge of the matter, so that it passed over as a private affair. How many signed it perhaps your Grace will better know; but I think they must have been a small number in comparison of the whole, there being about 50 members at their Synod. By an Address, sent at the desire of a large part of them to Dr. Chandler, he is requested to assure your Grace that they are in good harmony with the regular Ministers of our Church, that they disapprove all meddling in our affairs on the part of their Brethren, and that Gilbert Tennent and others who address in favour of Macclanechan have been long disturbers of their own Societies. The truth of this Dr. Chandler well knows.

Soon after this M^r. Macclanechan preached two such extraordinary Sermons charging the whole body of our Church & Clergy with Heterodoxy, excepting a few worthy Divines on the other side of the Atlantic (who, we were made to understand, were persecuted for their *Faith*), that he lost all the Vestry that had before applied to have him licensed; and they joined D^r. Jenney in resolving to allow M^r. Macclanechan no more use of the Pulpit to be employed for such purposes, as railing against our Clergy & Establishment, and so enraged were they, that tho' the matter had been put on the issue of the Bishop's Letter they would not wait that issue; being determined that even if he was licensed they would not sit under such Ministry. The Bishop's Letter, which was a very full one, came a few days afterwards & was intimated to him, desiring his removal to perform his engagements in Virginia; but he refused: and the Quakers, who love to divide in order to rule our Church & have been at the bottom of all the troubles in it, & particularly the opposition to me, immediately opened their State House or Public Room where the Assembly meets, in order to give it M^r. Macclanechan; who, in return, does their Business for them in trumpeting forth the errors of our Church, the Corruption of our Priests, &c.

The number that followed M^r. Macclanechan from our Church to his Conventicle are but inconsiderable: & as they were the tools of the Quaker Party to distract and divide, we think such a purgation a happy incident. The Church is as crowded as ever on Sundays & great numbers are not able to get Pews. And as for my particular opponents they are now fairly gone. They are about Building a Place of Worship for M^r. Macclanechan, and still will be hardly enough to solicit a Licence for him, by every misrepresentation of all the regular Clergy both here & in Boston. But I hope your Grace will think it proper that such proceedings that tend to destroy all order shall never have any countenance. The Quakers and their open adherents are the chief people who contribute to encourage this schism. One of the oldest Quakers in the Province has procured the Ground on which the House is to be built, so that by the turn this affair has taken, your Grace has a fresh proof, were any necessary, that the state I gave of these matters in all my former representations was just. God, who knows the heart, sees that I have no self view in these matters. Some of my own Brethren, by the arts and Jealousy of party, had heretofore been misled & drawn in to insinuate such things. But they have been convinced by experience & suffered for their mistake; and if they had now 20 hands each would subscribe to the truth of what I have said. Indeed I had much more opportunity of seeing further into these matters than they. The opposition that was early made to me & to our College, led me to trace the sources from whence it sprung; & I soon saw that the same hands were at work to weaken & divide our church by some of her own unworthy members, who drew many weak people in with them. But it is time to quit this subject.

The Bearer of this, Mr. Samuel Keene, is of a good family in Maryland, where he is to be provided for in the Church. He is a Youth of as great decorum of character as I have ever met with; prudent, sensible and well accomplish'd in all useful Literature, according to his years. He has had a regular and full Education in our College, of which he is a Bachelor of Arts; and he will give your Grace the utmost satisfaction in every enquiry that your Grace may be pleased to make in respect to the State of Religion and Learning here.*

The Hon'ble James Hamilton, the worthy Governor of this Province, has given me his leave to request that he may be proposed & accepted as a member of the Society, and I hope he may be honour'd with your Grace's approbation. He will give proper directions to his Correspondent in regard to the Present he intends, and his annual Subscription, on which head I have wrote to Dr. Nichols.

Should your Grace find leisure to honour me with any commands, Mr. Penn will take care of the Conveyance, unless there should be some particular person bound thither. I have not yet had the Honour of anything immediately from your Grace since I left England.

I am, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most dutiful Son & Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

From Archbishop Secker to the Rev. Mr. Macclanechan.

LAMBETH, October 9th, 1760.

SIR: I received, on the 23d of August, a Letter from you; and another from several Persons at Philadelphia, who profess themselves to be Members of the Church of England, and desirous of having you for their Minister. When they were written is not expressed. I received also, at the same Time, a Letter in your Favour, dated May 24th, 1760, from Eighteen Presbyterian Ministers, convened at Philadelphia. Why any of these have been sent to me, I know not. The Superintendency of the Church at Philadelphia belongs neither to me, as Archbishop of Canterbury, nor to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, of which I am President: But hath always been exercised by the Bishop of London. And he is well known to be very capable of Business, though the Writers

* *Samuel Keene*, D.D., to whom, on page 214, we have before referred, was a native of St. Paul's, Baltimore county, Md., brought up in the church, ordained in 1760, and became the incumbent of St. Ann's, Annapolis; in 1767, of St. Luke's, Queen Ann's Co.; in 1779, Rector of Chester Parish, Kent Co.; in 1781, of St. John's, Queen Ann's Co.; in 1783, of Dorchester Parish, Dorchester Co.; in 1791, of St. Luke's, Queen Ann's, and in 1805, of St. Michael's, Talbot Co.; a member of the Examining, Superintending and Standing Committees; delegate to the General Convention, and visitor of Washington College; died in 1810, *Anno Æt.* 76, Whig.—*Allen's Maryland Clergy.*

of the second Letter above deny it. But even were he incapable, the Application made to me would be irregular. However, I would willingly hope that it doth not proceed from Disregard to that venerable Person, or from Inclination to throw Things into Disorder; or from any worse Cause than Inconsiderateness, or Want of right Information. If good Opinion of me in any Respect hath contributed to produce it, I wish I deserved it better; and shall be heartily glad, if it produces also a serious Attention to what I shall now, for the Sake of Religion, and of all Parties concerned, say on the Subject. Though I have neither Leisure nor Desire to intermeddle in other Men's Matters, They, who have called me to it, I trust will excuse me for it.

Previously to the Business now in Question, you speak of your Behaviour as a Missionary; and I follow you in that the more readily, as it relates to the Society. You were appointed March 21st, 1755: And your Salary commenced from Christmas preceding: But you did not embark for America till August. You say it was for want of a Ship: And I make no objection, though the Time seems long. You landed at Boston October 10th, and there you stayed till May following, because you did not think it safe to carry your Family on the Eve of Winter to the Place of your Mission, where no House was provided for you. But might not you have gone without your Family, as you did at last, no House being still provided for you? However, I pass over this also. Nor will I enter into what hath been reported of your hiring a House at Boston for a year, some say for Three Years, as if you proposed to fix there; or of your attempting to procure a Settlement in Dr. Cutler's Church, till you were forbidden his Pulpit. The Society, on Complaint of your Delays, had stopt your Salary: but on your Writing from your Mission, promising Diligence, and expressing your Hope to be continued, they restored it, December, 1756. And on your requesting, not, as you say, frequently, but twice—June and October, 1758—to be removed, they ordered you £10 each Time, as an Encouragement to stay; fearing from your Representation, that a Successor of sufficient Resolution and Activity could not easily be got. The People of Frankfort say, that you stayed with them but till December, 1758; and it was not till the Middle of that Month that your first Request to be removed came before the Society. So that you did not wait to see whether they would remove you or not, though your Followers, in their Letter to me, say, that you patiently waited for an answer, without Effect, for a long Time. You first went to Virginia, of which I shall take Notice afterwards; then to Philadelphia; From which City you sent, June 22d, 1759, your first Notification to the Society of your resigning your Mission, and desired to have your Salary paid till Midsummer, alledging that it wanted but Two Days of the Time. This the Society granted of Course; not suspecting that you had left the place of your Mission Six Months before, which you ought fairly to have told them. And thus you received your

Salary for Four years and a half, besides Gratuities of £20, and were but Two years and a half upon your Mission.

At Philadelphia the Vestry chose you, about Seven Weeks after your Arrival, Assistant to Dr. Jenney. And by accepting their Choice, you appear to have understood that the Right of Chusing was in them. Then You and They applied to the Bishop of London for a Licence to authorize you to officiate as such. And by so doing you acknowledged that their Choice was ineffectual without his Confirmation of it, which accordingly you call a Favour. Now it being a Favour, he might refuse it. And therefore, since he hath refused it, you ought to acquiesce in his Refusal.

But you say it was procured by God knows what Art and low Cunning; that several Letters were sent to him, as if from the Vestry and Parishioners, recommending strongly M^r. Sturgeon and M^r. Duché as Assistant Ministers, and desiring that you might be dismissed; that this Fallacy, this unparalleled Piece of Perfidy will be laid before me in a fair and reputable Manner, by a Multitude of Members of the Church; that the Request of these clandestine Addresses hath been granted, M^r. Sturgeon and M^r. Duché appointed, and you dismissed. Now I cannot learn, upon Inquiry, that any one such Letter was written to the Bishop, as from the Vestry and Parishioners. And if any was written by others, they might at least have as good a Right to remonstrate against You to Him, as You have to remonstrate against the American Clergy in general to me: Nor was their Letter any more clandestine, than yours. Nor hath he grounded his Refusal on their Remonstrance. Nor could the Two Gentlemen before mentioned be recommended to him now as Assistants, and appointed by him on that Recommendation; because M^r. Sturgeon was appointed long ago,* and M^r. Duché was recommended before you came to Philadelphia, which You could scarcely fail to know, though You write as if both these Things were quite otherwise. What You mean, therefore, by charging any Persons with unparalleled Perfidy, or even with Fallacy, on this Occasion, I cannot guess. For surely You have not poor D^r. Jenney in View, who can only be charged with Weakness, and that in your Favour. He granted you, as he saith himself, the occasional Use of his Pulpit with great Reluctance of Mind, being much solicited; but others say, terrified by the Violence of your Party. However, seeing more of You afterward, and recovering Courage, he refused to sign the Application for a Licence, and signified to the Bishop that he disapproved you. I see no crime in this. And I am sure that your Followers, to whom you refer me, have not laid before me any Perfidy or Fallacy of any one: But have only asserted, without attempting to prove, or intimating their Reasons for believing it, that many have endeavoured to poison the Mind

* Mr. Sturgeon had been Assistant Minister to Dr. Jenney ever since 1747.

of the Bishop by a Misrepresentation of Facts. Now considering how excessively angry You are apt to be, when any Thing is charged upon You; surely you ought to be very careful, and exhort those whom you have taken under your Direction, to be very careful never to charge others at Random.

His refusing to licence you was the legal Exercise of a discretionary Power, vested in him. And he is not bound to set forth the Reasons why he exercised it in this Manner. He hath, however, set forth in Dr. Nicholl's Letter one Reason, which supersedes the Need of any others.* That the Church was already provided with two Assistants, approved by it and licenced by him, and wanted no more. To this he hath added, that you had engaged yourself to a Parish in Virginia, which your Adherents, in their Letter to me, deny; upon whose Information they deny it, unless your own, I know not. Yet you say, that you were appointed to a Parish there, which was scarce done without some Engagement on your Part. He further adds, that you had received such Marks of Favour—meaning probably in Money, though that is not expressed—that you ought to think yourself obliged to serve them. But you affirm that you received no Money from the Church where you preached; either to enable You to bring your Family thither, or to pay for your Services there. Whether you received any from any particular Members of the Church, or other Persons in those Parts, on either of these, or any like Accounts, You do not say. Nor do I say more than this: That I wonder how the Report should prevail, if nothing passed to give Rise to it; that the Bishop's preceding Objection against licencing You was sufficient, whatever becomes of the Present; and that supposing You had not engaged yourself in Virginia, still it was much fitter You should go thither, where You say there were many vacant Parishes, than stay at Philadelphia, where every Place was filled.

Besides these Reasons, the Bishop signifies that he had others: but specifies no others, excepting that you had withdrawn yourself from the Society's Service, in a Manner that did You no Credit; of which I have spoken before. Probably he thought it a further Reason, and surely with good Cause, that Dr. Jenney had not put his Name to the Recommendation from the Vestry. But if he credited any Thing written to him against You, besides what I have just now mentioned, he hath had so much Tenderness for you, as to decline expressing it. For which you make him an ill Return, in saying that he hath condemned You and your Party without a Hearing. Whereas in Truth he hath heard You; that is, he hath taken Notice of all that you laid before him, and hath not condemned You, only he hath thought your Request unreasonable. He hath also at the same time very kindly proposed, not only that You should be settled in Virginia, which I presume would be a very comfort-

* See this letter *supra*, p. 234.

able Settlement, but likewise that the Church of Philadelphia should assist you in moving thither. This last, indeed, you seem to represent, as if he had required that they should assist in moving You thither against your Will. But I hope you could not mean to pervert his Intention so unthankfully and unfairly.

You say that what he hath done will, alas, render Prelacy very contemptible in your Part of the World. Now I can neither see, that he hath done any Thing amiss, nor apprehend, that the refusal of one Licence by one Prelate, were it ever so unjustifiable, would render Prelacy itself contemptible in any Part of the World. He who thinks it will, must entertain a very mean Opinion of it, how much soever he may profess to be concerned for it. But on the other Hand, denying a Bishop's Right to refuse a Licence, or maintaining that his Presbyters may officiate where they please, and even from new Churches without it, is rendering episcopal Government contemptible indeed.

You say, that You are cruelly and unwarrantably thrust out of the Church, meaning Dr. Jenney's. Now from what he and others have said, I rather conceive, that cruel and unwarrantable Steps have been taken to thrust You into it. But certainly you were not thrust out. For You were never legally admitted. And now the Vestry, which had once approved you, on further Trial disapproves You. I think only Two, out of the Fifteen who recommended you, have subscribed the Letter, written to me, as still adhering to you. You alledged indeed, that the Vestry, which disapproved you, had only three Hours Notice of the Meeting. But however that be, the Majority of the whole must have been satisfied with what was done, else unquestionably the Vote, then passed, would before now have been repealed. You alledge also, that the Vestry agreed to your Dismission before the Bishop's Letter came. But you own that they declared they did it, on being well assured, as the Event shewed they were, that the Bishop would not Licence you. There are likewise other Reasons for your Dismission, given by Dr. Jenney, and allowed by the vestry; Which you have doubtless seen in his Letter to them, though you have not chosen to mention them in your Letter to me: And which ought to have restrained you effectually from calling it, as you do, very unbecomingly, the despotic Act of a superannuated Ruler.

He saith, that your extemporary Prayers and Preaching are not agreeable to the Canons. Now the 55th Canon requires, that before Sermon the Minister shall move the People to join with him in Prayer, in the Form or to the Effect there expressed, as briefly as conveniently may be. And if, instead of that, he makes a long Prayer, or one in a different Form and to a different Effect, he disobeys the Canon. And from such Disobedience very great Mischiefs have arisen in the Church, and may again. Next to such Liberties taken in Prayer, those of extempore Sermons are dangerous, unless the Preacher be very prudent, and mild

in his Temper. For the Passions of other Preachers hurry them to say Things, which it may be hoped they would not, were they to consider them previously. Or at least their Discourse being written by them, would testify concerning itself. And the 53^d Canon directs, that "if any Preacher shall particularly and of Purpose oppose or argue against any Doctrine, delivered by another Preacher, in the same or a neighbouring Church, without the Bishop's Order, the Church Wardens or Party grieved shall, because upon this there may grow much Offence and Disquietness, signify it to the Bishop, and not suffer him to preach any more, unless he promise to forbear such Matter of Contention, till the Bishop's further Order." Now Dr. Jenney affirms, and the Vestry admits, that You have done worse, than what is here restrained; that you have used "Railings and Revilings in the Pulpit;" and boldly and indiscriminately aspersed "the whole Body of our Church and Clergy, their Doctrines and Principles, their Lives and Writings;" and made Disturbances ever since You were admitted. These things undoubtedly you will deny; nor do I assert them. But many Persons of very good Credit, both Clergymen and Laymen, who had sufficient Opportunities of knowing, assert them. And as the Governors of the Parish saw your Behavior in this Light, what could they do less, than forbid your Preaching again till the Bishop's Pleasure should be known? Would you in their Case have done less? And more they did not.

You maintain, that dismissing you is a Blow at Christian Liberty. And your Followers profess to be alarmed on this Occasion for their religious Rights and Privileges, in which their Peace on Earth, and their everlasting Welfare are most intimately concerned. Yet neither You nor they directly specify what Branch of this Liberty or of these Rights, You apprehend to be endangered. I presume, however, that the Meaning of both is intimated in those words of yours, that a free people will ever esteem it their Privilege to chuse their own Minister; a Right, which they in the Plantations will not care to give up. But where in Scripture do you find this declared, either to be a Part of Christian Liberty, or a Right of the Christian Laity? Or where do our Laws make it the Privilege of a free People? If it were, they would soon find Cause to grow weary of it. But scarce any Parishes in England or Ireland chuse their Parish Minister. I believe, few episcopal Congregations in America do; and I am told, that of Philadelphia doth not. Lecturers indeed, who are Assistant Ministers, the People often chuse; Only their Choice is of no Avail, unless the Incumbent and Bishop approve it. But in Dr. Jenney's Church, I conceive, the Vestry are authorized to act for the People in the Choice of an Assistant. Else why were You chosen by the Vestry? And have they not the same power to vote against You, as to vote in your Favour? You were never chosen by the People. And therefore, if they have the sole Right of chusing, You were never duly chosen at all. You will say perhaps, what your Adher-

ents say, that the Majority of the Congregation is for you. But the other side say the contrary: And there is no regular Method of putting this Question to the Trial. But if there were: Suppose you were settled, as Incumbent of a Parish, with two Assistants, and thought you wanted no more; but some of your People had a Mind to a third; Would you think it right, that they should put it to the Vote, whether you should have a third, and whether it should not be such a particular Person; and that they should fix that particular Person upon you, against your Liking, and against the Liking of the Bishop, agreeing with you? I presume not.

But suppose further, that a Number of your Parishioners, not being able to carry their favourite Point, should break off from your Church, and set up another; would You think this right also? Let your Conscience speak. Your Adherents desire me, that they may not be stigmatized with the opprobrious Names of Schismatics, Separatists, &c. &c. I am not disposed to give harsh Names: But indeed I can give no good one to such Practices, as theirs. If Persons may withdraw from a Congregation, of which they are Members, merely because they cannot get some Person, whom they have in Admiration, to be appointed an Assistant in it; how many other Pretences for withdrawing may they and others make with equal Reason; and what End can there be to Divisions and Confusions?

Yet your Followers profess great Zeal for the Peace of the Church. And you profess great grief, that it is wounded; and declare in your own Name, and theirs, that You will strictly adhere, not only to the Liturgy and Doctrines, but to the Discipline of the Church of England. Pray, Sir, consider. Can you adhere to the Discipline of the Church of England whilst you act in Defiance of the Bishop, the Minister of the Parish, and the Vestry, on Principles that tend to the Dissolution of all Churches, and the Subversion of all ecclesiastical Order? How could such an Imagination come into your Mind? And how can You request me to countenance such Proceedings?

But, it seems, You have a further, and much mightier Plea to make. You affirm that the Doors are shut against you for teaching the Doctrines of the Gospel: And intimate, that you are required to cease from preaching a crucified Christ though the Bishop had given you Power to do it; and though you had solemnly promised at your Ordination, that you would do it, and would banish all strange Doctrines. But consider: The Power given You was "to preach the Word of God . . . in the Congregation, where you should be lawfully appointed thereunto." Now you have not been lawfully appointed to preach statedly at Philadelphia. And why could not your Promise have been as well and better performed in Virginia, where you might have been lawfully appointed? Consider further: On what Grounds do you affirm, that the Doors are shut against you for teaching the Doctrines of the Gospel? I hope you

do not account your Bishop an Enemy to them : And besides, his Reasons for declining to licence You are not in the least founded on the Doctrines, which you teach. Nor, I believe, have you been charged in any Letter to him, nor certainly are you charged in Dr. Jenney's Letter to the Vestry on your Dismission, with false Tenets, but with railing Accusations. And of this Charge You have in your Letter to me, gone a great way towards proving yourself guilty.

You say, many of the Vestry are as much prejudiced against the Articles of our Church, as they are against You the Preacher of them. Now I suppose You preached them from the first. Yet they do not appear to have disliked you till a considerable Time after. And therefore it must be presumed, that not your preaching the Doctrine of the Articles, but other Things produced their Dislike. By calling yourself the Preacher of the Articles, You seem to think yourself the only Preacher of them in that Church. And accordingly your Followers say, that excluding You, forces them to hear Men whose Doctrines, not being agreeable to the Articles of the Church, cannot please, nor their Lessons convey Instruction. Now they made no such Complaint of their Ministers before : So that you must probably have been, as Dr. Jenney's Letter represents you to be, the Accuser of your Brethren. And were this Accusation proved, your request might have been carried further : That they should be expelled or silenced, as well as You admitted. But no proof is produced : Nor do any other Persons join with your new Congregation in the Charge. Even the Presbyterian Ministers, whom I mentioned at first, have abstained from doing that. They recommend you indeed (and I hope interfered so far with a good Design) as a peculiarly useful Preacher. But whether from their own Knowledge, or from whose Information, they have omitted to express. And I understand, that they were by far the smaller part of the Assembly.

You say, one Door has been shut against you, but God hath opened another. And he hath, indeed, permitted another to be opened ; But he permits many unjustifiable things to be done. You observe to me, seemingly with great Pleasure, that in four Days after your Dismission by the Vestry, and the very next Day after the Bishop's Letter of Refusal came, You preached to a large Audience. Surely you should rather have feared to take so very hasty a step, which looked so undutiful, and threatened such Disorders. You say, that all good Men pity and help you and your Party. If so, there are no good Men amongst your Opposers : But they deserve a still worse name than that of Screaming Owls, which you have given them. Do you really think that ? Your Adherents boast of the Promise of the most generous and charitable Aid of the People of every Denomination, towards building you a church : Which, they assure me, arises from their being Witnesses to the whole Transaction, and to the unkind Treatment which you have received, and from a real Concern for Religion in general. They likewise mention it

as an irrefragable Proof, not only of your Popularity, but of your Importance to the Cause of Religion in Philadelphia, that the Representatives of the People have favored you with the occasional Use of the State-House, and that you are still followed by a Multitude of People of all Denominations. Now certainly few or none of these have been Witnesses to the whole, or any great Part, of what hath been transacted chiefly in Vestries and Letters: But must have taken up with Reports; in spreading of which, the Ignorant and the Partial are usually the busiest and the loudest. I am very sensible that a Minister of the Gospel should have a good Report of them which are without. But mere good Opinion I apprehend, would not excite in the Breasts of Dissenters of all Sorts at once so very warm a Zeal in favour of a Minister of the Church of England, as they are said to shew at present, without his taking some undue Methods of courting them, or their hoping to gain some Advantage to their common Interest, by such Behavior. These several Sects, differing so widely from us and from one another, cannot all of them approve your Doctrines; and therefore it is not for your Doctrines, that they applaud you. I would not think uncharitably of any of them: But I cannot help remarking, how much more Charity your Followers have for them, than for the Ministers and Members of the Church, which they have left. The latter, they suspect, do every thing from a wrong Principle: The former, they are clear, do every thing from a right one. But is it not very natural to imagine, that a large Proportion of these Multitudes may flock after you solely from an idle Curiosity, and Fondness of Novelty? And that more than a few may encourage you, because they promise themselves, that dividing our Church at Philadelphia will weaken, if not overturn it; and perhaps promote their political Views at the same time? Ought you not to suspect the Promises, and even the Gifts of such: Nay, to suspect your own Cause for being supported by them, instead of glorying in that support? And ought it not to give you a further Distrust of your Proceedings, that no one Clergyman of the Church of England in America hath declared himself to approve them: And that the Convention of Clergymen, which met at Philadelphia last May, have strongly expressed their Disapprobation of your Behavior both in that Convention and out of it; and have signified, that they would not suffer You to preach in any of their Pulpits? Which is the more probable Presumption of the Two? That You are in the wrong, or that all the rest of the Clergy are?

Indeed if your own Account of yourself and them is to be taken, the whole Body of them is not to be put in Competition with you. For you tell me, in general and definite Terms, that Missionaries are sent over to propagate the Gospel, who have never studied Divinity, but are Novices; who instead of convincing Men of their ruined State by Nature and Practice, preach up the Dignity and Purity of Nature; and instead of shewing poor Sinners their Need of a Saviour make themselves their

own Saviours. You speak of many Clergymen in the Plantations, who never had a Thought of entering into the Ministry, till they failed through Ignorance or Imprudence, in the Business to which they were brought up, and then were sent home for Holy Orders. And you add, that Dissenters have good Reason to say, that instead of propagating the Gospel, the Church Clergymen are propagating the Errors of Arminius, and are artfully and industriously introducing Deism. You do not indeed directly assert, that all besides yourself, are such: But You make no Exception; nor even hint that there is a single one. Pray, Sir, reflect a little: Can these be the Words of Truth and Soberness? I hope and believe, that even the Dissenters, whom You quote on this Occasion, I mean the more considerable Part of them, would not express themselves so harshly and crudely about the Clergy, as you do. Some are sent Missionaries when they are young, and possibly you might be as young when you had your first Ordination.* Some are less qualified than we could wish: But however, they appear upon Examination not unqualified.

We send the best we can: We promise ourselves, that they will improve: And we question, whether you can direct us, at least no Body hath yet directed us, where to get better. We have sent out many excellent ones: And there are many such now. That any Americans have failed in secular Employments, and then come hither for Orders I never heard before: And that any of our Missionaries have I do not think. They come usually from the Colleges in those Parts: They come always well recommended. We must act upon Recommendations: And it would be much righter to caution us against unfit Persons, when they offer themselves, than to reproach us with them afterwards. I trust, that none of our Clergy in America are such in Point of Doctrine, as you make the Generality of them to be. But of this I am sure, that the contrary ought to be presumed concerning them all: that it appears concerning several of them from what they have written: And that since we are directed by the Apostle, "against an Elder receive not an Accusation, but before two or three Witnesses:" we ought not to receive an Accusation, much less so improbable an Accusation, against the Elders of a whole Country, on the Credit of one Witness; especially of one, who hath so much Need to be reminded of the same Apostle's other Direction, "Let all Bitterness, and Wrath, and Anger, and Clamour, and Evil-speaking be put away from you."

I suppose you will plead, that the Society have in Print and I have in a private Letter which you have seen, desired faithful Accounts of our Missionaries. But we mean particular Information, where Cause is given for any, of which we shall always take due Notice; not indiscrim-

* Mr. Macclanechan was bred among the Dissenters, and was a preacher among them many years before he conformed to the church.

inate Invectives, which never do Service. And besides, we cannot think one of your immoderate Vehemence a very fit Person to furnish us with Information about them; above all, at a Time, when so many of them have manifested their Disapprobation of your Conduct; but that indeed a due Sense of Propriety must have shewn you the Unseasonableness of attempting it.

However, not satisfied with condemning our American Brethren, You censure likewise the Society. For you tell me that the Donations of Christian People to it are improperly appropriated; not only by our employing unskilful and heterodox Missionaries, to which I have answered already; but by appointing Missions in Places, which have no Claim to our Charity. I conceive You do not mean, that the whole or nearly the whole of their Donations is thus misemployed; though You boldly speak at large, as if You did; but some part only. And what Part You have in View, is not clear. If You apprehend that we give Salaries to Missionaries, where the Congregations could and would maintain them without our Help; and if this be any where true, as it possibly may, we have not been apprised of it, though we have both formerly and lately desired that we might. And asserting it in general, is of small Use, without notifying the Congregations particularly. But were even that done also we must hear what they have to urge in their own Defence, before we judge; and Persons, who have not been made acquainted with their Defence cannot be sure that we judge amiss. If You mean, that we maintain Missionaries for those, who have no Claim to them, because there are Ministers of other Persuasions in their Neighborhood, Our Answer is, that where professed Members of the Church of England assure us, that they cannot in Conscience communicate or join in Worship with these other Ministers, either the Service of the Church of England must be provided for them, or they must have no public Service at all, which last our Society was established to prevent.

You charge us likewise with neglecting the Frontiers. Now I believe, that whenever any competent Number of the Inhabitants of the Frontiers hath applied to us, or the Case of any hath been represented by others (and we cannot know these Matters of ourselves), we have endeavoured to assist them, as far as we were able. But our Stock of Money hath often been very low; and procuring Missionaries for such Places is very difficult; especially in Time of War. You are a Man of singular Courage and Hardiness;* Yet you would not stay upon one of those Missions. And you know that we readily voted you extraordinary Encouragement. I flatter myself therefore, that we have not been much to blame on this Head; and surely of all Men you have no Right to be our Accuser.

* Mr. Macclanechan went home recommended in these words to the Society by Governor Shirley.

You add a Request for Ever new Missions, which You specify. Few persons, I believe, will think You peculiarly intitled either to make Request, or give Advice to us. But we are willing to hear: I wish you were equally so. An Inquiry into what you propose will, in all Likelihood, be ordered. The Result of it cannot be foreseen at present.

I think I have now gone through every Thing, that is material, in your Letter; And my deliberate Judgment upon the whole is, that You ought not to have made the Separation, which You have done; but to have quitted Philadelphia, when the Bishop's Refusal of a Licence came, first begging Pardon for the Uneasiness, which you have stirred up there. This, I am fully satisfied was your Christian Duty. Whether it would have been worldly Wisdom also, Time will shew: I do not take upon me to prognosticate. But possibly some, who have been hurried into subscribing, may change their Minds before they have paid much of their Money. Or supposing the Church built, or the Liberty of using the State-House continued, what is no longer new may fail after a while to draw the expected Numbers together: Your Singularities and your intemperate Heat, may gradually disgust such as once were pleased with them; and they who delight in you now, as an Instrument of making Breaches in our Church, may come to Slight you when the Work is done, or when you have miscarried in it, whichsoever may happen. So after doing much Harm, You may be laid aside, or little regarded; and wish, even for the Sake of your temporal Interest, that you had gone and settled in a regular Manner, where you were invited.

But, for the Sake of an infinitely more important Interest, I beg you would consider the solemn Promise, which you have made, "reverently to obey your Ordinary, and other chief Ministers to whom the Charge and Government over you is committed;" and "to maintain and set forward, as much as in you lieth, Quietness, Peace and Love amongst all Christian People." But if you turn a deaf Ear to this Intreaty, I must then beg your Followers, for whose Perusal, as well as yours, this Letter is intended, to remember and observe St. Paul's Rule, "Mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, and avoid them." As I have written these Things, if I know my own Heart, in the Spirit of Meekness, I hope you will read them with the same: And not be kindled by them into that "Wrath of Man," which "worketh not the Righteousness of God." Part of them, I am sensible, must give you Pain. But "faithful are the Wounds of a Friend," and I am very sorry, that you have allowed me no other Way of approving myself

Your Sincere Friend,

THO. CANT.

To the REV. MR. MACCLANECHAN, at Philadelphia.

*Archbishop Secker to Dr. Smith.**

LAMBETH, October 12th, 1760.

GOOD DR SMITH: Having received a long Letter from Mr. Macclanechan, & another from his Followers, I have written to him a very long answer, which I have told him is intended for their perusal also. And I have order'd copies of them all to be made for you. God grant, that the pains, which I have taken, may be some service. I am very much obliged to you for your Account of him. You will see, that there are two or three small chronological mistakes in it. And all mistakes should be avoided, but especially all Exaggerations, in speaking of an Opposer. Such things give him great Advantages. And they, who in any part of a Controversy either carry their Assertions too far, or use too harsh or vehement Expressions, cannot with so good Grace or near so good Effect, remark & expose the Faults, of which the other side is guilty. I hope, therefore, that Mr. Macclanechan's Heat will induce those, who speak or write or act against him to be very cool, & upon their Guard to take the Benefit of his not being so. I hope, likewise, that his Accusations of the Clergy as not preaching the Doctrines of the Gospel, will induce them, not only to give cautions against any erroneous Opinions into which he may have fallen, which should be done with the utmost circumspection; but much more, diligently to indicate whatever Truths border upon his Errors, and whatever Articles he chargés them with denying or slighting. For they will greatly discredit him by thus convicting him of false Accusations, provided they do it with mildness. And indeed I think it hath been a pretty general Defect amongst us, that we have not insisted sufficiently in our Discourses on the peculiar Doctrines of Christianity, nor enforced sufficiently our practical Exhortations with peculiarly Christian motives. This hath furnished the Methodists & others with a Handle for representing us, as mere moralizers, and as hoping to obey God's Commands by our own Strength and be saved by our own good Works. Doubtless they wrong us: but they will seem to be in the right, and to be the more scriptural & orthodox preachers, unless we dwell oftener upon the fallen Condition of Man, on the Efficacy of Faith, & the necessity of sanctifying Grace. Doing this, we shall discredit their Imputations upon us; & remonstrate with Weight against the Extremes, into which they run. Many of the Tutors in our Universities have sadly neglected instructing their pupils in Theological knowledge: of which all should have a good Tincture: but all, who are intended for Orders, a very strong one. It is indeed the chief thing, that they should learn: the only one, absolutely necessary. I hope due Care is taken about it in your College.

Had I been consulted beforehand about your Convention, I should

* From the Original in the Maryland Papers.

have been much afraid of its giving Offence: though I am very sensible, that you may as allowably meet to hold friendly Conferences, as any other Set of Men. God be thanked, that you have a Governor, who hath viewed the matter in so just a Light. You will certainly be careful, in your future meetings, neither to give Him, nor the people of any Denomination, nor the Bishop, any Umbrage. Indeed I think you would have done better, if you had asked his Opinion previously, whether you should take this Step. And I wish, that you had addressed yourselves to Him only, and not to me also. Yet I know you meant no Disrespect to Him, and great Civility to me: for which I desire you, good Dr. Smith, to return my very hearty Thanks to the whole Assembly, at their next meeting, and assure them of my earnest Desire to do good offices to every one of them in particular, as well as to join with them in serving our Common Cause. No one hath more at Heart the Establishment of Bishops in America. Few persons, if any, have taken more pains to convince those, on whom it depends, of the need & usefulness of it. But the Time for it is not yet come. God grant it may soon. Disposing the Laity of our Church to desire it, and the Dissenters of all Sorts to acquiesce in it, is the best thing that can be done on your Side of the water to hasten it. Without this, pressing for it will only retard it.

I am very much obliged to the Members of the Convention for their Account of the several Missions: and should be extremely glad to have the like Accounts concerning every one, that is under the care of the Society. They would assist me very much in making for my own use an orderly Notitia of the whole, to which I could readily on all occasions have Recourse. I must endeavour to make such a one as soon as I have Leisure: for till then I shall not have so distinct a Notion, as I ought, of many particulars. Amongst other things I have seen Hints from several Quarters, that we maintain Missionaries in some places, where the Congregations might well maintain Ministers for themselves. If you can give or procure me any certain Informations relating to this matter, or any other which is of Consequence to the Society, they will be received very thankfully by

Your loving Brother

THO. CANT.

Who, after reading a letter so truly Christian in its tone, so thoroughly that of a gentleman, but must feel that had all parties been animated and actuated by the spirit which is breathed in *it*, a painful history would have been avoided!

Out of all this disturbance arose, as the reader will have already discovered, the church in Philadelphia called St. Paul's. The fundamental articles of the new organization were drawn by John

Ross, Esq., and kept the dissentients more strictly within the Church of England than perhaps all of them knew. It was agreed that the house, "when built, shall be used and employed as a house of public worship forever, wherein shall be read, performed, and taught the liturgy, rights, ceremonies, doctrines and true principles of the established Church of England, according to the plain, literal and grammatical sense of the thirty-nine articles of the said church, and none other whatsoever; and the same house is hereby agreed forever hereafter to be styled and called by the name of St. Paul's Church." Its origin, parochially considered, however, was schismatical. Mr. Macclanechan was its first rector, but was not licensed by the Bishop of London. He continued in the parish only about two years—two years of agitation and discomfort. He afterwards settled himself in Maryland, where he lived, it is said, to confess some of his errors. His followers at St. Paul's, it would seem, became convinced, too, of the rashness of their proceedings.

On Mr. Macclanechan's going away, the Rev. Hugh Neil officiated there with good spiritual effects. He went to Maryland in 1767. He had previously been at Trinity Church, Oxford; and, as we infer from a passing remark in Dr. Buchanan's valuable historical sketch of that parish—where he has himself so long ministered with usefulness and honor—was distinguished more by active qualities than by any great refinement or education. In that respect he was perhaps suited to Mr. Macclanechan's new parish. However, his services here were apparently disinterested, and he appears, from the records of the Convention, already mentioned, to have had no sympathy whatever with the late rector's turbulent disposition and his apparent purposes. On the contrary he was a confidential agent of Dr. Smith.

In this state of things the church went through a good many troubles, spiritual and fiscal. Its doors were often closed. One or more lotteries were made to assist it in the way of finance. At last, in 1772, the vestry being very desirous to be reconciled to the Bishop of London, a respectable gentleman named William Stringer, for whom they procured strong testimonials to the Bishop from the regular clergy of Philadelphia and New York, went to London in December of the year just named. The vestry gave assurance to the Bishop that they were not schis-

maties, but firmly attached to the Church of England. They say:

We do with the utmost sincerity declare that we hold and strictly adhere to the true faith, principles and practice of that excellent church. We have not the least intention of introducing any novelty, unless the doctrine of grace and justification by the righteousness of Christ be esteemed such, which your Lordship's gracious character forbids us to think you will admit. We have never admitted the least innovation in the excellent service of the Church of England, nor permitted any to officiate in our church, nor applied to any for that purpose, but the regular clergy here. We have chosen rather to keep the doors shut than to admit any other; and, being thus destitute and distressed, we should have been greatly dispersed but for the singular, disinterested service of the Rev. Mr. Neill, now removed to Maryland.

On the faith of the letters and assurances, Mr. Stringer was ordained by the Bishop of London. He returned in the spring of 1773 to Philadelphia; and on the 4th of May was unanimously elected Rector of St. Paul's Church. After Mr. Stringer's departure for orders, the United Churches—Christ Church and St. Peter's—interested themselves in the congregation, and Messrs. Peters, White, Coombe, and Duché officiated alternately, during his absence, in his church. He accordingly found things, when he returned, on a good basis, and he entered upon his sacred duties with earnestness and regularity. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war he was still in charge of St. Paul's, performing his duties with sincerity and good results. During parts of its existence the church has exhibited some "taste and tincture" of its irregular origin; but, under a succession of pious men, including the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, D.D., and the truly respectable Rev. Dr. Samuel Magaw, and with the wise episcopal control exercised over it in critical times by Bishop White, it has been retained in the communion of the Church, with a considerable measure of usefulness.

The devotion which Dr. Smith ever gave to his College and Academy was not abated during this year by the business or the troubles of the Church, which we have just mentioned. The Annual Commencement took place in May, and its interest was heightened by religious accessories. Anthems and psalms were sung by the charity scholars, the sweet voices of the children being

accompanied by an organ, provided for them by the liberality of certain citizens.

Among the graduates of the College were: Patrick Alison, of Lancaster county (born 1740; died 1802), afterwards a tutor in the College, who, in 1762, studied divinity, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1782; Thomas Bond, M.D.; Robert Goldsborough, of Maryland, afterwards, A. D. 1768, Attorney-General of the State; he died in 1788; John Johnson, one of the tutors in 1763; and Thomas Mifflin, whose history is sufficiently well known.

On the 18th of November of this year (1760) the second child of Dr. Smith was born. He was baptized on the 6th of the following March, by Dr. Jenney, in Christ Church; Rev. Dr. Peters and Mr. Thomas William Moore being sponsors. He was named Thomas Duncan—Duncan being, as we have already stated, in the beginning of this volume, the maiden name of Dr. Smith's mother.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIRST CONVENTION OF THE CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA—DR. SMITH PREACHES THE OPENING SERMON—PARTS OF IT IN MS. APPROVED BY BISHOP NEWTON, THE AUTHOR OF THE WORK ON THE PROPHECIES—ADDRESSES TO THE GOVERNOR, THE PENNS, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND THE BISHOP OF LONDON—DR. SMITH TO DR. BEARCROFT, SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY.

ON Wednesday, the 30th of April, 1760, in pursuance of an opinion which had been expressed in the autumn of the previous year by sundry of the Episcopal clergy of Pennsylvania and the counties then annexed to it, and which now constitute the State of Delaware, that it might contribute to the general service of religion to have a free and voluntary meeting or Convention, to confer together on such subjects as the particular situation of their congregations might require, the following gentlemen came together, viz.: Doctor Jenney, Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia; Doctor Smith, Provost of the College in Philadelphia; Mr. George Craig, Missionary at Chester; Mr. Philip Reading,

Missionary at Apoquiniminck; Mr. Thomas Barton, Missionary at Lancaster; Mr. William Sturgeon, Assistant Minister and Catechist to the Negroes in Philadelphia; Mr. William Macclanechan, another of the Assistant Ministers in Christ Church, Philadelphia; Mr. Charles Inglis, Missionary at Dover; Mr. Hugh Neill, Missionary at Oxford, and Mr. Jacob Duché, likewise an Assistant Minister in Christ Church, Philadelphia. There were present also Mr. Samuel Cook and Mr. Robert McKean, two Missionaries in New Jersey, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with the kind intention of giving their advice and assistance in promoting the designs of the Convention.

It was agreed that Dr. Jenney, Rector of Christ Church, ought naturally to preside at the Convention, and the same was notified to him; but he, excusing himself from acting on account of his great bodily indisposition, recommended Dr. Smith for that purpose. Dr. Smith was accordingly unanimously chosen. James Humphreys, Esq., one of the Vestrymen of Christ Church, was appointed Secretary or Clerk.

It was agreed that a copy of an address should be prepared to present to the Governor; Messrs. Thos. Barton and Jacob Duché were appointed to prepare it. It was also agreed that a copy of an address should be prepared to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Secker), to congratulate his Grace on his elevation to that high office, and to make an humble tender of the Clergy's duty to him. Messrs. Reading, Barton and Macclanechan were appointed to draw the same.* It was also agreed that a state of the missions within this Province should be transmitted with the same; also that an address should be sent to the Bishop of London, with a like state of the missions.

Dr. Smith was requested to preach a sermon before the Convention in Christ Church on Friday, May 2d, 1760. The Rev. Mr. Macclanechan declined to join in the request, and offered to produce reasons for the said dissent against next meeting. Notwithstanding Mr. Macclanechan's refusal to join in the civility to Dr.

* Mr. Macclanechan did not meet the Committee to assist in drawing the said address, and wanted his name to be erased from it the day after it was signed. As my reader has had enough of this gentleman—reverend or irreverend—I do not present the discussions had about him in this Convention. It was here that Dr. Smith took the Address to the Bishop of London out of his hand. See *supra*, p. 218.

Smith, Dr. Smith preached his sermon at the time and place appointed. His text was the 8th verse of the 2d Psalm, "Ask of me and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance; the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession." This sermon was made applicable more particularly to the conversion of the heathen *American*, and to the Final Propagation of Christianity and the *Sciences* to the ends of the earth. It was published at the request of the Convention, with a dedication as follows: "To the Most Reverend, his Grace, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, President; and to all the honourable and venerable members of the Society, for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts."

Dr. Smith says in this dedication that it may be thought a very needless labor to attempt a proof—that the interests of Christianity will be advanced, by promoting the interests of Science; which was one design of the Sermon. But he asserts that it had been his misfortune, in his endeavors for the latter, to meet with men, who, seeming to consider the advancement of knowledge and free inquiry as unfriendly to their dark system, had set themselves up, with rage truly illiberal, to stifle the infant Sciences in America. For this reason, Dr. Smith thought "he could not do a better service than by endeavouring to shew them, at large, that they were, in effect, waging war, not only with everything elegant and useful in life, but even with the extension of our common Christianity, the prosperity of our country, and the best interests of our species." He adds that "if, in the prosecution of this design, he hath been led into a more particular analysis of the Sciences than some may judge needful in a discourse of this kind, he hopes the circumstances of the case will be his plea." "It may also be some apology," he continued, "that it was delivered before a learned body of Clergy."

An agreeable circumstance connected with the discourse (which is preserved in Dr. Smith's collected works)* is one which he mentions in this dedication: to wit, that Bishop Newton, "that truly learned Prelate, who had himself written so excellently on the accomplishment of the Prophecies, condescended to peruse and make some corrections in the discourse, respecting the explanation of some passages of Prophecy, before the present edition was committed to the press."

* Vol. II., p. 311.

The thanks of the Convention were voted to Dr. Smith "for his excellent sermon preached before them," and he was requested to print it.

On Saturday evening, May 3d, Dr. Smith reported to the Convention that his Honor the Governor had sent down a box containing 200 of the second volume of the Bishop of London's Sermons, being his Lordship's generous gift, for the use of the Churches in Pennsylvania; and that his Honor desired a proper distribution might be made of them to the several members present; to be given away by them on their return home in such manner as they thought might best answer his Lordship's pious designs; and accordingly it was agreed to distribute them as follows, viz.:

To his Honor the Governor,	8
To the Rev ^d Dr. Jenney, for the use of Christ Church,	60
To Mr. Craig, for the Mission of Chester,	10
To Mr. Reading, for the Mission of Apoquiminick,	12
To Mr. Ross, for the Mission of New Castle,	6
To Mr. Inglis, for the Mission of Dover and Lewis,	18
To Mr. Barton, for the Mission of Lancaster and over Susquehanna,	30
To Mr. Curry, for the Mission of Radnor,	12
To Mr. Neill, for the Mission of Oxford,	12
To Mr. Campbell, for the Mission of Bristol,	6
To Doctor Smith.	6
To Mr. Richard Peters,	6
To the Ministers of other Denominations,	14
	<hr/>
	200

The Convention, after requesting Dr. Smith to transmit the addresses to the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and to the Proprietaries, adjourned on Monday, May 5th, agreeing that the next Convention should be held in Philadelphia, on the last Wednesday in April, 1761, requesting Mr. Curry to prepare a sermon for the occasion, and in case of his refusal that Mr. Craig would do so.

It took care, also, as a final act, to leave its powers in "Commission," Dr. Smith, Mr. Sturgeon, Mr. Craig, Mr. Neill, Mr. Duché (together with the Rev. Dr. Jenney when able), having been appointed "a Committee for the transacting of such matters as

may be of general concern to the Church in Pennsylvania *at the present crisis.*" The power had obvious reference to the case of Mr. Macclanechan, and the weak condition of Dr. Jenney.

The different addresses directed by the Convention to be made were all made. I give them below. They all have an interest. Old John Adams's sour, cynical, envious nature, which made him badly emulous of every great man, and whose jealousy of Washington and Hamilton destroyed the purest political party which our country ever had, and in the end brought political ruin on himself, could see in Dr. Smith only "a man distracted by a strong passion for lawn sleeves, and a stronger passion for popularity." Others, whether possessed of the gift of charity or only of the spirit of truth, will readily admit that whatever of humanity may have belonged to Dr. Smith's motives, his *acts* in these matters were those of propriety and usefulness. His addresses to the civil authorities were due to them; for both James Hamilton and the Penns ever exhibited kind dispositions towards the Church of England. To the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, they were equally due. For the Church in America never had a prelate more devoted to its interests than was Archbishop Secker, whose efforts to give to us an Episcopate before the Revolution were constant, and brought upon him much obloquy from Presbyterians and other dissenters; and it had few more devoted than Sherlock, whose sermons were among those that all true churchmen could read with profit.

THE ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNOR.

To the Honorable James Hamilton, Esq^r., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania & Counties of New Castle, Kent & Sussex upon Delaware.

The Humble Address of the Clergy of the Church of England in the said Province and Counties now convened in the City of Philadelphia.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR:

We, the Episcopal Clergy of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties annexed, being now met in voluntary Convention, beg leave to embrace this favorable opportunity to congratulate your Honor upon your second appointment to this Government, and to testify the Joy we feel upon so favorable and happy an event.

The Reputation with which you formerly discharged this important Trust is still fresh in our Memories, and while we reflect on the bless-

ings we once enjoyed from your happy administration, we cannot but esteem it our particular felicity that we can again call you our Governor.

Permit us, sir, to assure you of our firm Attachment to his Majesty's sacred person, Family & Government, and that we are heartily disposed and shall at all times esteem it a most essential part of our Duty whilst we are propagating the interest of Religion & Virtue, to inculcate obedience to our most Gracious Sovereign and to all who are put in authority under him.

Actuated by such principles as these we cannot entertain any doubts of receiving your Honor's patronage and protection both in our collective and single capacities. The close connexion between Religion and Civil Government, between the Increase of Virtue and the Prosperity of a Nation might be alone sufficient to afford us these sanguine expectations. But when we consider your Honor is a professed Member of the Church of England, and well affected to her Doctrines and Discipline, we have still greater reason to entertain these hopes.

To consider the State of Religion in General and the Situation and the Circumstances of our own Church in particular, and to confer together upon the most proper means of promoting the one and advancing the other, is the sole design of our present Meeting. And in this we do but comply with the particular instructions of that Venerable Society in whose service, under that of our Lord & Master Jesus Christ, most of us here present are engaged. Remote as we are from the immediate influence and jurisdiction of our Ecclesiastical Superiors (which we have too frequently the greatest reason to lament), it was matter of the highest joy and gratitude to us to hear your Honor publicly declaring upon a former occasion that you would afford all the countenance & protection in your power to the Church of England.

May we, sir, be so happy as to recommend ourselves to your just regard by our prudent conduct & steady endeavours to promote a sense of Piety & true Religion among the People committed to our care and may you long live a blessing to us all! May your Administration be made easy & happy to yourself & continue to be distinguished by a firm adherence to Justice, Right and Law and an unshaken Zeal for our Constitution, both in Church and State.

ROB'T JENNEY, Rector of Christ Church,
WILLIAM SMITH, President of the Convention,
GEORGE CRAIG,
PHILIP READING,
WILLIAM STURGEON,
HUGH NEILL,
THO. BARTON,
CHAS. INGLIS,
WM. THOMPSON,
JACOB DUCHÉ.

All the members of the Convention (Mr. Macclanechan excepted) waited on the Governor and presented the Address. To which the Governor was pleased to return an answer in the following words:

Reverend Gentlemen, I am extremely obliged to you for this very kind address. You may be assured of my constant protection and readiness to do everything in my power which may tend to the advantage of the Protestant Religion and of the Church of England. And I shall at all times be pleased with the opportunity of seeing and conferring with you on any matters which you shall judge serviceable to the Church in general or to any of yourselves in particular.

After which the same members of the Convention went in a body to Christ Church, when evening prayer was said, and where Dr. Smith preached a sermon.

THE ADDRESS TO THE HONORABLE PROPRIETARIES.

To the Honorable Thomas Penn & Richard Penn, Esq^{rs}., true and absolute Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS:

We, the Clergy of the Church of England, in the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties annexed, having met together in free and voluntary convention to confer on such matters as we thought might be conducive to the general service of Religion, beg leave to embrace so favorable an opportunity to assure you of our sincere regards to the honorable Proprietary family.

At the same time that we do this we beg leave also to express our grateful sense of the many invaluable privileges which, as members of community, we enjoy under the Charter granted to this Province by your Honorable and Worthy Father, whose memory we regard, and our sincere Resolution to take every opportunity in our power to promote its best interests.

We are persuaded this will ever be the most effectual means of recommending ourselves to your Favour and countenance, which we hope to be so happy as to enjoy, while our best endeavours will be directed at deserving them.

Wishing you every Felicity, temporal and eternal, We are may it please your Honors,

Your most obed^t & affectionate humble serv^{ts}.,

(Signed as is the address to the Governor).

PHILADELPHIA, May 5th, 1760.

The Rev. Messrs. Cooke and McKean desired leave to add the following words:

We, the Subscribers, Missionaries in New Jersey, assisting in this Convention, beg leave to join with our Reverend Brethren in the sincere testimony they have given of their Regards to the Hon^{ble} Proprietary Family.

SAMUEL COOKE, }
ROBERT MCKEAN, } Missionaries in New Jersey.

The original MS. of the document above given is among the Penn papers in the Historical Society of the State.

THE ADDRESS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

To the most Reverend His Grace Thomas, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan, & Primate of all England.

The Humble Address of the Missionaries and other Clergy of the Church of England residing in & near the Province of Pennsylvania.

We, the Missionaries and other Clergy of the Church of England, residing in and near the Province of Pennsylvania, having conven'd in the City of Philadelphia, beg leave to present our most humble Duty to your Grace and to assure you of our zealous Attachment to the interest of that Church in whose service we have the honor to be engaged.

Your Grace's Elevation to the Primacy of all England cannot give greater pleasure to any than to your obedient Sons now joining in this Address.

In the accomplishment of this event we see the good Providence of God in behalf of the Protestant cause clearly manifested; the character of Defender of the Faith in our Sovereign amply exerting itself; the wisdom of the present glorious Administration every way justified; and the purity of our Religion amiably recommended in the truly primitive & Apostolical Example of your Grace under God and the King the present Head of our Church.

To assure the Government under whose protection we reside of our inviolable attachment to his present most glorious Majesty and his illustrious House, To confer mutually on such subjects as are best adapted to our duty as Ministers; To assist each other with such comfort & counsel as the exigencies of our respective Congregations may require, are the sole points we have in view in our present voluntary Convention. And we herewith transmit to your Grace a Copy of our Proceedings as also a brief State of the several Missions. We have nothing more at heart than the Glory of that God whom we serve, and the Salvation of those whose Souls are committed to our charge.

The state of Religion in North American Colonies becomes more & more the subject of high importance. And it must not be dissembled to your Grace that the Church of England here is far from bearing the most favorable aspect. This we humbly conceive is owing to those hardships under which our Church peculiarly labours. Indeed nothing but the good Providence of God together with the Excellency of its Constitution; the most assiduous & extensive labours of the Missionaries, and the Aids of the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel whom we pray God to bless & preserve, hitherto secure the visibility of our Church. For while every other Denomination is guarded by some plan of Discipline, we alone are left without that necessary assistance, without a Head to guide us with counsel, an authority to correct abuses, or a Jurisdiction to appeal to for ascertaining the just privileges of our Ministry and Congregations.

It is with concern, my Lord, we are compelled to observe, that the more flourishing and populous our Colonies become, the more alarming is our situation. Seminaries of Learning are now erected in many of the most noted Provinces, particularly in the City of Philadelphia under the conduct of Professors of approved worth, whose Abilities are every way equal to such a Task.

The Inhabitants of this Country of European Extraction are quite deprived of the benefits arising from the Episcopal Office & particularly of the Apostolical Rite of Confirmation. Very few have either inclination or capacity to attend to those essential differences by which the Constitution of our Church is distinguish'd.

The inconvenience of Passing & repassing the dangerous Atlantic, being added to these difficulties, will we apprehend induce many to Educate their Children to the Dissenting Ministry rather than ours, so that our Church will not have such full advantages from these Seminaries of Learning as she otherwise might have.

These, my Lord, are the chief of those points which have fallen under our present consideration, and which principally retard the growth of our Church. It is needless for us to point out the remedy of these evils to a Prelate of your Grace's penetration and judgment or to say that the appointing a Bishop or Bishops in America would with the divine assistance be the most effectual method to remove these difficulties.

We shall therefore detain your Grace no longer than just to crave your Blessing and Direction on these and all other deliberations for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom in general and the good of this particular Branch of his Church.

And that the Era of your Grace's Primacy in the Church Militant may be rendered eminently glorious by introducing the Episcopal Character into America & that your Grace, after a good old age, may be

numbered in the choir of Apostles & Confessors in the church triumphant is the unfeigned prayer of

My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful Sons &

Most obedient humble servants,

ROBERT JENNEY, Rector of Christ Church, Phila.

WILLIAM SMITH, President of the Convention.

GEORGE CRAIG,

PHILIP READING,

WILLIAM STURGEON,

HUGH NEILL,

THOMAS BARTON,

WILLIAM MACCLANECHAN,

CHAS. INGLIS,

JACOB DUCHÉ,

WILLIAM THOMPSON,

SAMUEL COOKE,

ROBERT MCKEAN, } Missionaries in New Jersey.

THE ADDRESS TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas, by Divine Permission, Lord Bishop of London.

The Humble Address of the Missionaries and other Clergy of the Church of England residing in & near the Province of Pennsylvania.

May it please your Lordship,—

We, the Missionaries and other Clergy of the Church of England in & near the Province of Pennsylvania, having convened in the City of Philadelphia, beg leave to present our most humble Duty to your Lordship, our lawful & just Diocesan, offering at the same time our most devout thanks to Almighty God who has so long preserved your Lordship's Life and Faculties through a truly venerable old age, as an Ornament to our Church & Nation.

The State of Religion in the Northern Colonies in America becomes more and more a subject of importance. It must not be dissembled to your Lordship that the Church of England here is far from bearing the most favorable aspect. This we conceive is owing to those hardships under which our Church particularly labours. Indeed nothing but the good Providence of God together with the excellency of its constitution, the most assiduous and extensive Labours of the Missionaries & the aids of the Venerable Society for propagating the Gospel whom we pray God to bless and preserve, hitherto secures the visibility of our Church; for while every other denomination is guarded by some plan of discipline, we alone are left without that necessary assistance, without a Head to guide us with Counsel, Authority to correct abuses or a jurisdiction to ascertain the just privileges of our Ministry and Congregations.

To do the best in our power under such circumstances as these, we thought it might conduce to the advancement of Religion in general, and the situation of our Church in particular, to confer together in a voluntary & free Convention upon the most proper means of promoting the one & advancing the other ; and herewith we transmit to your Lordship a Copy of our Proceedings and a general account of the State of the Missions in this Province.

Among many other inconveniences which we think greatly disturb the peace of our Church, that of the want of order in moving from one Mission or Congregation to another is like to become a very great one. As we think it indecent as well as hurtful to Religion for Ministers to leave their Congregations abruptly without others to supply their places, so we humbly apprehend that it would greatly tend to promote peace & good order if it was a standing Rule that there should be no removal from one Mission to another without the Society's express Leave nor from one Congregation or Province to another without your Lordship's particular Licence for that purpose, after your Lordship has been furnished with authentick Documents for judging of the necessity of such a removal and the fitness of such a person to supply the vacant cure ; a method similar to this has ever been observed in our Mother Country, as we apprehend to the great advantage of the Church.

With the utmost gratitude we acknowledge the receipt of 200 Volumes of your Lordship's most excellent & valuable Sermons, sent down to us this day by his Honor the Governor of this Province ; and we have unanimously made such a division of them among the several Missions & Episcopal Congregations in this Province as we judged would most effectually answer your Lordship's benevolent designs.

Praying for your Lordship's Blessing, Advice & Directions in these and all matters relating to the discharge of our Sacred Functions & that your Lordship having finished your mortal Course on Earth may be translated to the Kingdom of our Great Lord and Master,

We are, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful Sons
& obedient servants,

ROBERT JENNEY, Rector of Christ Church, Phila.

WILLIAM SMITH, President of the Convention.

GEORGE CRAIG,

PHILIP READING,

WILLIAM STURGEON,

HUGH NEILL,

THOMAS BARTON,

WILLIAM MACCLANECHAN,

CHAS. INGLIS,

JACOB DUCHÉ,

WILLIAM THOMPSON,

SAMUEL COOKE,

ROBERT MCKEAN, } Missionaries in New Jersey.

We now give two letters : one recording a missionary's troubles ; the other asking for a mission at Reading :

Dr. Smith to Rev. Dr. Bearcroft.

PHILADELPHIA, 25 July, 1760.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR : I had intended you the trouble of a long Letter by this Conveyance ; but a severe and indeed dangerous disorder in my blood, Lungs, &c., caus'd by the extreme heat and fatigue of a Journey to supply some vacant congregations the first Sunday of this month, hath saved you that trouble. I am to-day, for the first time, able to sit it, and hope to get those few lines sent down after the Ship, as also a few more to the good Archbishop ; but if I should miss that, I beg you would present my duty and excuse to his Grace. I shall send a large packet to his Grace by Captain Hammit, a Ship of Force, that sails in about a fortnight, and I am the more desirous that this should be made known, as my last Letters to his Grace, I find have been carried with the Ship into France, and his Grace may think it strange that I have never acknowledged the receipt of his most excellent Letters and papers of Nov^r last.

I have ordered a Brother of mine, to whom I have remitted a Bill of M^r. Barton's on M^r. Pearson for £25, to pay you three Guineas, which is my subscription as a Member of the Society for a year and a half preceding Ladyday last, or if it must be paid to the Treasurer, you will give my Brother directions in that case, that a proper Entry may be made. Gov^r Hamilton has not heard that any Notification of his Election has been made to M^r. David Barclay. When he does he will order what is genteel and proper to the occasion.

Poor M^r. Barton, your worthy Missionary at Lancaster, is in a deal of trouble on account of M^r. Pearson's protesting his Bill of £50 due at Christmas, 1760, and I cannot but think he has been unkindly used. The case is exactly this :

M^r. Barton being in Philadelphia about 1st of December, and being obliged to be home to his congregation before Christmas, drew for his whole Salary Dec^r 5th, but dated his Bill the 25th, the day it was due, knowing that in that Season he could have no other opportunity. This the Missionarys who come to Town but once or twice a year often do, namely, draw a few weeks before or after their Bills are due, but date them at the time of their being due. It happened now that Barton's Bill, being thus transacted and in the Merchant's hand and the Ship hurrying away for fear of the Ice, and having a short winter passage of about twenty days, the Bill arrived and was presented in about 10 or 12 days after its date, viz. : about January 8th, as the protest shows. M^r. Pearson refused the Bill, it was noted for non-acceptance, and 30 days afterwards being presented a second time was still refused, and finally

protested ; on which a damage of upwards of Eleven Guineas, by the Laws of this province, has fallen on M^r. Barton, which is a heavy deduction out of £50. I have just settled the matter for M^r. Barton with the Merchant without suffering it to make noise, and have paid him the damages which I hope the Society will generously make good to him again. The original Bill he has drawn over again.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affec^d humble serv^t, &c.,

W^m SMITH.

Dr. Smith to Rev. Dr. Bearcroft.

PHILADELPHIA, 26th August, 1760.

REV^d SIR: I wrote to you a long letter by M^r. Keene about 7 weeks ago, with a full account of every thing concerning Macclanechan, and a copy of the Minutes of the late Meeting of our Clergy, together with an address to His Grace of Canterbury ; all which I hope have been duly received. Macclanechan gains no ground in the Church, and we have lost but two or three Men of any note (one of which is John Ross, who has not acted like a member of your Body & son of a regular Clergyman as he is, being the chief founder of all this trouble in order to be at the head of a party). The Quakers and their adherents are the chief support of this Schism, agreeable to their maxim, *Divide et impera*; but we think it will not hold long, especially as that shining youth, M^r. Duché, is so much more popular than Macclanechan, who only draws the lower sort, and of these more from the Presbyterians & Baptists than from us.

Enclosed I send you a petition from one of our back Counties, which I hope will merit the Society's attention. The Subscribers of it are personally known to me. I was present and preached to them by their own invitation, the day of its date when they made the subscription ; and I knew them both able and willing to make good their engagements. The first Gentleman who signs, M^r. Bird, is worth 1,000 guineas per annum in Iron works. The place is 60 Miles from Philadelphia. It is the Chief Town of Berks County, settl'd chiefly with Germans lying on the frontier, & no English Minister has ever yet resided in it. The Romish Priests are busy among the people on the one hand, and the Sectaries dependent on the Quaker on the other. You will observe that in the transactions of our late Convention the whole Body of the Clergy of this province recommend Reading as a place fit to open a Mission in. There is an Old Swedish Settlement about 15 Miles lower towards Philadelphia, that petitions along with the Town of Reading, and hath a Church ready built, and I do give it as my honest and most candid Judgment that I know of no place where a Mission is more wanted. I enclose you M^r. Barton's account of the place, who has preached there

since I was up, and beg you will lay the whole, together with the enclosed Letter, before the Archbishop, previous to your doing anything in the Society.

I enclose you my sermon before the Clergy at their Convention, which, being on a subject which is a favourite one with you, and placing some points perhaps in a light somewhat new, I hope you will bestow a candid Reading upon it. I shall beg to hear from you as soon as may be convenient, in regard to the people of Reading who have put their affair into my hands and will in due time expect their answer from me. The Hon'ble Mr. Penn's agents here have promised a fine lot, whereon to erect their Church; and from Mr. Penn himself you will receive this.

I am, Rev^d Sir,

Y^r affec^t humble serv^t, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ACTION OF THE TRUSTEES IN REGARD TO THE PENN DONATION—COMMENCEMENT AT THE COLLEGE—CONVENTION OF THE CHURCH CLERGY HELD IN PHILADELPHIA—ERECTION AND DEDICATION OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, AT THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF PINE AND THIRD STREETS.

ON the 10th of February, 1761, Dr. Smith brought before the Trustees of the College a matter of importance to him in the way of his annual support. It was in the form of a communication to the Board, and thus:

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE, &c., OF PHILADELPHIA:

About seven years ago when the state of the Academy made it necessary to open schools in the higher branches of learning, the President and some of the Trustees applied to the Hon^{ble} Thomas Penn, Esq^r., setting forth the narrowness of their Funds, and begging his assistance to enable them to employ a fit person to instruct the youth in the Art of Science. Mr. Penn accordingly ordered £50 pr. annum for that end, and the Trustees settling £200 pr. annum more, made £250 for the Provost's salary.

In the year 1756 Mr. Penn was so well pleased with the success of the Institution that in a letter to the Provost he mentioned his design of changing the temporary sum he paid into a permanent Grant of his fourth of Perkajie Manor, containing about 3,000 acres.

In the year 1759, the Provost being in London, put Mr. Penn in mind of his former promise, and our present worthy Governor adding his Sollicitations to the same effect, the grant was readily and chearfully made. The Provost saw from the Tenor and Preamble of the grant that £50 Subscription was to cease from that date (*viz.* : the beginning of July, 1759), and consequently that his salary would in the meantime be so much diminished, and mentioned that matter to the Governor. But it was thought best to leave this wholly to the future care and justice of the Trustees, and say nothing then that might stand in the way of so kind a Donation. The Provost, therefore, assures himself the Trustees will be very sensible that both his circumstances as well as the circumstances of the Times are so much altered since the first settlement of this salary that must find the whole of the sum which he then enjoyed a very scanty Allowance to subsist him now, any way conformable to his station in the College and his Character which he thinks it necessary to sustain for its good.

The Trustees, with a just liberality, ordered that the £50 per annum should now be paid out of the Academy Funds, to commence from the date of Mr. Penn's deed.

The Commencement at the College took place on the 18th of May. The clergy, who were attending the Convention, went to it in a body. Dr. Smith preached in the College Hall before them, the Trustees, and the pupils. There were thirteen graduates, among them Jasper Yeates, born in 1745, a member of Convention of Pennsylvania which ratified the Federal Constitution; Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from 1791 to 1817, in which year he died; Alexander Wilcocks, afterwards Recorder of Philadelphia; Abraham Ogden; Joseph Shippen, and Henry Waddell, a well-known clergyman of the Episcopal Church in New Jersey, afterwards honored with the degree of D. D.; Tench Tilghman,* and Richard Peters.†

* Colonel Tench Tilghman went out from Philadelphia a captain of a light infantry company during the Revolution. He served in the "flying camp," in 1776, and in August of that year he joined the military family of Washington, having been appointed an aid-de-camp by the commander-in-chief. Colonel Tilghman conveyed to Congress the intelligence of the surrender of Cornwallis. He died at Baltimore, in April, 1786, in the forty-third year of his age. Colonel Tilghman married a daughter of Matthew Tilghman, of Maryland. Margaret, the offspring of this marriage, married Tench Tilghman, of Talbot county, Md., who had one son, who was also called by the favorite family name of Tench. William Tilghman, Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, was connected with the family.

† Richard Peters, known afterwards as "Judge Peters," was born at Blockley, in

From some loose papers of Bishop White, it appears that a second Convention was held in this year. The Bishop gives us their names: The Rev. Dr. Smith, and the Rev. Messrs. Campbell, Craig, Reading, Sturgeon, Neill, Barton, Inglis, Thomson, Duché, Chandler (of New Jersey), and Keene (of Maryland). This, says Dr. Dorr, from whose *History of Christ Church** we get our information about this Convention, "was a large number of clergymen to assemble at that early day, when there was but one Episcopal congregation in Philadelphia." The Rev. Dr. Smith was again elected President. Mr. Macclanechan does not appear in the record. Archbishop Secker, it will be remembered, in his letter to Dr. Smith, † after being informed about the Convention of 1760, had expressed some fear that the Conventions of the clergy might offend the Government in Pennsylvania, and requested him to be careful in any future meeting not to give umbrage to him or to anybody. Dr. Smith, with Mr. Reading, were accordingly now appointed to wait on the Governor to request his approbation of the meeting, and his "protection" during its sittings. The two gentlemen, after waiting on the Governor, reported "that he was "pleased to say that he could have no possible objection to the "clergy meeting together, and that we might depend on his countenance and protection at all times." Mr. Craig preached a sermon suitable to the Convention on Friday, the 22d.

We come now to a historical event in the history of the Philadelphia churches—the dedication of St. Peter's Church.

On the 1st of August, 1754, as appears by the original petition preserved among the Penn Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, William Plumsted, John Wilcocks, Charles Stedman, John Inglis, John Baynton, Phineas Bond, Thomas Bond, Redmond Conyngham, Philip Benezet, John Swift, Thomas Lawrence, Thomas Coombe, John Nixon, Enoch Hobart, William

June, 1744, and was the nephew of the Reverend Richard Peters, Secretary of the Proprietary Government for many years, and afterwards Rector of Christ Church. He received his education at Philadelphia, at the Academy, and studied law. He probably commenced practice about the year 1765. He was captain in the Revolutionary army; Secretary of the Board of War, 1776–1781; delegate to Congress in 1782; Speaker of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. He was a man of great wit and good humor, lively and sportive. He was a good Latin and Greek scholar, and had a fair knowledge of the French and German languages. After the Revolution he was appointed by Washington a Judge of the United States District Court. He died in 1828.

* Page 123.

† *Supra*, pp. 258–9.

Peters, Samuel McCall, Archibald McCall, George McCall, William Bingham, and several other persons in this day less well known, though persons of great respectability, presented a petition to the Proprietaries, stating that the members of the Church of England in this city had grown so numerous that the present church (meaning Christ Church) was little more than sufficient to accommodate one-half the families of that persuasion with seats; that it was judged most proper that another church should be built towards the south end of the city; that no vacant ground was to be had so commodiously situated for the purpose as a part of a certain lot, 104 feet, extending from Second street to Fourth, on the west side of Pine, which belonged to the Proprietaries; and praying the Proprietaries to grant them that lot on the west side of Third street for a church and yard for the use of the members of the Church of England in and about the city.

In due time the grant was made, and the present Church of St. Peter's was built; a venerable monument indeed! the only church in Philadelphia, said Bishop De Lancey, which the spirit of change, ambitious of improvement and covetous of ease, has left undesecrated by any remodelling hand;—its interior arrangements almost the only remnant of the early taste and judgment of our fathers as to interior church architecture, convenience and arrangements.

The history of this church, including the history of its erection, is full of interest. I have reason to believe that ere long—if the Parish of St. Peter's shall sufficiently encourage the undertaking—we shall have it presented by a faithful antiquary of our city; to whom, with the Rev. William White Bronson, we are already indebted for the publication of the Epitaphs in the Church-yard; a descendant from one of the honored men whose names I give, at the bottom of the preceding page and at the top of this.* I do not trespass, therefore, on ground so rightfully occupied.

By the middle of August, 1761, the building was completed and handed over to the congregation. Dr. Dorr in his history of Christ Church† continues our narrative:

* I refer to Mr. Charles Riché Hildeburn, a great-grandson of John Swift, Esq., the last Collector of the Port of Philadelphia under the Crown.

† Sermon, Philadelphia, September 4th, 1861, at the Centennial Celebration of the Opening of St. Peter's Church, page 13.

On August 19th, at a meeting of the Committee appointed to prepare a plan for the opening of St. Peter's Church, Dr. Jenney acquainted the vestry that he had applied to the Rev^d Mr. Richard Peters to preach at the opening of the church, and that he and his assistants thought the compliment due first to Dr. Peters, not only in regard to his abilities but also for his many services that he had done the church, and in particular for having procured many generous subscriptions for St. Peter's Church. But he declining the offer on account of his present engagements in public business, it was judged that no other person was so well qualified for that duty as the Rev. Dr. Smith, not only on account of his abilities but likewise for the service that he has been to our church in this part of the world, at home, &c. ; all of which the vestry approved of; therefore it was resolved that *Dr. Smith* be requested to preach the opening or dedication sermon, and that the said opening and dedication take place on the 4th day of September, 1761.

Accordingly on Friday, September 4th, 1761, that being the day appointed for the opening of the church, the officiating clergy, and several of their brethren, together with the church-wardens and vestrymen, met at Christ Church, from whence they walked in regular procession in the following order: Clerk and Sexton; Questmen; Vestrymen, two by two; the Church-Wardens; Clergy who are to officiate; other Clergy—to the Governor's house. At the Governor's house they were joined by his Honor and some members of his Council. These taking their places with the Wardens and just before the officiating clergy, all went on to St. Peter's Church.

The service, as we learn by a record of Dr. Smith, began with the following sentences, followed as we show:

Thus saith the Lord: The Heaven is my Throne and the earth my Footstool. Where is the House that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest?—*Isaiah*.

From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of hosts.—*Malachi*.

The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the Desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.—*Isaiah*.

Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.—*St. Matthew*.

2. An occasional Prayer from the Reading-Desk.
3. Morning Prayer of the Church, as usual.

4. Proper Psalms, 84th, 122d, 132d.
5. The Lessons, viz. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{\textit{1 Kings, ch. viii.}} \\ \text{\textit{St. Matthew, ch. xxi. to verse 14th.}} \end{array} \right\}$

[N. B.—Thus far (except reading the Absolution) was by the youngest officiating Minister.*]

6. An occasional Prayer, with a Baptism, at the Fount, by Dr. Smith.

7. The remainder of the Morning Service (using only, instead of the Collect for the Day, that for St. Peter's Day, and the last for Good Friday) by the eldest Missionary† present.

8. Occasional Prayer, with the Communion Service.

9. The Epistle. Haggai, ch. ii. to verse 10th.

10. The Gospel for St. Peter's Day.

[N. B.—This part of the Service was performed at the Altar, by the eldest officiating Minister.‡]

To this succeeded the Sermon. The text was:

I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in forever. . . . But God, indeed, dwells on earth. Behold, the Heaven and Heaven of Heavens cannot contain thee: how much less this house that I have builded? The Lord our God be with us as he was with our fathers: let Him not leave us or forsake us. . . . That all the people of the earth may know that the Lord is God, and that there is none else.—[1 Kings, ch. viii., 13, 27, 57, 60 verses.]

"Everything," says a contemporary narrative,§ "was conducted with the utmost decency, order and solemnity, and after the sermon the words of the text, which had been previously composed into an anthem, were elegantly sung by a number of ladies and gentlemen, to the vast satisfaction of everybody present."

The reader knows, of course, that at this date we had no prescribed form for the Consecration of Churches.

At a meeting of vestry held in St. Peter's Church, September 7th, 1761, three days after the celebration, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board be given to the Rev. Dr. Smith for his excellent Sermon preached at the opening of St. Peter's Church, the 4th instant; and the Church-wardens are ordered to return him the thanks of this Board accordingly, and to request the favour of him to furnish a copy of the said Sermon to be printed.

* The Rev. Mr. Duché. † The Rev. Mr. Neill. ‡ The Rev. Mr. Sturgeon.
§ Pennsylvania Gazette of September 10th, 1761.

The sermon was printed by Franklin. The preface deserves insertion here :

It was an ancient custom, not only among the Jews, but even among the Gentiles, long before the coming of Christ and the establishment of Christianity, to separate from common use, by certain formal Rites of Dedication, their Temples, Altars, and Places of religious Worship. And we find God himself expressly approving this custom in respect to the Jews (who were his peculiar people, and blessed with a more adequate knowledge of His Name) inasmuch as he vouchsafed his special Presence, in the places so separated and dedicated by them. Of this, the chapter, from which the text of the following discourse is taken, furnishes sufficient evidence ; and, in the third verse of the succeeding chapter, God expressly tells Solomon :

I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication—I have hallowed this house which thou hast built, to put my Name there forever ; and mine Eyes and mine Heart shall be there continually.

Agreeably to this, the Primitive Christians, even in the most difficult times (as we have the utmost reason to believe), did not resort to any place for stated worship, till they had first separated or set it apart, if not by public rites, yet at least by peculiar Thanksgivings, and Prayers for a sanctified use thereof. And, in the more prosperous days of Christianity, when kings and potentates became converts to its Truths, these Separations were performed with far greater ceremony, and distinguished by the more pompous names of Dedications, Consecrations, and the like ; in all which acts, “the common prayers of the Church were not looked upon as sufficient, without special Panegyric Oration, and forms of Adoration and Praise, more peculiar to the Occasion.”*

This custom was very early introduced into our mother country ; for we find Austin himself, who has been styled the Apostle of our Ancestors, agreeably to his instructions, converting such idol-temples, as were fit for use, into Christian Churches, by the Rites of Consecration. And, in after-times, it was expressly provided, that all Churches, &c., should be Consecrated within two years after they were finished ;† nor do our laws take any notice of Churches or Chapels, as such, till they are formally Consecrated.‡

Now, it is to be presumed that, in these laws and regulations, our forefathers were actuated by the same pious motives that influenced

* See Bingham's *Eccles. Antiquities* ; who gathers this from Eusebius, who has preserved an Oration delivered on one of these occasions.

† —ut omnes Cathedrales Ecclesiæ, et Conventuales, ac Parochiales, a tempore Perfectionis ipsarum, infra Biennium, per Dioecesanos ad quos pertinent, vel eorum Auctoritate per alios, Consecrationes acciperent.

‡ V. Coke Inst., 4.

the primitive Christians; namely the hopes (grounded on the Old Testament, and more particularly on the New) that God would be specially present with them, to hear their prayers and pardon their offences, in those places thus separated to His Service, and dedicated to His name. And thus run the preambles of these very laws themselves :

*Domus Dei, materiali Subjecto non differens a privatis, per Mysterium Dedicationis invisibile, fit Templum Domini, ad expiationem Delictorum & divinam Misericordiam implorandam.**

And therefore it was but fit that the performance of a service so solemn and ancient, agreeably to the same laws, should be reserved to the highest dignitaries of the Church; namely the Bishops, or those having their immediate authority.

In this Country, then, where our Church is far removed from the Government of her Bishops, and where it hath not yet been the Method (nor indeed would Circumstances always admit) before a stated use of our newly-erected places of Worship, to solicit a special Authority for separating them to God's Service, in the express manner of any approved Ritual; all we can do is to preserve so much of the original design of the thing as Presbyters may warrantably perform; and which, in such circumstances, may be thought more immediately necessary for Edification. We may meet on a fixt day; and in conjunction with the common Service of the Church, may use such particular Forms of Prayer and Sermons, as may be suitable to the Occasion; professing, before God and the World, our humble Desire of setting apart such Places to his Service, and keeping them continually sacred to that pious End.

Thus much is in the Power of every religious Society; and thus much, at least, as Members of the Church of England, it is our particular Duty to do, with all possible Solemnity, Gravity, and Love to God, whensoever we devote any particular Place to his Service; in Order that, forever afterwards, when we enter therein, we may consider ourselves as entering into the Place where He hath promised to manifest His more immediate Presence; and behave ourselves when there (as the primitive Christians are† said to have done in their Places of Worship) with the utmost Reverence and Devotion, as in the Palace of the Great King.

These were the Principles kept in View at the Opening of ST. PETER'S CHURCH in this City; and the best testimony for the conduct of that Solemnity, is the Approbation it met with, even from some who came prejudiced against every thing of that Kind.

* Vid. De Consecr. and Reform. Eccles. 52 Hen. 3. Gibson's Cod.

† Chrysostom.

CHAPTER XIX.

DETERMINATION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE TO SOLICIT FUNDS IN ENGLAND FOR ITS SUPPORT—APPOINTMENT OF DR. SMITH AS THEIR AGENT—LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS—LETTER OF CREDIT TO DAVID BARCLAY & CO.

THE scale upon which it was indispensable to keep the College, if it was to be such an institution as both faculty and trustees desired to have it, made more money necessary than could be raised on this side of the Atlantic. It was therefore resolved, in the autumn of 1761, that Dr. Smith should go to Great Britain, to endeavor to procure it there. He had now two children, and little or no inherited property. His voyage would be in winter. Nevertheless he was willing to serve the institution by going abroad for this object, or in any other manner, and stated that "he would make all the despatch he could in preparing himself for it, and had good hopes, from what had passed between him and some persons of distinction in England, of answering the expectation of the trustees in this matter."

The trustees accordingly, at a special meeting on the 17th of December, 1761, unanimously agreed that his present salary should be paid to his order in his absence; that £150 currency should be advanced to him towards the expense of his voyage, of which he was to give an account, and that he should be furnished with a credit on Messrs. Barclay & Sons to the extent of £100 sterling. If he should prove successful in obtaining money, he was to pay it, from time to time, into the hands of Messrs. Barclay, for the use of the Academy, and give them a list of the contributors from whom he had received it; all to be transmitted to the trustees as opportunity should offer. The trustees were further of opinion that, if in six months after Dr. Smith's arrival in England, he should meet with no suitable success, nor see any probability of his succeeding, he should not stay, but return to Philadelphia in the first good vessel that should offer.

The Rev. Mr. Ewing having agreed to supply Dr. Smith's place in his absence upon a proper compensation, Mr. Peters and Mr.

Stedman were desired to confer with him, and to settle the sum that should be allowed him.

The president then delivered to Dr. Smith the following Instructions and letter to Messrs. Barclay :

Instructions to Dr. Smith.

PHILADELPHIA, December 17th, 1761.

REV'D SIR : You will herewith receive an Instrument, under the seal of the Academy, authorizing you to solicit Contributions in Great Britain and Ireland for its support, together with the Trustees' address to the Proprietaries of this Province, requesting their Countenance and advice to you in the Prosecution of this Charitable Application, and a Letter to the Eldest of them for Liberty to sell the Perkasia Lands.

You are sensible we have proceeded in this affair very much by your advice, and in expectation of the hearty concurrence of our Honourable Proprietors, and therefore we trust and desire you will lose no time, either in embarking for England, or, when there, in setting about and carrying on this good work with your utmost zeal, prudence and assiduity, first waiting on the Proprietors, that by their Council and Recommendation you may be enabled to make a good beginning. Do not neglect to let Mr. Thomas Penn know that as Lands are now at a high price, owing to our present happy flow of wealth, if he be inclined to favour our application for the sale of the Perkasia Estate, the sooner he sends his Orders the greater benefits will be likely to accrue to the Academy.

If Mr. Franklin should be in England on your arrival, we desire you will wait upon him, lay before him your several Papers, acquaint him with our necessities, consult with him, and desire he will give you all the assistance in his power, and we doubt not but he will readily advise and assist you, and by his means you may be recommended to many persons of wealth and Distinction.

If any other of the Trustees should happen to be in England whilst you are engaged in this business, you are to consult with them from time to time, as occasion may require.

The Treasurer is ordered to pay you the sum of £150 currency, which is advanced towards the charge that may attend the service, and we trust you will lay it out with the utmost frugality, and be careful to keep an exact account of every expense that you shall be put to in the prosecution of this business.

Mr. Peters on our behalf has given you a Credit on Messrs. Barclay & Co. as far as £100 sterling. If you arrive safe there may be no use for it, but in case you shall fall into the hands of the Enemys, it may be of use to obtain a decent support and a quick Exchange and Conveyance to England.

If in six months after your arrival in England you shall not meet with Encouragement nor see any prospect of it, we would have you lose no time but take the first opportunity that shall offer of returning home.

But if you shall meet with good success, we think it too great a risque for you to carry large sums of money about you, and therefore order you whenever the sum collected becomes considerable to pay or order it to be paid into the hands of Mess^{rs}. Barclay & Co., whom we have appointed our Agents for the receipt of all sums that shall be collected on this occasion, sending them always along with the money or order an exact List of the names of such as you shall have received it from, which List we would have transmitted to us from time to time that we may know how you go on. You will not fail to write full accounts of your proceedings to us by every opportunity.

What further occurs necessary to give you in Instruction we shall send by Letter, having only to add that we most heartily pray for your safe arrival and good success.

Signed by order and on behalf of the Trustees.

RICHARD PETERS, President.

To the Rev^d. WILLIAM SMITH,

Provost of the College of Philadelphia.

The Trustees to David Barclay & Co.

PHILADELPHIA, December 17th, 1761.

GENTLEMEN: The Trustees of the Academy finding their Funds likely to fail, and not being able to put their Institution on any durable footing by private subscriptions, have determined to send Dr. Smith over to England to solicit the public spirited people of Great Britain for Contributions, and we hope, Providence favouring our pious and charitable design, he will be able to collect as much as being paid on ground rents or put out to Interest will furnish us with an annual Revenue that will support it forever.

They have desired me to give Dr. Smith a Credit with your House for any sum not exceeding £100 sterling. It is imagined he will not want any money if he arrives safe, but if he should be taken by the enemy, and should find it necessary to draw on you in order to obtain a decent support or to procure his discharge and a conveyance to England, I desire you will furnish him to the amount of that sum out of any money in your hands.

The Trustees have appointed you their Agents for such sums as shall be collected for the use of the Academy, and have ordered Dr. Smith not to keep any large sums of money in his hands, but when his Collections amount to anything considerable to pay or cause the money to be paid to you, with an exact List of the Names of such as he has received it from, which Lists and an exact account of the sums put into your

hands from time to time we desire you would transmit to us as opportunity serves.

We hope you will not have much trouble in this Agency, and that your former goodness and friendship for all concerned in the management of this Institution, and your regard for the Improvement of the people of this and the neighbouring Provinces in all useful Literature, will engage you to accept of this business and to give Dr. Smith all the assistance in your power. I write this at the instance of the Trustees, and am with a very sincere esteem,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

RICHARD PETERS,

President of the Trustees and by their order.

To Messrs. DAVID BARCLAY & SONS.

CHAPTER XX.

DR. SMITH PREACHES SERMON IN CHRIST CHURCH ON THE DEATH OF DR. JENNEY—NOTICE OF—LETTER OF DR. SMITH, ETC., TO DR. BEARCROFT—SAILS FOR ENGLAND—BIRTH OF A DAUGHTER (MRS. GOLDSBOROUGH)—MISS GRÆME, AFTERWARDS MRS. FURGUSON—COMMENCEMENT OF 1762—ACCOUNT OF IT FROM COL. BRADFORD'S PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL—NOTICE OF WILLIAM HAMILTON, OF THE WOODLANDS, AND NOTICE OF SAMUEL JONES.

JUST fifteen days before leaving Philadelphia to go to New York, whence he was to sail for England, a pathetic duty was to be discharged by Dr. Smith.

We have spoken much of Dr. Jenney, Rector of Christ Church. Of English origin, though born, I think, A. D. 1687, in Ireland, where his father was Archdeacon of Wannytown, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he came in 1715 to America as a Missionary from the Society for Propagating the Gospel. In 1717 he became Chaplain to the Fort at New York, either in form, or in fact as an assistant to Dr. Vesey, the Rector of Trinity Church. In 1722 he was Minister of the church at Rye, Westchester county, New York, and from 1728 to 1742 in charge of the church at Hempstead, Long Island. In November of the year last named he became Rector of Christ Church; and with a license from Edmund Gibson, then Bishop of London—the well-known author of the *Codex*—entered on his duties. For the last few years of his

life paralytic disorder and asthmatic affection precluded any efficient influence on his flock. He died January 5th, 1762, aged 75 years; his closing years having been clouded with sorrows, some of which we have mentioned.

Although Dr. Smith, from causes which the reader will remember,* might naturally have felt less than others all that so touching an old age and death would inspire, he came forward at once to testify his reverent sympathy for the aged Rector. On the 10th he preached a funeral sermon on him. It is from that awful text, "Give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward."† The sermon has a grand solemnity suited to the occasion. Towards its conclusion the preacher says:

We are met here to perform the last obsequies to the body of our deceased pastor; a man venerable in years and who was a striking pattern of Christian resignation under a long and severe illness. Those who knew him best in that situation know that his chief concern was not for himself but for the distressed and perplexed state of his Congregation. I can with truth say that he was a man of strict honesty, one that hated dissimulation and a lie; exemplary in his life and morals, and a most zealous member of our Episcopal church.

He is buried in the middle aisle of the church where he so long ministered.

In or about the year 1732 the sum of £300 sterling was bequeathed by one Mr. Jauncey to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to be by them disposed in the best manner for the conversion of infidels. This money, with its interest, was afterwards appropriated by the Society for the use of "the minister of the Church of England at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the time being; and the same was laid out in South Sea Annuities, till lands can be purchased in Pennsylvania." The ministers of Christ Church probably received the interest up to 1759, but the pious gift was never fixed in lands. In the year last named the Rector and Wardens wrote to Dr. Bearcroft, Secretary of the Society, praying that the Society would authorize them to draw

* See *Smith*, p. 120-125.

† The sermon was published soon after it was delivered. The title is, "The Last Summons, a Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on January 10th, 1762, at the Funeral of Robert Jenney, Rector of the said Church. *A. Stewart, Philadelphia*, 1762."

on the Society's Treasurer for the above-mentioned sum, with its advance, if there was any, in order to purchase a piece of land, which they proposed to lease on ground-rent. This request the Society granted, and authorized Dr. Smith, Jacob Duché, John Ross and Evan Morgan, for, and in the name of, the said Society, to purchase lands in the Province of Pennsylvania to the amount of such sum as should be raised by the sale of £300 new South Sea Annuity Stock; the annual rent of such land to be and remain to the sole use and behoof of the minister of Christ Church for the time being, and his successors forever." The letter which now follows, gives a sequel to the history. St. Peter's Church had now become united in one corporation with Christ Church.

Dr. Smith and others to Dr. Bearcroft.

PHILA, Jan^y 12th, 1762.

REV^d SIR: We have received the Honorable Society's Letter of attorney authorizing us or the major part of us to contract for lands in this province to the value of £300 Sterling, to be vested in the Society for the use of the parson of Christ's Church forever. In pursuance whereof we have agreed with our Honorable proprietor, Thomas Penn, Esq^{re}, his agents here, for a Lot of Land in this city which we conceive will well answer the uses intended, a plott whereof you will herewith receive. The Rev^d M^r. Richard Peters, late Secretary to our proprietor and Governor, has most generously offered the sum of £100 Sterling, and proposes to obtain from others the like sum in voluntary contributions to enlarge the lot purchased by us in the name of the Society. Two fifth parts of which large Lott he proposes to be settled and vested for the use of the parson of St. Peter's Church, lately erected in this city, of which we heartily approve and gratefully acknowledge his benevolence. We, in behalf and in the name of, and as Attornies to the Society, have entered into Articles of agreement with the agents of our proprietors for the purchase of this great lott, and obtaining a title in the name of the Society for the uses aforesaid, but the title deed in full form we have at present declined receiving (tho' offer'd to us), until we have further advice from and approbation of the Society. To render these donations useful when the title is vested, some persons thereto authorized must sell and lett this Grand Lott into smaller Lotts under certain yearly Ground Rents forever, and perhaps the tenants at times may prove troublesome and refuse payment, the Society will be often put to trouble to renew their power; their attorney may dye; and the dues to the parson be long withheld, suits at Law may happen for the Recovery of those rents, and no attorney from the Society here to prosecute such suits, &c. In consideration therefore of the many diffi-

cullys which may arise in carrying on these Charities, to have their full and intended effect, we pray the advice and consent of the Honorable Society hereupon, and that we may be permitted to receive our title in the name of any of the Corporations of this City for the uses aforesaid, an exemplified Copy of which deed we shall carefully transmit to your Board, and this mode of title, we humbly conceive, will obviate every objection against our ready and speedy recovery of the rents issuing out of the several Lots to be granted. Whatever the Society shall determine hereupon and advise us thereof, we shall cheerfully acquiesce under.

And now, Reverend Sir, as we have so far ratified our agreement for this purchase by sealing articles for the same, we pray the Honorable Society will be pleased to order a transfer to be made to our Honorable proprietor, Thomas Penn, Esq^{re}, for the £300, New South Sea annuities Stock, his agents here having agreed that he will accept the same in payment for this Lot.

We are, with due regard, &c.,

WM. SMITH,
JOHN ROSS,
EVAN MORGAN,
JACOB DUCHÉ.

It is agreeable to add that, from this pious bequest of Mr. Jauncey, made A. D. 1732, the Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's are to this day, A. D. 1879, in part supported.*

On the 25th of January, Dr. Smith left Philadelphia for New York, where he remained until the 13th of February, on which day he sailed for England. On the 4th of July, while he was in England, his wife was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized Williamina Elizabeth, in Christ Church, on the 4th of August, by the Rev. Dr. Peters, who, on the 8th of January previous, had been elected its Rector. Mr. Sturgeon, with Mrs. Williamina Moore, grandmother of the child, and Miss Elizabeth Græme, of Græme Park, were sponsors. This daughter in after life was one of the Ladies of the *Mischianza*, and became the wife of the Hon. Chas. Goldsborough, of Maryland, and the ancestress of an honored race. Miss Elizabeth Græme afterwards became Mrs. Elizabeth Furguson, and is well known in American history by her connection with the asserted effort of the British Government to purchase the allegiance of General Reed with ten thousand guineas and a good office. Mrs. Furguson's husband joined the

* See Dr. Dorr's History of Christ Church, page 372.

royal side. She was a lady of intelligence and wit. A translation of Fenelon's "Telemaque" into English blank verse by her hand is in MS. in the Philadelphia Library. Later in life she went to England for benefit to her health, and kept a journal of her travels, which was much sought for by her friends. In Nathaniel Evans' Poems are some specimens of the versification of Miss Græme, under the signature of "Laura." Mrs. Furguson died in 1801, and is buried by the south side of Christ Church.

Dr. Smith sailed for England from New York on the 13th of February, 1762. The Commencement of the year took place in his absence; but his mind was everywhere. He took care, even when occupied before the King in Council with matters of the gravest interest to himself, to attend even to the details of what was to be done in his darling College.

The *programme* of exercises for the day is in Latin. A copy, with great numbers of valuable papers—including "Compositions" by the boys of the Academy—sent by Dr. Smith to the Penns in England, to keep them apprised of and interested in the College and Academy—is preserved in the Penn Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—as, indeed, what documents of value in our early history are not? It is a huge broadside, nearly two feet long by more than a foot wide, and all printed in what printers call display, and of impressive style. I can give only the heading:

VIRIS PRÆCELLENTISSIMIS,

THOMÆ PENN ac RICHARDO PENN, Armigeris,

Provinciæ *Pennsylvaniæ*, nec non Comitatum *Novi Castelli, Cantii*
et *Sussexiæ*, ad fluvium *Delaware* veris atque solis
Proprietatiis;

VIRO DIGNISSIMO, Literis humanioribus ornatissimo

JACOBO HAMILTON, Armigero,

Prædictæ Provinciæ et Comitatum, VICE-GUBERNATORI Præcla-
rissimo, nec non hujus Collegii and Academiae
Philadelphiensis, Curatori;

Cæterisque VIRIS ORNATISSIMIS

Richardo Peters, *Præsidi*; Gulielmo Allen, Johanni Inglis,
Samueli McCall, Josepho Turner, Benjamino Franklin, Gulielmo

Shippen, Phillipò Syng, Phineæ Bond, Abrahamo Taylor, Thomæ Bond, Gulielmo Plumsted, Thomæ White, Gulielmo Coleman, Thomæ Cadwalader, Alexandro Stedman, Benjamino Chew, Edvardo Shippen, jun., Gulielmo Cox, Thomæ Willing, et Jacob Duché, ejuidem Collegii et Academiae CURATORIBUS amplissimis, Artiumque ingenuarum PATRONIS humanissimis;

Toti denique *Senatui Academico* dignissimo, nempe Reverendo GULIELMO SMITH, S. T. P., Collegii and Academiae PRÆFECTO; Reverendo FRANCESCO ALISON, S. T. P., Collegii Vice-Præfecto et Academiae RECTORI; Reverendo JOHANNI EWING, A. M., Philosophiæ Naturalis Professori; Reverendo EBENEZERO KINNERSLEY, A. M., Linguae Anglicanae et Oratoriæ Professori; JOHANNI BEVERIDGE, A. M., Linguarum Professori et HUGONI WILLIAMSON, A. M., Matheseos Professori:

Hæc Philosophemata sub VICE-PRÆFECT Moderamine (DEO opt. max. favente) discutienda.

Juvenes in Artibus initiati.

SAMUEL CAMPBELL,	GULIELMUS HAMILTON,	JOANNES PORTER,
JOHANNES COOKE,	SAMUEL JONES,	STEPHANUS WATTS.

Summâ cum observentiâ M. D. D. D. C. Q.

Then follow the Theses, to wit: Theses Gramaticæ; Theses Rhetoricæ; Theses Logicæ; Theses Metaphysicæ; Theses Physicæ; Theses Morales, and Theses Politicæ. The Theses Metaphysicæ being De Ente, De Mente Humana, and De Deo; and the Theses Morales, De Ethica and De Jurisprudentia Naturali.

One of the Theses Metaphysicæ, that De Ente, runs thus:

Quicquid non habet existentiam, nec essentiam habet. *Ergo*, Omnes essentiae rerum in mente Dei ab eterno existere non potuerunt.

Another is:

Origo mali solvi potest, salvis DEI attributis.

We are not quite sure, though we understand Latin, that we understand these Theses.

However, another is more intelligible. It is among the Theses Politicæ:

Militibus dubitantibus an bellum sit justum, nec ne, Militandum est.

A sentiment which shows plainly enough that, however catholic may have been the basis of the College, the Religious Society of Friends had very little to do with prescribing its Theses Politicæ.

We are thus informed after the list of Theses :

Ante Theses indice notatas, ventilandas Oratio habita est salutatoriâ ; cæteris autem Exercitiis pro tempore ad finem perductis, Oratio successerit valedictoria. Commitiis Academiæ *Philadelphiensis* habita ad xv Junii Cal. Salutis Anno MD.CCLXII.

There was a power of Latin here, to be sure ! and rugged names—harder than Gordon, Colkitto, Macdonnel or Galasp—"that would have made Quintillian stare and gasp." We feel, indeed, as we read the huge *programme*, in the original, with the "Catologus eorum qui ad aliquem Gradum in Collegio Philadelphensi admissi fuerunt," and the "Stelligeri qui e vitâ decesserunt," some anxiety to know how all turned out, with the Provost absent, on this eventful day. Happily Colonel Bradford, who, from his now intimate relations with Dr. Smith, probably witnessed the whole scene, gives us this very satisfactory account of all in his paper of May 27th. It appears from this account that in these early times a commencement was the affair of a *whole day*. Dining at 6 and 7 o'clock had not then come into fashion :

On Tuesday, the 10th instant, a public Commencement was held at the College in this city in the Presence of a learned, polite and very brilliant Assembly : every Part of the public Hall was crowded with spectators. His Honour, the Governor, who is one of the Trustees of this Institution, was pleased to attend the whole Day. A great Number of the Clergy, of different Denominations, together with many other Gentlemen of Learning, and the first Distinction, from the neighbouring Parts were likewise present.

The Exercises were opened in the morning with a Salutatory Oration in Latin by one of the Candidates : This was succeeded by a forensic Disputation, which gave very high Satisfaction to the Audience, as it was on a subject that greatly interested many of them, and as the Disputants discovered a great deal of Sprightliness, wit and good sense, in the course of the Debate. A Latin Syllogistic Disputation concluded the morning Exercise.

In the afternoon two English Orations were pronounced. A Syllogistic Disputation in Latin succeeded. The Degrees were then conferred by the Vice-Provost, and a *Solemn Charge* delivered from the pulpit to the Candidates. The Valedictory Oration was then spoken with much

Elegance and Tenderness, and the young orator met with deserved applause. A *Dialogue* and *Ode* on the accession and nuptials of his Majesty closed the whole performance.* The ode was written and set to music by one of the sons of this institution,† and excellently performed by a set of gentlemen who kindly and generously employed their agreeable Talents to do Honour to the occasion.‡

The following Gentlemen were Admitted to Degrees at this commencement: Samuel Campbell, John Cooke, William Hamilton, Samuel Jones, John Porter, and Stephen Watts, to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

John Beard, Nathaniel Chapman, William Edmiston, and William Hamilton, to the Degree of Master of Arts.

Henry Merchant, formerly a student in this institution, having pronounced an elegant spirited English oration upon the study of the law, was admitted to a Master's Degree; also the Rev. Mr. Morgan Edwards, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Mather, the Rev. Mr. John Simonton, and Mr. Isaac Smith, of *Nassau College*, now Student of Physic, to the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts. And Mr. Thomas Pollock, Tutor in the Academy, to the Honorary Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Every thing was conducted with the utmost Decency and order. The candidates acquitted themselves in every part of their exercises to the satisfaction of all present, and have derived considerable Honour to themselves, and to the institution.

Among the graduates, as the reader will have observed, was "Gulielmus Hamilton," and Samuel Jones. The former was afterwards known as of "the Woodlands," and long its hospitable, refined, and well-educated proprietor. He had been in the academy from childhood, and spoke in public there when under nine years old. Dr. Griswold, in his "Republican Court, or American Society in the Days of Washington," says of him:

From his youth he seems to have possessed a high degree of taste. On graduating, A. D. 1762, at the Academy of Philadelphia, he gave a fête at the Woodlands to his college friends, among whom were young

* The Dialogue and Ode were published in a 4to form, with the following title: "An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Ode, On the Accession of His Present Gracious Majesty George III., Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 18th, 1762. Phila.: Printed by William Dunlap, in Market Street. MDCCLXII.

† Francis Hopkinson, distinguished alike by his genius in music and by his literary attainments.—ED.

‡ It thus appears that the Orpheus Club of the College, now led with so much science and taste by one of the brothers Neilson, had an early and honorable origin. It is more ancient than the nation, and may now celebrate its 116th anniversary.—ED.

men afterwards known as Judge Yeates, Judge Peters, Mr. Dickenson Sergeant, the Reverend Dr. Andrews, Bishop White and others. The beautiful edifice, for which his place has since been celebrated, was not then erected, and his entertainment was necessarily spread in a temporary building.

It is an interesting fact that this lovely place and "beautiful edifice," to which Dr. Griswold refers, then almost miles away from the College and Academy—which were in Fourth Street below Arch—are now, though clothed with the pathetic interest of a resting-place of the dead, in immediate view of the University of Pennsylvania; and that upon ground owned by this very graduate of 1762 now stands, in 1879, the institution from which he received his literary honors.

Samuel Jones chose another lot in life. His was perhaps the wise part. He devoted himself to the ministry, and obtained in it a good degree.*

* He was born at Cefen y Gelli, Bettus parish, Glamorganshire, Wales, January 14th, 1735, and was brought to America by his parents in 1737. His father was the Rev. Thomas Jones, who was ordained pastor of Tulpehocken Church, Pennsylvania, in 1740. Samuel Jones was ordained to the work of the ministry on January 8th, 1763, he being at that time a member of the First Baptist Church. He became pastor of the united churches of Pennepack and Southampton in 1763. In 1770 he resigned the care of Southampton Church and devoted himself entirely to the Pennepack Church until his death, which occurred February 7th, 1814. He was buried in the rear of the church. He received the degree of Master of Arts from the Rhode Island College in the year 1769, and he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania in the year 1788. During his ministry he established a school and academy for the young for tuition in theology on his farm near Pennepack Church, and was successful as a teacher. His printed works were "The Doctrine of the Covenant," a sermon preached in 1783; "Century Sermon," preached in October, 1807, before the Baptist Association; and a small broadside on "Laying on of Hands," which was replied to by the Rev. David Jones, of the Great Valley Church.

CHAPTER XXI.

DR. SMITH ARRIVES IN LONDON—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY—REFERENCE TO THE PROVOST STILLÉ'S LIFE OF DR. SMITH—EXTRACTS FROM IT—ADDRESS BY THE TRUSTEES TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN—SIR JAMES JAY, AN UNWELCOME FELLOW-LABORER—KINDNESS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, MR. FENN, AND OTHERS—A ROYAL BRIEF—HISTORY OF DR. SMITH'S AND SIR JAMES JAY'S—HIS MAJESTY'S FIAT FOR IT—LETTERS OF DR. SMITH AND DR. JAY TO THE CLERGY—DR. SMITH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK—BEGINS HIS WORK OF TRAVEL AND COLLECTIONS—SERMONS PUBLISHED IN LONDON.

WE have already mentioned that Dr. Smith sailed for England, February, 1762. He arrived in London early in March. He was in England two years and some months. This part of his history has been so admirably told by his successor of our own day, the Provost Stillé, in that short life of the Provost Smith—by which, as in so many other ways, he has done such good service to the University of Pennsylvania—that I am almost afraid to go over the same ground with him. In doing so I shall do best by using much of his language. I shall use also Dr. Smith's private memoranda. Without other acknowledgment, therefore, than this, I avail myself both of Dr. Stillé's facts and his words, interposing, in places, documents which were not open to him, and come to me only by hereditary title.

The Provost Stillé tells us that Dr. Smith was furnished with an address from the trustees, prepared by the Rev. Mr. Peters, President of the Board.

The document—endorsed, "An Humble Representation, by WILLIAM SMITH, D.D., Provost of the College, Academy, and Charitable School, of Philadelphia, in behalf of said seminary and by appointment of the Trustees thereof"—we give here :

To all Charitable Persons and Patrons of Useful Knowledge.

WHILE this happy Nation is exulting in a Series of the most important Successes, and hath given Protection and even Increase to her Do-

minions in the remotest Parts of the World ; while all are ready to consider our distant Colonies and Acquisitions as an inexhaustible source of future Wealth and Grandeur to the Public ; and in that favourite View, think no Toil or Treasure too much for their Preservation ; there is one view, more important still, in which every serious Mind will delight to consider them, namely, as promising to become an immense addition to the Kingdom of Christ, and to the Protestant Church and Interest upon Earth, and, indeed, unless they are cultivated in this latter view, it is to be feared they will scarce answer our expectations in the former.

A numerous and increasing People, left to Ignorance, unenlightened by the blessed Gospel, Strangers to the humane Arts, and to the just use of rational Liberty, would not only be a very unprofitable, but even a dishonourable Appendage to the British Government, and the greatest of all Glories that can accrue to this Kingdom, from a Dominion so widely extended, will be to make use of the Opportunities thereby given her for the Advancement of Divine Knowledge, and to be found a chosen Instrument in the Hands of Providence, for calling New and heretofore unexplored Countries to the Enjoyment of every Thing that can exalt Humanity, at a Time when so many of the Old have fallen again into their original Barbarity.

Those that love to do Good, and to lay Foundations for Posterity, may, in this great work, find ample scope for their generosity ; and what should animate us the more is the amazing Pains which we find the Emissaries of a false Religion have taken, and the many Establishments which they have made under a public Sanction, in all the Parts of America that have been subjected to them ; while we can boast of little this way beyond the pious Labours of particular Societies, and a few Seminaries of Learning, chiefly of a private Establishment. Yet, these Societies and Seminaries, it is hoped, are, thro' divine Assistance, kindling up and spreading a light, which shall in the End shine to the remotest parts of the New World.

Among the several Seminaries which have been erected with this noble view, that extensive one, comprehending the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, hath in a short time made a most rapid Progress. It was begun about twelve Years ago by a few private Gentlemen, who, observing the vast Accession of People to that Place from different Parts of the World, became seriously impressed with a View of the Inconveniences likely to arise from their being destitute of the necessary means of Instruction. As sundry Circumstances rendered it improbable that any Thing could be speedily done among them, in a public Way, for the Advancement of Knowledge, and at the same Time but very few of so great a Multitude could afford the Expense of educating their Children in distant Places, they saw with Concern that their Country was not only in Danger of wanting

a Succession of fit Persons for the public Stations of Life, but even of degenerating into the greatest Ignorance.

In this Situation, therefore, they had recourse to private Subscriptions, and through the Blessing of Almighty God, and the Liberality of Individuals, though unassisted by any public Encouragement, the Design has been attended with remarkable Success. Many excellent Youths, that would otherwise have been without the Opportunities of a liberal Instruction, have already been raised in this Institution as well for the sacred Office of the Ministry, as for the civic Professions of Life; and many others, of more enlarged Circumstances, after acquiring the first Rudiments of Literature there, are now finishing their Education in this Kingdom, at the Universities and Inns of Court.

The Seminary consists at present of near Two Hundred Students and Scholars, besides Eighty Boys and Forty Girls educated on Charity. It is governed under a Corporation of Twenty-four Trustees, by a Provost, Vice-Provost, and three Professors, assisted by six Tutors or Ushers, besides two Masters and a Mistress for the Charity Schools. Very great Sums have, from Time to Time, been contributed for its Support by private Persons within the Province; besides to the Amount of near £3,000 Sterling, in Lands and Money, by the honourable proprietary Family. But although the greatest Economy hath been used in every Part of the Design, and nothing attempted but what the Circumstances of so growing a Place seemed absolutely to require, yet the necessary Expence attending so large an Undertaking hath greatly exceeded all the Resources in the Power of the Trustees; and as the Charge of the Institution is now more than £400 sterling nearly above its Income, they have just Apprehensions of seeing its Funds in a few Years wholly exhausted, and a Period put to its Usefulness, after all their Labours for its Support, unless they can speedily procure the Assistance of generous and well-disposed Persons in distant Parts.

Under these Difficulties they cannot but in the first Place turn their eyes to the known Benevolence and Charity of the Mother Country. And when they consider how far most of the Seminaries, that have been erected in the Colonies, were in their Infancy indebted to the Liberality of pious Persons in Great Britain and Ireland, they cannot doubt but a Seminary placed in one of the most important Cities and central Provinces in America, and which promises to be of so much service to the general Cause of Literature and true Christianity, will in this particular Crisis meet with all due Encouragement.

With these just Hopes, the Trustees of the said Seminary have nominated the Writer of this to solicit and receive the Benefactions of Charitable and benevolent Persons for its Use; and they do hereby promise that whatever may be bestowed for that pious End, shall be most faithfully applied, and due Care taken to preserve Lists of the

Contributors, and to perpetuate their Names in the Institution with Gratitude, to the latest Generation.

WILLIAM SMITH.

LONDON, 1762.

P. S. As many pious Persons and Friends of Literature, whom the Writer of this cannot possibly know of, nor wait upon at their respective Places of Abode, may be desirous of contributing to this useful Seminary, they will be pleased to observe that Benefactions will be received for it by the following Gentlemen, Bankers, viz.: Sir Charles Asgill and Company, Lombard Street, and Messrs. Drummond and Company, at Charing-Cross.

The Form of a Legacy for this Seminary is:

To the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania; to be applied towards the support of the said Seminary.

And such Legacy, we ought to add, should be bequeathed and paid out of personal Estates only.

Dr. Smith was also furnished with a special recommendation and appeal to the Penns to aid the enterprise in England. Thomas Penn was called the principal Patron of the College (and well he might have been, for he contributed to its support during his lifetime nearly £4,500), and it is evident that great reliance was placed upon his influence with his friends in England.

On reaching London he at once waited upon those to whom he looked for aid in his design. "Mr. Thomas Penn," he says, "received me with his usual kindness, and said that he was glad to see me on the scheme of a collection, and would forward it all in his power. It is impossible, indeed, for me to express how hearty and zealous Mr. Penn is in this business. He has put himself down for £500 sterling."

Dr. Smith was aware, before proceeding to collect funds, that there were two ways before him in England for raising money: one—that practised then and since in our own country—of going to all persons of every class indiscriminately who might be supposed to be liberally inclined towards an American college, and by direct application to them to get what money they chose to give; the other—a way more official and dignified—to proceed by "Brief," as it is called in England. "The Brief," Dr. Stillé tells us, "was the technical term given to letters patent written in the royal name to the incumbent of every parish in England (at that time about *eleven thousand five hundred* in number), directing him

to recommend to his congregation some charitable object which the King was particularly desirous of promoting, and authorizing collections to be made by specially appointed Commissioners 'from house to house'—these are the words of these Briefs—throughout the kingdom in aid of the undertaking." It had been the practice to issue such Briefs only in cases of great general interest; such, for instance, as when deep sympathy was excited for the Protestant refugees who flocked to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or when succor was asked for the inhabitants of portions of the country which had suffered from the overwhelming disasters of famine or pestilence. In later years it had been the custom to appeal to the public in this way for the support of such societies as that for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as well as for various undertakings of a charitable sort in the Colonies. Dr. Smith, under the impression that a collection by means of a Brief would injuriously restrain his own personal application, was at first not disposed to proceed in that way. However, finding that the proceeding by a "Brief" had many advantages, and advantages so great as to outweigh all disadvantages, and that he would still be at liberty to appeal to individuals when he thought he could best aid his design by so doing, he rather resolved to apply for the Royal Document.

On the 19th of March, 1762, he waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, now so well known to him by correspondence, who most cordially assured him that he would do everything in his power to forward his design by mentioning it to his friends, and contributing to it in person, asking if there was anything else that he expected from him; but telling him, if he intended to apply for a Brief, that there had been so many applications of that sort of late, that he feared it would produce but little.

He made his business known soon afterwards to the Archbishop of York, and to several of the most eminent of the other Bishops. "They all declared," he says, "their readiness to concur with the Archbishop of Canterbury in any scheme his Grace might propose for countenancing and forwarding the design." Nor did he forget to invoke the powerful aid of Rev. Dr. Chandler, at that time the most eminent dissenting minister in England, and at all times most kindly attached to him.

"That gentleman," writes Dr. Smith, "sent for me this week, and told me that though he had been afraid that all his Court interest was gone with the Duke of Newcastle, yet he had been with the present Minister Lord Bute, who had most graciously received him, and told him that none of the charities which the Doctor was concerned in should suffer from the late change, and that if there was any good design that the Doctor could recommend it should be mentioned to the King, who was graciously disposed to favor all pious and laudable undertakings. Upon the Doctor's return he told me all this, and frankly offered to recommend our College, and make the first trial of his interest in its behalf as a most catholic and laudable foundation, it being in this view that the Doctor loves to speak of it in all places."

Dr. Chandler accordingly wrote a warm letter of recommendation to Lord Bute.

But the pleasing prospect which his kind reception had opened before Dr. Smith was soon clouded by an unforeseen occurrence. He writes under date of July 10, 1762:

Just now I am so disconcerted that I know not what to do. I had proposed setting out in a day or two with Mr. Powel to proceed leisurely through the several trading towns and places to the northward as far as Edinburgh; but Dr. Jay, from New York, which he left June 1st, has just called on me, and told me that, some business of his own calling him to England, the people of the College at New York had applied to and empowered him to solicit money for them.

Dr. Smith was indignant at what he considered an unfair interference with his plans.* A month later, when his anger was a little cooled, he writes:

Here was a strange clashing of interests and applications, and the common friends of both Colleges were afraid that both schemes might be defeated by this method of doing business, and that the public would be disgusted with such frequent applications, and so close upon

* Dr. Jay, of whom frequent mention is made in later parts of our narrative, was the gentleman better known afterwards as Sir James Jay, Knight. He was the fourth son of Peter Jay and Mary Van Cortland, and brother of the Hon. John Jay. He was born in 1732, and bred a physician. On his visit to England as agent of King's College, New York, now Columbia College in that city, he received from King George III. the honor of Knighthood. He remained several years in England, where he became involved in a suit in chancery, arising out of the collection for the College, but returned to America previous to the Revolution. He died October 20th, 1815.—ED.

the heels of each other. A proposal was made to unite both designs, but I thought my own interest best, provided the good Archbishop shared his countenance equally, and we could agree to keep at a good distance from each other; nor could I well stomach the thought of being concerned with people who had followed so close upon us as if on purpose to interfere with and prevent our success.

After a good deal of negotiation, during which Dr. Smith's friends, Mr. Penn, Dr. Chandler, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, convinced him that as the New York College had applied for a Royal Brief, it must be a joint one for the benefit of both, or else the whole scheme would be ruined, and that nothing would be gained by their entering upon the same field as rivals, it was agreed that *a joint application on behalf of both Colleges* should be made to the King. "His Majesty," says Dr. Smith, "expressed his approval of the plan, and said he would do something to begin the design, that to King's College in New York he would order £400 sterling, and that in respect to the College in Philadelphia, he observed that it had a liberal benefactor in our Proprietors, who stood as it were in his room, but that he must not suffer so good a design to pass without some mark of his regard, and therefore would order £200 sterling for us."

The first formal step towards procuring a Royal Brief was to present a petition to the King in Council. Dr. Smith knew something about proceedings before the King in Council already. He had learnt it from his Friends, the Quaker Assembly. His intercourse with the King in Council on that occasion had left most agreeable impressions of both. He gives the following lively account of the circumstances, under which his prayer on this his second application to His Majesty was granted:

The glorious 12th of August (the 1st of August O. S.), remarkable heretofore for so many good things, viz.: the battles of the Boyne* and Minden, and the accession of the present Royal family, became again remarkable for the birth of a young Prince,† the reception of the riches of the Hermione, a larger prize than Anson's, and if small things may be mentioned with these, the ordering and passing of our Brief, which three things happened before nine o'clock on Thursday morning. The Prince was born at half-past seven, the treasure passed by the palace a little after eight, and the Council that met before nine to register the

* The battle of the Boyne was fought July 1st (not August 1st).

† Afterwards George IV.

birth did our business. We had fixed beforehand with the Archbishop that the Council of State officers, that should immediately meet on the joyous occasion of the Queen's delivery, would not only be the most favorable moment for us, but also the most honorable, if any such business could be introduced. The good Archbishop engaged to try what could be done, and I got the clerks of the Council to promise me early notice to attend with the petition. The event, however, happened sudden and easy to the Queen, as every Briton had prayed it might, and before I could hear of it, and had huddled on my gown to run to St. James' with my petition, the Council was convened in the King's closet. I meditated whether it was proper to send in anything under cover to the Archbishop while in the royal presence, and as I was perplexing myself about this, the Council rose. I immediately saw his Grace, who wished me double joy on the birth of the Prince, and the completion of our business, of which he had not been unmindful. For before he went into the Council he desired Lord Egremont, who presides in Lord Granville's absence, to propose it. His Lordship doubted whether anything of business had ever been introduced on such an occasion. Lord Bute, who was very willing to have our business through, observed that there was on the present occasion one other piece of business to be done, viz.: qualifying Lord Berkeley as Constable of the Tower, and that ours might also be done. The King having signified his royal pleasure that the petition should be granted, it was unanimously and without more difficulty agreed to.

An American reader in the year of grace 1879 may perhaps like to see a little of the Royal Machinery as it was put in motion at the interview in the closet just described. We present to him therefore one of the preliminary instruments. What a farce it all *seems* to be! A half a word from the Archbishop of Canterbury before breakfast—as in the chatter of the closet courtiers were making felicitations and gossip was getting ready to be set a going, men bowing round and women pushing in—good old George III. kissing his new-born baby—destined to be such a plague to him—though in the end a much better king than many others who have been more praised—and everything is done! “Fiat!” And a document comes forth as if his Majesty had most laboriously, most conscientiously, consulting much, pondering much, resolving slowly, resolving wisely, had arrived at the great conclusion. But there was no “farce” in the matter. So things are done in England. Ministers are Majesty. Majesty is Myth. Yet all works well, and if the Fictions of Government were made

realities, the Government would fall to pieces in a week. Here is the Fiat for the Brief:

AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.

The King's most excellent Majesty in Council :

Whereas there was this day read to His Majesty at this Board the joint Petition of William Smith, Doctor in Divinity, Agent for the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, and Provost of that Seminary; and of James Jay, Doctor in Physic, Agent for the Governor of the College of the Province of New York, in the City of New York, in America,—Setting forth, That the great growth of these Provinces and the continued accession of People to them from the different parts of the World, being some years ago observed by sundry of his Majesty's good subjects there, they became seriously impressed with a view of the inconvenience like to arise among so mixt a multitude, if left destitute of the necessary means of instruction, differing in Language and Manners, unenlightened by Religion, uncemented by a common Education, Strangers to the human Arts, and to the just use of Rational Liberty.

That these considerations were rendered the more alarming by sundry other circumstances, and particularly the amazing pains which Popish Emissaries were every day perceived to take for the propagation of their peculiar Tenets, and the many Establishments which they were making for this Purpose in all the parts of America belonging to them; while his Majesty's numerous subjects there, and particularly in the two important and central Provinces aforesaid, remained liable to their corruptions by being spread abroad on a wide Frontier, with scarce a possibility of finding a sufficient supply of Protestant Ministers and Teachers for them, so long as opportunities were wanting to educate them there, and but few men of proper qualifications here could be induced to exchange their hopes in these Kingdoms for a laborious Employment in a remote Wilderness, where they were to expect but small secular advantage to reward their toil. That these inconveniences began to be greatly felt, not only by the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign parts, but also by the various Denominations of other Protestants, in his Majesty's Colonies, so that the good purposes which they severally had in view for the Support and Extension of the Reformed Religion in these remote Countries were like to be grievously affected by the want of fit persons to send forth as Instructors and Teachers. That from a deep sense of these growing Evils the two Seminaries aforesaid, distant about 100 Miles from each other, were begun in two of the most important and populous trading Cities in his Majesty's American Dominions, nearly at the same time and with the same view—not so much to aim at any high Improvements in Knowledge, as to guard against total Ignorance, to instill into the Minds of Youth just principles of Religion,

Loyalty and Love of our excellent Constitution ; to instruct them in such branches of Knowledge and useful Arts as are necessary to Trade, Agriculture, and a due improvement of his Majesty's valuable colonies ; and to assist in raising up a succession of faithful Instructors and Teachers to be sent forth not only among his Majesty's Subjects there but also among his Indian Allies, in order to instruct both in the way of truth, to save them from the Corruptions of the Enemy, and help to remove the Reproach of suffering the Emissaries of a false Religion to be more zealous in propagating their Slavish and Destructive Tenets in that part of the world than Britons and Protestants are in promoting the pure form of Godliness, and the glorious plan of public Liberty and Happiness committed to them.

That for the better answering these great and important purposes the aforesaid Seminaries are under the direction of the chief Officers of Government: sundry of the Clergy of different Denominations and other persons of Distinction in the respective cities where they are placed ; and their usefulness has been so generally felt and acknowledged that amidst all the calamities of an expensive war, near ten thousand pounds sterling have been contributed in each of the said Provinces to their support and some hundreds of Youth continually educated on charity and otherwise. But as Designs of so extensive a nature have seldom been completed (even in the most wealthy Kingdoms) unless by the united generosity of many private Benefactors and often by the particular Bounty of Sovereign Princes, the Petitioners are persuaded it will not be thought strange that all the power of individuals in young Colonies should be found inadequate to such a work, and that the Governor and Trustees of the said Seminaries should have the just apprehension of seeing all that they have raised for their support speedily exhausted and an end put to their usefulness, unless they can procure assistance from distant places, as the expense of each of them is four hundred pounds sterling yearly above their Income ; the defraying of which would require an additional Capital of above Six Thousand Pounds Sterling a piece. That, under such circumstances, at a time when the signal success of his Majesty's Arms in America opens a new field for the advancement of Divine Knowledge there and renders the Design of such Seminaries more peculiarly important, it was hoped that Benefactors would not be wanting to give that kind assistance to pious Foundations in his Majesty's Colonies, which has always been so readily done upon every Design of the like kind in these Kingdoms, and seldom denied to Protestant Brethren even in foreign Nations. That the Petitioners being accordingly appointed to solicit and receive such assistance, and being sensible that the highest satisfaction which his Majesty's known piety and humanity can derive from the Prosperity and Extension of his Dominions will be to see these advantages improved for enlarging the sphere of Protestantism, increasing the number of good Men, and

bringing barbarous Nations within the Pale of Religion and Civil life, they are, therefore, encouraged humbly to pray, That his Majesty will be pleased to direct that a ROYAL BRIEF may be passed under the Great Seal of Great Britain, authorizing them to make a Collection throughout the Kingdom from house to house, for the joint and equal benefit of the two Seminaries, and Bodies Corporate aforesaid. His Majesty taking the same into his Royal Consideration, and being willing to give encouragement to every Design that may tend to the good of his Colonies and the advancement of Religion and Virtue, is graciously pleased with the advice of his Privy Council, to order as it is hereby ordered.

That the R't Honorable the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain do cause Letters Patent to be prepared and passed under the great seal for the Collections of the Charity of all well-disposed persons for the Assistance and Benefit of the said two Seminaries, according to the prayer of the said Petition.

W. SHARPE.

Dr. Smith now, on the 18th of August, enclosing a copy of the order above given, writes, near midnight, with delight to his Trustees in Philadelphia:

This is a very ample and honourable Order, and as the Chancellor was present at its being granted, there is no doubt but he will comply with it; and it shall be presented to him on Monday for that end. After that Dr. Jay will take one end of the Kingdom and I the other, and as each shall apply in the name of both Colleges, and people be under no fear of second applications, they will undoubtedly give more than could be got for any one of them, and thus both be gainers in the end; for neither of us could on our own separate plan have had time to go through half the Kingdom. Jay is an active and sensible young fellow. It is now late at night and I must break off abruptly to reach the mail.

August 15th, he writes further:

The Archbishop's goodness to our College has been so great that I beg he may have a handsome address of Thanks under all your hands and the public Seal. My Letters will furnish you with instances enough of his condescension and kindness, which are to be acknowledged. Dr. Chandler deserves the same mark of your regard, and particularly for his letter to Lord Bute, so very kind in behalf of our College, as well as particularly kind in respect of his recommendation of me; both of which have produced the best effects.

All things now seem to go smooth; only do not let your expectations be too high. It is agreed that the names of every Contributor be published here before we leave England.

The Brief was issued on the 19th of August. With many of those fine words of preamble which Edmund Burke describes as familiar to the College of Heralds, and come from "a pen dipped in the milk of human kindness," it authorized certain great persons (if I remember), the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Lord Bishops of Winchester, of London, and of St. David's; the Hon. Thomas Penn, Esquire; the Reverend Samuel Chandler, Doctor of Divinity; Barlow Trecothick, Esquire; Sir James Jay, Knight; and William Smith, Doctor of Divinity, etc., or *any* five of these persons, to appoint agents "to collect funds from door to door," for the joint benefit of the Colleges of New York and Philadelphia.

We can well conceive with what emotions the breast of good Dr. Smith was inspired as, at a later day, he left the precincts of royalty carrying in his hand that fair, white parchment, with its gold and rubricated letters, the rich scarlet ribbon hanging smoothly from its folds, with the royal seal dangling from the ribbon ends.

But possession of the precious document was not all that the case needed. In itself it was what the lawyers call *damnosa hereditas*. "The expense of the Brief," writes the Doctor, "will be £100, the Chancery Fees being high; which, with former expenses, I fear will leave little above £300 of the cash I sent Mr. Coleman an account of by Mr. Franklin. . . . Mr. Penn's £500 sterling is to be paid in Philadelphia." The object, therefore, now was to make the Brief operative. The original, of course, could not be sent to each one of the eleven thousand five hundred clergymen of every grade in England. The plan of the thing had no such purpose. Briefs have a purpose of their own, as well as a purpose for charities. The plan is to send a stamped copy to each of the eleven thousand five hundred of the clergy who are to make the appeal under it. The stamps bring as much to the Crown as the Brief sometimes does to the charity. Besides this, "Brief Layers" follow all Briefs. The American reader will, perhaps, hardly know what a "Brief Layer" is. He does not know that it would be thought beneath the dignity of a person holding a Royal Brief, especially of a Doctor of Divinity and a Knight, to perform any details incident to it himself. All that must be done by "Brief Layers." They were now, August 24th, 1762, appointed by Dr.

Smith and Sir James Jay, two of the commissioners to whom the Brief was directed. We give the Power of Attorney: *

WHEREAS, upon the joint Petition of us, William Smith and James Jay, the former of us Agent for the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, and the latter Agent for the Governors of the College of the Province of New York, in the city of New York in America; his Majesty with the advice of his most hon^{ble} privy council has been graciously pleased to grant his Royal Brief or Letters Patents under the great Seal for Collecting the Charity of well-disposed Persons from House to House throughout this Kingdom for the joint and equal Benefit of the said two Seminaries of Learning and Bodies Corporate: Now, Know all men by these Presents that we do hereby authorise and appoint JOHN BYRD, JOHN HALL and JOHN STEVENSON, in the Borough of Stafford, in the County of Stafford, Gentlemen, to cause a sufficient number of the said Briefs or Copies thereof to be printed, and to give a Receipt for the same as the Law directs; and when the said Copies shall be Signed by us or some one of us, we do further appoint the said Persons to see them stamped as the Law directs: and to pay all the Fees for such stamping, and also the expence of the Letters Patents and of the printed Copies thereof, & to bring us an account of the same as soon as possible, in order to have it settled and allowed by us: and we further appoint the said John Byrd, John Hall, & John Stevenson to lay down and dispose the said Briefs in all Parishes & Places where the same by the said Letters Patents shall be required to be laid, and to take up and receive back the same together with the money thereupon collected, and to pay the same to the Trustees therein named for the uses aforesaid; deducting out of the same the sum of Six Pence a Parish chapel or meeting for every Brief duly certified and endorsed, which shall by them be collected and received back from all Places (except within the city of London & weekly Bills of mortality and therein the sum of twelve Pence) as the full salary and Charge for Laying down, collecting and receiving back the said Briefs, with the money thereupon collected and the Payment of the same to the Trustees and all other Trouble of management whatsoever. In witness whereof we have hereunto set and subscribed our Hands this twenty-fourth of August, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two.

WILLIAM SMITH,
JAMES JAY.

Dr. Smith now lost no time in beginning his work. While the Brief Layers were performing the mechanical parts of the work, he was at the more difficult work of exercising influence. The

* From the original, in the possession of William Kent Gilbert, M. D.

following letter shows with what vigor and effectiveness and at the same time with what tact, good breeding and delicacy he was trying to carry forward his schemes :

Dr. Smith to the Archbishop of York.

LONDON, 26th August, 1762.

MY LORD : Having by the kind interposition of the Arch^b of Canterbury obtained a joint Brief for our College & that of New York, attended with Signal Marks of the Royal Favor and Bounty, it is our duty to consider by what means the said brief may be made the most effectual for our Purpose ; 'especially as two objects are united in one, and the Sum which we want very considerable. If the Clergy should interest themselves no more than in the common run of Briefs, and raise us only the common sum of £800 or perhaps £1000, this, when divided, would go but a short way. But on the contrary, if they could be induced to take the matter to heart, & improve the arguments suggested by the Brief, it is hoped the Business might be made very popular, and the Collection Considerable. Now, my Lord, if it could any way be notified to the Clergy that the Design of this Collection is particularly approved by our good Archbishops & that your Grace considers the Encouragement of these American Seminaries, as particularly connected with your pious and noble Designs for the Propagation of the Gospel there, I am well persuaded it would be the means of doubling our Collection. Thus much, if only annexed by way of Testimonial or Certificate to a short printed account of the two Colleges, and dispersed along with the Brief, which the undertakers promised to do, would answer our end. The enclosed Clause from our Brief shews that there is no Impropriety in this ; though we do not desire any Thing for particular Dioceses, nor by way of Injunction or Command to the Clergy ; but only something to notify an Approbation of the Design by your Grace as above. For we have not time to apply to each particular Bishop upon the plan pointed out in the clause, before the season of laying down the Brief, which will commence in a few weeks.

Permit me, my Lord, just to hint one Thing more which the Secretary of Briefs told me ; viz.—That the enclosed Clause has only been inserted in such Briefs as are given by orders of Council, for promoting & preserving the Protestant Religion in Foreign Parts & where the Collection is all over the Kingdom ; so that there is no Danger that any Thing done in this affair can be drawn into Precedent to give Trouble in future Briefs granted on the common Plan for Losses within the Kingdom, rebuilding Churches, &c. In short, all that we humbly request is only such a Certificate in favour of our Colleges as we should have ventured to ask, even if we had proceeded without a Brief, on a common printed case of our wants. These things are most humbly and

dutifully submitted to your Grace, which I have taken the Liberty to do, after having just come from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was pleased to say he would write to your Grace on this subject, and that there might be no Impropriety in my sending a few Lines at the same time. With the utmost Gratitude to your Grace for your past Kindness, and a sincere Desire in all Things to prove myself not unworthy of its Continuance,

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.*

To His Grace, the Lord Archbishop of York.

By the time that the Brief Layers had stamped and addressed their copies of the Brief, Dr. Smith had prepared for himself and Sir James Jay a letter to be sent with each copy; a letter explaining more particularly than did the Brief itself the object of the collection, and urging upon the clergyman to whom the copy of the Brief was sent, the importance of his aiding it by his personal influence and, where practicable, by preaching a sermon having special reference to it. I give this fine document, even though it iterate somewhat—as was unavoidable—thoughts already expressed in other like documents by the pen of the great Provost.

To all the worthy and Reverend the Clergy and Ministers of the Gospel into whose hands his Majesty's Royal Brief, for the Colleges of Philadelphia and New York, shall come:

LONDON, 9th Sept., 1762.

REVEREND AND WORTHY GENTLEMEN: As you will herewith receive his Majesty's Royal Brief or Letter Patent, for making a collection from House to House among the People under your Ministry, for the two Colleges lately established in the Cities of New York and Philadelphia, we thought it our Duty to submit to your perusal such further account of the Design and Usefulness of these Seminaries, as might enable you, upon due information, to give them that Encouragement, which we are persuaded your Christian zeal will induce you to bestow upon every Scheme for the advancement of Religion and useful Knowledge.

At a time when this happy Nation is exulting in a Series of the most Important Successes, and hath given Protection and even Increase to her Dominions in the remotest Parts of the Earth; while all are ready to consider our distant Colonies and Acquisitions as an inexhaustible Source of future Wealth and Grandeur to the Public, and think no toil or Treasure too much for their Preservation, there is one View more important still, in which we know you will delight to consider them, namely, as promising

* From the original draft among Dr. Smith's MSS.

to become an immense Addition to the Kingdom of Christ, and to the Protestant Church and Interest upon Earth. And, indeed, unless they are cultivated in this latter View, it is to be feared, they will scarce answer our Expectations in the former. It would be needless to enumerate to you the lamentable Consequences of leaving a vast and increasing Multitude of our fellow-Subjects, in a remote corner of the Earth, a prey to Ignorance, open to the Corruptions of a vigilant Enemy, and continually exposed to false Notions of Religion and Government for want of due Opportunities of Instruction in those that are true. Liberty does not deign to dwell but where her fair companion Knowledge is; nor can government be administered but where the principles of Justice, Virtue, Sobriety, and Obedience for the Lord's Sake are upheld.

It is of the utmost consequence, therefore, to this Nation that our Colonies should be made an Object of Civil and Religious Culture; and that all necessary Knowledge should not only be propagated among our own people there, but also among the Heathen around them, in order to root out their Notions of Barbarity, Murder, Rapine, Cruelty and Revenge, which are so fatal to us on every difference with them. Without due care in this respect, these immense Countries can never be rendered of full use to these Kingdoms. Their advantages of Soil, Climate and Situation, would not be improved for the Extension of our Commerce. They would be in danger of becoming not only a very unprofitable, but even an unwieldy and dishonorable an Appendage to this Monarchy, and, in the End, be so far from enlarging the Church of Christ and giving fresh strength to the Protestant Interest, as to fall perhaps into the opposite Scale of Superstition and Idolatry.

But it is for the honour of this Nation that, even in an Age wherein Christianity hath lost much of its Influence on the Lives of Men, several publick Societies have been formed, and noble contributions made, in order to prevent these fatal Evils, to support Religion in our Colonies, and extend its sacred Influence to the very ends of the Earth. Much has been done by these truly pious Bodies, and particularly by that venerable Society incorporated for this Purpose. But neither of them had proceeded far in their work, before they found the harvest to be indeed great, but the Labourers few; that it would be impossible, with the small encouragement in their power, ever to induce a sufficient number of able Instructors to go from these Kingdoms to supply the growing Calls of our Colonies; and that if there were better opportunities of instruction there, more of the natives would be fitted for this Work; which they would undertake with many advantages above such as go from hence. And therefore these Societies have always been desirous to promote useful Seminaries of Learning in the Colonies as one of the surest Foundations for the Support and Advancement of true Christianity in them.

Now no Institutions can be better calculated to answer these good purposes, or better deserve publick Regard, than the Colleges above-mentioned. They are placed in two of the most important Cities of America, in Central and populous Provinces; and being intended for the benefit of a very mixt body of Men, they are founded on an enlarged bottom, and put under the most unexceptionable Direction. The Chief Officers of Government; the Magistrates, the Clergy, and other principal gentlemen, are concerned in the management of them. And it is truly edifying to behold, in this Instance, to what an amiable Height the divine Virtues of Love and good Understanding may be carried by Men, tho' otherwise differing in pursuits and opinions, when engaged in any great and publick work, actuated by the Christian Principles, and blest with an enlarged and liberal Turn of Mind.

Near four hundred Youths are continually educated in them; of whom about Sixty are intended for the learned Professions, and particularly to furnish a Supply of Ministers and Teachers for the different Societies of Christians in these parts. The Remainder are chiefly designed for Merchandize, Trade, Navigation, and the Mechanic Professions; and the Academy and lower Schools in the Philadelphia Seminary are wholly intended for raising up Youth in this way. Belonging to this Seminary there is also a Charity School for eighty Boys and forty girls; as there is likewise at New York a Charity School for near the same number, supported at the Expense of those who are the chief Contributors to the College there. Thus many excellent youths, who would otherwise have been destitute of all opportunities of a sufficient Instruction, are continually rendered useful in both Provinces; and, among those of more enlarged Circumstances, a far greater Number than ever was known at any former Period, for acquiring the first Rudiments of learning there, have been induced and enabled to finish their Education in this Kingdom at the Universities and Inns of Court.

But a great Check has been given to these Undertakings by the Ravages of a destructive War, which laid waste a considerable part of both Provinces, increased the Expense of these Institutions, dispirited many of their friends, and forbid them to expect any speedy assistance from their own Legislatures, on account of the vast load of Public Debt accumulated for the Defence of the Country. They have, therefore, been severally obliged to have recourse to the known Benevolence and Charity of the Friends of Religion and Learning in these Kingdoms; and have joined both applications in one, in order that from the importance of the objects, pious and well-disposed persons may be induced to contribute more liberally without fear of future solicitations for any thing of the like Kind from that part of the World.

These things, therefore, having in the first place been represented to our most pious and excellent Sovereign, he was graciously pleased out of his princely Zeal for the advancement of Religion and useful

Knowledge in every part of his extensive Dominions, to order his Letters Patent for making a Public Collection for the joint Benefit of these Seminaries, accompanied with a Royal Bounty of £600 as an example to his good Subjects. And accordingly the two worthy Archbishops, such of the Bishops as we have found in town, with sundry persons of Eminence, Clergy, and others, of Different Denominations, have made a beginning by most liberal Contributions, and have afforded us well grounded Hopes of a due Measure of further success.

As to you, Gentlemen, who are the Ministers of God's Word, and always foremost in every Design for the Instruction of Mankind, we can well depend that this so laudable an undertaking will meet with your particular Countenance and assistance. The kind Providence of God seems to have great things in view, by calling the British Nation to the Possession of the most important part of America; and the greatest of all the Glories that can accrue to this Kingdom from a Dominion so widely extended, will be to make use of the opportunities thereby given her for the advancement of divine Knowledge, and to be found a chosen Instrument in these latter days for calling New and heretofore unexplored Countries, to the enjoyment of everything that can exalt Humanity, at a time when so many of the old have fallen again into their original Barbarity. Should we once become indifferent in this respect, and begin to consider our vast American Settlements as given to us merely for advancing our Secular Interests, and not for enlarging the Sphere of Protestantism and increasing the number of good men, we may have reason to fear that Divine Providence would leave us to ourselves, and raise up worthier Instruments for accomplishing his own eternal purposes of Love towards those so long benighted and forlorn regions.

But, blessed be God! it is yet no part of the Character of this Nation to be indifferent to works of Charity and public Spirit; and in this light, we trust, the present important undertaking for the Benefit of these infant Seminaries, will have a just claim to be considered. Here, indeed, those who love to do good and to lay Foundations for Posterity, will find ample Scope for their Generosity; and we know that in you, Gentlemen, they will have kind and ready prompters.

What we would in a more especial manner pray of you is, that, together with your good offices to make our Brief as effectual as possible, in regard to the pious purposes for which it is granted, you would likewise give it all the dispatch your convenience will admit of. And we hope our particular circumstances will be our plea for this humble request, being at three thousand miles distance from the places of our abode, and obliged at great expense to our Constituents, to wait the issue of this business.

We should likewise be glad, if it were convenient, to have the names of our Benefactors returned with the Briefs, that they may be perpetuated with gratitude, in these Seminaries, to the latest generations.

Praying that every Happiness may attend you, as the Reward of all your pious Labours, we are, with the utmost Respect,

Reverend and worthy Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and most humble Servants,

WILLIAM SMITH,

JAMES JAY.

With the stamped copy of the Brief and a copy of this letter sent as *avant coureurs*, Dr. Smith and Sir James Jay set off from London on the 29th of September, 1763, to perform their work; Dr. Smith preparing to make a journey to the north of England and to Scotland, his native land, while Sir James went to scour the south and western plains.*

We now let the Provost and the University tell their own story. They both tell it charmingly in a sequence of letters unfortunately broken in parts, but still held sufficiently together to present to the intelligent reader a narrative of fulness and order.

CHAPTER XXII.

TRUSTEES TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH TO TRUSTEES—DR. SMITH TO DR. PETERS—
DAVID GARRICK TO DR. SMITH AND MR. JAY—PERMISSION TO RETURN
HOME—DR. PETERS TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH VISITS THE KING IN PERSON
AT ST. JAMES—THE UNITED CHURCHES—BISHOP OF LONDON TO VESTRY—
DR. SMITH TO VESTRY OF CHRIST CHURCH—DR. PETERS TO DR. SMITH.

The Trustees of the College to Dr. Smith.

PHILADELPHIA, January 11th, 1763.

SIR: The President has communicated to us such parts of your Letters as give an Account of your proceedings in the Business committed to your charge, and by these it appears to us that you have acted with great care and judgment in the several Difficulties that have occurred. Since Dr. Jay was sent over to solicit contributions in favour of the New York College, and an opposition between the two Seminaries might

* The 2d edition of his sermons were published in London soon after he left that city, but not for sale, as I think; since all the copies which I have ever met with—and they are several—contain a Presentation; and as I find no mention in his cash account (which is particular) of having paid either for any printing of the edition, or for particular copies, I am led to believe that they were printed by the liberality of Mr. Penn.

have hurt both, we very much approve of your agreeing with him to join the two Charities together, and to make a joint application to his Majesty for a special Brief for the benefit of both.

The Birth of the Prince gave a favourable opportunity for doing it, and we are obliged to you for pushing the Brief in the Council that was called on that joyful occasion. As we have been so fortunate as to obtain such a Brief, we do not in the least doubt but by the Continuance of your unwearied diligence and personal attendance at the principal places where the Collections will be made, all sorts of people will be duly informed of the usefulness of the Charity, and be Spirited up to give generously.

We would not therefore have you to think of coming home one moment sooner than the expiration of the Time limited in the Brief for the collections. We are sorry you will be so long absent from your Family, but we hope the same zeal which moved you to undertake this Business, will animate you to continue in it as long as you can be of any service, and never to remit your personal solicitations wherever they can turn to account.

You must be sensible that if the Collections be left to the Management of the Parish Officers in the ordinary Course of business, little can be expected from the sort of people who think these matters burdensome, and hurry them over anyhow so as they can rid their hands of them. This makes it necessary for you to attend yourself wherever you can, and where you cannot we must recommend it to you to engage some good person of interest who lives upon the spot where the Collection is to be made to attend for you, and to take care that the Charities be carefully collected and no persons left unsolicited.

As Mess^{rs}. Barclay did not choose their names should be made publick you did well to take their advice as to the Gentlemen you have employed in their places, they being Bankers of established character.

We desire you will continue to give us full accounts of your proceedings by every opportunity that offers, and please to let us know particularly what success you had in your private applications before you joined with Dr. Jay, and as there is very little Money in the Treasurer's hands, the sums paid on account of Lotteries being mostly disposed of either in the payment of Salaries or in the new buildings, which are near finished, we desire to know when we may draw and for what sum.

Whenever we receive your Accounts of what is done, we shall write to you on all points that we shall find to be material, and we desire you may not return till you have our express orders for so doing. We thank you for the unwearied pains you have taken in this business and we hope you will persevere to the end. Wishing you the enjoyment of your health and success, we are

Your sincere friends, &c.

[Signed by a Committee of the Trustees.]

It will be remembered that Dr. Smith, immediately on getting the Fiat for the Royal Brief, had written to the Trustees, saying that both the Archbishop of Canterbury's and the Rev. Dr. Chandler's goodness to the College had been so great, that a handsome vote of thanks ought to be sent to both of them under the hands of the Trustees and the public seal of the College.* This was now done: and no doubt in a genteel and elegant way; as Dr. Peters, the President of the Board of Trustees, was capable of doing it. We find in the minutes of the 11th of January, 1763, an entry as follows:

At a meeting of the Trustees, the President was ordered to affix the lesser Seal of the Academy to the Addresses to the Archbishop and Dr. Chandler and to sign them in behalf of all the Trustees, and to enclose them, with their letter to the Proprietor likewise signed by the President in their behalf, in Dr. Smith's Letter, with Directions to him to present them to each person in the very best and most respectful manner.

We resume our correspondence:

Dr. Smith to Trustees.

April 12th, 1763.

Since my letters by Mr. Duché I have only wrote once, having been but five days in London since the end of September, as you will see by the following short account of what I have been doing. But as I believe the ship by which I did write, although she left this place six weeks ago, has not yet left the Channel, I shall begin as far back as September 29th.† On that day, which was as soon as we could get all the eleven thousand five hundred Briefs signed and stamped, I set out for Edinburgh, and from thence went 100 miles farther north to see my aged and good Father. As my business urged I was obliged to do so much violence to myself as to stay only a few days with him. This act of duty I hope the Trustees will not think was throwing away their time. If they should, it is the only fortnight, or indeed the only moment I have lost to them. But it cannot well be called loss. One gentleman of that neighbourhood, Sir Arch^d Grant, gave ten pounds sterling to the Design, and will collect somewhat more for us. The University of Aberdeen also propose doing something. When at Edinburgh I waited on D^r. Robertson, D^r. Wishart, D^r. Cumming, D^r. Jordain and others. They were well disposed to serve us, but think their joint Interest, tho' at the Head of the Church of Scotland, will not be able next assembly, at least, to procure us a National Collection. For they have had three public collections for America within

* See *supra*, p. 395.

† A. D. 1762.

these few years and one of these is now on foot for the conversion of the Indians, on the Petition of a Society lately erected by Law at Boston. Another, viz., M^r. Beaty's, is but just finished. However, the Gentlemen above mentioned are to write to me on this head, and readily agreed to countenance a private collection, which may produce almost as much as the public one, if that could not be obtained. Provost Drummond, who is the most popular Magistrate they have ever had, will give his countenance to the same. D^r. Morgan is now collecting somewhat occasionally for us, and M^r. Inglis will join him; D^r. Alison will not lose a moment in procuring Letters for the Scots Clergy, whether we apply publickly or privately; and let them be here in April with your Instruction on this Head. I fear the College of New York may be some Impediment in getting the public collection in Scotland; for they have instructed Dr. Jay to apply also, and as the King has joined us here, I cannot separate them in Scotland, if the application be made now. In my mind it might be delayed for a year or two, and made afterwards by a petition sent from the Trustees at Philadelphia without sending anybody over to solicit for it. Let these things be immediately considered, and an answer sent me to the whole.

At Glasgow I found the same encouragement as at Edinburgh among the Clergy, who professed themselves pleased with the Catholic Plan of having Professors, &c., of different Persuasions, and told me that the Party in the Church of Scotland to whom that would be an objection were not many. But I would not stay to make any particular collection either here or at Edinburgh, only prepared matters. My being detained so long at London before I could set out for the North, and being obliged to be at Oxford in November, hampered me much in time. However, it was necessary on account of the success of the Brief to make the Tour. On my return, I visited all the principal Clergy in the Towns on or near the great Road, and wrote Letters to others. In places where it was thought my presence would assist the Collection, we agreed to delay it till March, when I promised to go down again, especially to Yorkshire. In places of less note I left it to the Clergyman himself to read the Brief, and make the most of it, after having waited on some leading persons and engaged their assistance to make the Collection. Thus, in about six weeks from my setting out I got back to London to meet Dr. Jay, who had taken a like tour southward on the same plan. Neither of us could stay to do much more than put the Brief in a fair way; and that end has been answered very effectually. After two or three days' stay in London we set out again for Oxford, thinking it a compliment due to them to be both there. From Oxford we went to Gloucester, and to the manufacturing Towns in that County: Dr. Jay taking part of them and myself the other part, so as to meet at Bath, which we did a day or two before Christmas, and then proceeded to London, where the Briefs are now to

be read in those full months—January and February. Bristol we have delayed to the end of February, and Bath afterwards. Dr. Jay will go thither while I go to the North in March. This is a general sketch of what we have done and are to do. To copy the particulars of our Journal would be taking time from business of more importance: for we now find before us near forty Letters unanswered, and a continual attendance on the Clergy of London necessary; every one of whom (being near 200) we must see within this fortnight, and before they can read the Brief, which we are to give them with our own hand. Many principal people are also to be waited on before the Brief is read in their particular Parish, because we hope they will give more to one of ourselves than to a Brief which some persons have resolved never to contribute to on account of the abuses which they conceive are committed by the Brief-Layers. But we have taken care that nothing of this can happen in our case.

From the above account you will see that neither our Plan nor our time would permit us to collect much money, yet we have not been unsuccessful even in this respect. I shall subjoin an account of what we have got since our schemes were united even amidst all the hurry in travelling, chiefly for the sake of the Brief.

Collected by Dr. Jay, from our parting, Sept. 29th, to our meeting again, Nov. 20th, per list entered in his book and in mine and reciprocally signed.	£121	12	6
Collected by Dr. Smith, during the aforesaid period.....	187	6	0
From Nov. 25th to Dec. 25th collected as follows, viz.,			
Collected jointly from the University of Oxford.....	161	18	0
Collected jointly in the City of Gloucester.....	35	16	0
Collected by Dr. Smith among the Clothiers at Stoude, where he preached and had the Brief read.....	49	11	6
N. B.—This was given independent of what the Vicar collected by the Brief, which made about £15 more, to be returned in the usual way to the Brief Collection, at the Spring Visitation.			
Collected by Dr. Smith at Uley, Dwelsey and Weston Underedge, other Cloathing Towns independent of the Brief.....	65	6	6
Collected by Dr. Jay at Hamton, Tadbury and Painswick.....	33	4	6
Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales through Lord Boston and Sir Charles Hardy.....	100	0	0
In the whole.....	£754	15	0

Dr. Smith to Dr. Peters.

LONDON, 24th April, 1763.

DEAR SIR: I received the kind Letter which the Trustees did me the honour to send me, and shall be attentive to its contents. At present, however, for the same reason mentioned to you in the beginning of the Letter relative to your own business, I must defer giving any very particular answer to it.

The Addresses of the Trustees to the Arch Bishop, Mr. Penn, and Dr. Chandler, were delivered, and kindly received. I shall leave this place by the 12th of May at farthest, having kept back the Collection at York, Liverpool, and some other considerable Towns. From thence I shall cross over to Ireland, and try to get away for America by Sep^r 1st, for I will by no means take a Winter passage. The Trustees may depend that I shall leave nothing undone that requires my presence, and shall rather stay another Winter, how irksome and inconvenient soever, than desert the good Cause which I have carried on so far with success.

I shall, before I leave London, give you particulars of everything. At present our Collection goes on well in the several parishes of this City, and I take the usual pains to get proper Preachers. In a most divided Kingdom, by a happy Fate, the leaders of all sides have been induced to contribute. We have in our List the names of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt; and both Universities have been liberal. From Lady Curzon, who happened to be one of my audience when I preached at Curzon Street Chapel (commonly called Mayfair Chapel), I received one hundred pounds. My friend, Mr. Dawkins, readily gave fifty pounds, and Col. Barre has been kind in introducing me to sundry persons.

But you must not think that all this produces very great sums. We are, by the Brief, entirely prevented from applying to the Middling rank of people, for if we were to go to them (which indeed is hardly possible in any large degree) none of the Parish Ministers would be at the pains to carry round the Brief; and then, as to people of Fortune who can afford something extraordinary, it is almost impossible to get at them, or to get anything from them, but by particular Interest—they are so harassed with an Infinity of Charities; and then when they are disposed to give, you must call twenty times perhaps before the matter is finished, so you see the Brief must greatly interfere with all our private attempts to collect, not only as barring our Applications to all that set of people who could be most readily got at, but likewise furnishing others with an excuse to put us off by saying they have given or will give to the Brief.

On Summing up my book I find that, including Mr. Penn's benefaction, I have seventeen hundred pounds to the Credit of our College without the Brief Money, our share of which will certainly amount to as much more, so that if our Share of what may be got in Ireland should be six hundred pounds, we shall thus get £4,000, which is the most that ever I flattered myself could be done, even when I thought to have the whole Kingdom to myself alone, and therefore I cannot but be thankful to Providence. Of the £1,700 already coming to our share, £500 is ordered by Mr. Penn to be paid to the Trustees, £650 are in Mr. Barclay's hands, having paid him £100 yesterday, since he wrote to advise you of what he had received; £25 I paid at Dr. Alison's

desire, for which I enclose the Draught drawn on him, and about the same sum I paid for M^r. Duché. The remainder, £500, is partly at Cambridge, partly in Benefactions sent to our different Bankers, not taken out of their hands, and partly going to my expenses, and the expense of our Brief and printed papers. This Sketch, I hope, will suffice till I have more leisure.

I wonder you should desire to know what I collected before D^r. Jay came over. I sent an exact list of it to M^r. Coleman by M^r. Franklin, and he received it.

On Wednesday next we are to have a Benefit Oratorio at Drury Lane, and M^r. Beard leaves his own house to perform for us at the other; and will give a Benefit himself next Winter, but could not do it now on account of a week lost to him, at His House, viz.: Covent Garden.

M^r. Garrick has been exceedingly kind in the matter, and gave his house at first asking, and was sorry that the season was so far advanced, and that he had no night disengaged sooner.* The principal performers, Vocal and Instrumental, serve gratis, and we are favoured with the Boys from the Chapel Royal, and every other mark of distinction. M^r. Tyers even put off the opening of Vaux Hall, which was fixed on Wednesday next, in order to favour us.

We now find an entry in the Minutes of the Trustees as follows, indicative of their continued and increasing confidence in Dr. Smith's good judgment, as well as in his disinterested zeal for the interests of the College.

May 23d, 1763.

At a meeting of the President and Trustees of the College a letter from D^r. Smith was read, desiring that he might be left at liberty to return home when he should think proper. It was agreed to withdraw that part of our last letter which directed him to stay in England till he should have our further orders, and to leave him at his liberty as desired, after consulting with M^r. Penn and such Trustees as shall happen to be in England.

* It is possible that Dr. Smith may have taken letters of introduction to Mr. Garrick, and sent them to him, with a note indicating a purpose to call on him. I find among Dr. Smith's papers a note (undated) thus:

"Mr. Garrick presents his Respects to Dr. Smith and Dr. Jay, and will not give them ye trouble of calling in Southampton street, as his being at home is quite uncertain on account of his business at the Theatre, but Mr. Garrick will take ye first opportunity of paying his respects to Them at the News Gate."

A. B. C.

To the Rev. Dr. Smith and Dr. Jay, at the News Gate, corner of Duke's Court, London.

In May, 1763, Dr. Smith writes to the Trustees, desiring them to send him an Address to the King and to Lord Bute. In writing he tells them that the New York people had shown themselves wiser than ours of Philadelphia. *Their* agent had brought such Addresses as Dr. Smith now asked for. He adds "what," says the Provost Stillé, "is just as true and apposite now as it was a hundred years ago:"

I know not how it is that *our* College, as a body, is so diffident and apt on the first motion to beat down any proposal that has anything great in it. It was thought once that we were too little an object for national notice here. Time and a fair trial have taught us better on that head. Had I at first desired an Address from the Trustees to the King, I think it would not have been granted. Yet a College of less note set out with such an Address. Public bodies should have no shame of this sort; I speak not this to blame what is past, but rather to persuade you to lift up your heads, and rather fail in great attempts than be found too diffident.

Dr. Peters now writes in form again:

Dr. Peters to Dr. Smith.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th May, 1763.

SIR: I have laid before the Trustees the Letters and Papers received from you since my public Letter of the 11th January last*, which was wrote by their order and in their Behalf. These Letters, which bear date the 8th of January, 12th of February, and first of March, have been considered,† and I am directed by the Trustees to return you their Thanks and to acquaint you that they much approve the several measures you have taken in the business committed to your care, and rejoice in the success that is likely to attend them. They are sensible of the indefatigable pains you have taken in that infinite variety of private solicitations that you have found necessary to make, and cannot but be pleased to observe the easy access you have to persons of the first Rank and Influence in the kingdom, and how well you have availed yourself of this Indulgence. It is with particular pleasure they take notice of the zeal wherewith so many eminent members of the Church, excited by your judicious and warm address sent along with the Royal Brief, have served this Institution. They desire that as occasion serves you will not fail to return the hearty Thanks of the Trustees to every worthy person, who has been in any wise serviceable to you in this Charity. Was it possible for them to distinguish them according to their respective Merits they would spare no pains to do it. They think themselves

* *Supra*, p. 313.

† None of these letters have come to my hands.—ED.

particularly obliged to Dr. Brown for his most excellent Sermon, and thank you for the extract from it.

Agreeable to your request the Trustees have herewith sent Addresses to his Majesty and Lord Bute under the Seal of the Corporation, which they desire may be presented by you with a due observance of all the Forms used on these Occasions, and they hope and desire such of the Trustees as can conveniently be got together will accompany you. They thought it would be expected from them to express their own Sentiments of the Royal Goodness, otherwise they would have instructed and authorized you to have done it for them.

If there be anything else that occurs to you as necessary or becoming the Trustees to do in order to testify their Respect and Gratitude to their Benefactors, you may be assured, on the least information of it from you, every thing of this sort will be done on their part and transmitted as soon as opportunity serves.

The Trustees observe what you say of the good disposition you found in several of the Clergy and Gentlemen in Scotland in your letter of the 8th January, which did not arrive till the 18th March. Mr. Inglis & Dr. Morgan will be able to advise you whether it is best to proceed now to ask private Charities, or to stay as you think it would be better, till some time hence. Whatever you do, Mr. Elliott can be of great assistance, and will we doubt not cheerfully give it, and furnish all necessary Letters and Recommendations from his Relations, who are numerous and have great Interest. Dr. Alison has been consulted, and as the time of the Session of the General Assembly is over for this year, and indeed he thinks with you that little would be got at this time on a General Brief, he advises private Sollicitations, and has sent you some Letters to his Friends among the Clergy, which you may use or not as you shall think best.

You have mentioned in your last Letter that the Bishops and other persons of distinction in Ireland would assist a Collection in that Kingdom. If after you have done all you can in England you chuse to try your Address with the People of that Kingdom who are noted for their generosity and public Spirit, it will be a further Service done to the Academy and very agreeable to the Trustees.

They are not insensible of the inconveniences that must arise to their own affairs as well as to yours in desiring as they do in mine of the 11th January that you would not come away till you have their express orders for so doing: and therefore do cheerfully consent according to your desire to withdraw this instruction, being well assured from what you have done, and the abundant Testimonies you have given of your great zeal to serve this Institution, that you will not leave England whilst there remains any thing material to do which will require your personal Attendance: so that you are now left to your own discretion and the advice of Mr. Penn and those who have shewn themselves such hearty

Friends to you and the Institution, to return home at what time and in what manner you please.

The Trustees have empowered me to draw for £500 Sterling on Messrs. Barclay for the use of the Academy, and the Bills go by this Conveyance, you will therefore take care that they be duly honoured.

I am, Rev. Sir, &c.,

RICHARD PETERS.

Fortified with his Address to the King, Dr. Smith was taken on the 5th of August by Mr. Penn to St. James'. Mr. Inglis, on the part of the Trustees, and Mr. Powel, on the part of the Graduates, also went. The King asked in a kind manner several questions about the College, and the success of the collection. He also received Mr. Inglis and Mr. Powel very graciously. Dr. Smith, in one of his letters, says that he had almost got Mr. Powel Knighted, but thought it would be idle, and be considered as a design to separate him from his old friends, the Quakers at home; a thought which the Doctor says he would scorn in regard to any of his pupils. Moreover, he did not know whether it would be agreeable to Mr. Powel; and, therefore, gave it to be understood that he desired no honors, but only to testify gratitude.

Notwithstanding the incessant demand made while in England upon his time and attention by the affairs of the College, Dr. Smith was ever ready to assist the church and his friends connected with it in America in every way that he could. On the 6th of December, 1762, Mr. Peters was elected Rector of the *United Churches*—as Christ Church and St. Peter's, now made one corporation, were called—in the place of Dr. Jenney, deceased. Mr. Sturgeon was also elected an assistant minister. A notification was immediately made of the fact to the Bishop of London, and certificates sent by the vestry from both the assistant ministers, Mr. Sturgeon and Mr. Duché, to show to his Lordship the propriety of the choice, and their satisfaction with it. In their letter to the Bishop of London, the vestry say:

We are very sensible that it is Mr. Peters' duty to wait upon your Lordship, and he is very desirous of doing it; but as we are circumstanced his absence would be very detrimental to our churches. Therefore, we most humbly request, since your Lordship's licence in the ordinary form cannot be obtained, that you would be graciously pleased to signify your approbation of our choice in any manner your Lordship shall think proper by a letter under your own hand and seal to Mr.

Peters himself. This practice, we can assure your Lordship, has heretofore been observed by your pious predecessors.

The vestry also asked the confirmation of Mr. Sturgeon's election to be assistant of the *United Churches*. After testimony to his devotion to his ministerial duties for fifteen years, "with sobriety and unwearied diligence, and to the utmost of his ability," they add that "he long since married a gentlewoman of this city, by whom he hath a large family of children, and his connexions are chiefly here: and here in our service he has spent the prime of his life." The letter of the vestry was sent by Mr. Peters to Dr. Smith, to be presented to the Bishop of London. There was sent with it a draft of a charter for the recently erected St. Peter's Church, hoping that it would be passed by Mr. Penn, then in London.

The Bishop of London, writing at Fulham, May 24th, 1763, in answer to the letters from the vestry, says:

From the credentials that have been transmitted to me . . . concerning Mr. Peters' moral Character, I can entertain no doubt but it is altogether unexceptionable, and therefore I do approve him to be your rector in the churches aforesaid. *I depend upon it Mr. Peters will embrace the first convenient opportunity of coming to England, and he will find me disposed to grant him a license in due form.*

Dr. Smith also writes, and, among other things, explains the Bishop of London's letter:

Dr. Smith to the Vestry of Christ Church.

LONDON, June 4th, 1763.

GENTLEMEN: The Rev. M^r. Peters, your rector, having done me the honor to transmit, through my hands, your address to the lord bishop of London, I lost no time in delivering the same, and have at length received his lordship's answer, most cordially approving your choice of M^r. Peters, and also giving his approbation of M^r. Sturgeon, in regard to his general good character, though he has not quite escaped his lordship's censure in the affair of the irregular marriage complained of. You will perceive that his lordship insists on it, as necessary both for M^r. Peters and M^r. Sturgeon to come to England, to be regularly licensed; and this the strict rules of the Church would require. But as one sea voyage of six thousand miles, backwards and forwards, for ordination, is already a burden under which our American Church groans grievously, his lordship is far from expecting that the clergy will increase this burden

by coming a second, third, or fourth time, as often as there may be any new bishop, or any new appointment for a clergyman himself. His lordship only thinks that, as this is regular, his insisting on it may help to place in a stronger light the inconveniency of our not enjoying on the spot the full rights of a Christian Church ; as to the good discipline of the clergy, and keeping up a succession in the holy office of the ministry ; and trusts that these and the like things may lead the administration here to consider seriously at last of this matter. But the time seems yet at a distance ; and indeed while things are so unsettled at home, we cannot be much thought of abroad.

I thought it necessary to be thus particular in regard to the paragraph in the bishop's letter ; and if you make any record of it in your books, as I doubt not you must, it will be extremely proper to enter likewise this explanation, or the substance of it, lest it should have a construction put upon it which it was not meant to bear, namely, as subjecting the American Clergy to new inconveniences, which might deter many from taking holy orders in our Church.

I have seen the draft of your charter, which is a good one ; only *I think power should have been reserved to the Vestry, if they should ever find it convenient, to constitute a separate head for each church, under such regulations as they might think proper. A time may come when they would find this a very necessary power.* A few words would have conveyed it to them, and if they should never have occasion to use it, it would have stood very innocently on the face of the charter. Mr. Penn seems well disposed to pass the charter and oblige the people of the Church, as soon as he has received his solicitor's advice as to the law parts of it. If any solicitation of mine be necessary, it shall not be wanting in this or any other business where I can serve the general cause of religion, or the particular one of your Church.

I rejoice to hear of the Christian harmony that subsists among you ; and am sure that under so good a man as Mr. Peters, and his assistants, it must continue to flourish ; which is the sincere prayer of,

Gentlemen, your affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

The part of this letter in italics is interesting as showing by how much forecast the mind of Dr. Smith was distinguished. For the want of such a power as he mentions, Christ Church and St. Peter's were long incommoded ; so much so that, at last, an appeal had to be made to the Legislature for relief. On the 5th of February, 1829—sixty-two years after the date of Dr. Smith's letter—the churches were erected into corporations with a separate head for each.

Dr. Peters to Dr. Smith.

PHILADELPHIA, June 1st, 1763.

DEAR SIR : Your public Letters are acknowledged in my public Letter and I have likewise wrote a very long private one. This is to return to you my Thanks for your kind services on receiving my Letter, acquainting you with my appointment to the Rectory of the Church. You will see by my other Letters on this Subject that I have placed an entire confidence in you, and did not chuse any other person should have any thing to do in my affairs. I know your trouble (which is already too great for any one man) will be much increased by this unforeseen choice of me. But I know, too, that affection makes all this easy ; and I can pronounce boldly that you have as much for me as one friend can have for another. I measure your Breast by my own towards you. Glad shall I be should we jointly be able to promote the real advancement of Religion and serve our Church, which wants people that will take pains as well as talk for her Interest. I do not chuse to say any more now, as you will give me a better opportunity on receiving your answer to my letters wrote along with the addresses and the Vestry's Letters to the Bishop of London. May the Almighty preserve your Health, Spirits and Zeal for the public good. I am, Dear Sir,

Your most Affectionate Humble Servant,

RICHARD PETERS.

TO REV^d. D^a. SMITH.

We are now in the month of September, 1763. Dr. Smith was getting ready to sail for Ireland, where he hoped to make some collections. We shall follow him thither ; but must first break the unity so far as to go for a single day—Commencement Day—to Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THIS YEAR—WATCHED AFTER BY DR. SMITH IN ENGLAND, AS MUCH AS IF HE HAD BEEN AT HOME—ACCOUNT OF IT IN THE LIVERPOOL PATERS.

THE reader will remember that in the address on Commencement Day of 1759, by the Provost* to the Governor (the Hon. James Hamilton), the Provost says :

* *Supra*, 211.

The time is approaching (and may it fast approach!) which will put an end to this tedious war; and with it, perhaps, under your prudent administration, to those domestic troubles which have been prejudicial to the Muses here.

The time did not *fast* approach. The war was the Seven Years' War. It began in 1756, and ended only in 1763. But it came at last; a joyful peace it was. Dr. Smith, with his capacity to turn incidents to advantage, availed himself of it for his Commencement of 1763. And to make the thing operate with its fullest value, he inserted in the *Liverpool Advertiser*, of July 21st of that year, a dialogue and ode on the peace, which had been transmitted to him from across the ocean. We give it from an original paper in the Historical Society of the State. The verses were from the pen of the Rev. Nathaniel Evans.

AN EXERCISE

CONTAINING A DIALOGUE AND ODE ON PEACE, PERFORMED AT THE PUBLIC COMMENCEMENT IN THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, MAY 17, 1763.

Oh Stretch thy Reign, fair PEACE! from Shore to Shore,
Till Conquest cease, and Slavery be no more;
Till the freed INDIANS in their native Groves,
Reap their own Fruits, and woo their fable Loves!—POPE.

Pacatumque reget; patriis virtutibus orbem.—VIRGIL.

A DIALOGUE, &c.

HORATIO, PALEMON, PHILANDER.

Horatio. WHEN flourish'd *Athens* with the *Grecian* reign
And liv'd her Heroes, an illustrious Train;
When by her Arms each neighb'ring State was sway'd,
And Kings an Homage to her Warriors pay'd,
E'en then those Chiefs who all the World subdu'd
Low'r'd their proud Fasces to the *Learn'd* and *Good*:
And with less Glory in the Rolls of Fame
Shines ev'ry Hero's than each Sage's Name.
Hail, blest *Ilissus*! in whose sacred Shade
The Muses warbl'd, and the Graces stray'd;
There the deep *Stagyrite* his Pupils taught,
And Godlike *Plato* lay intranc'd in Thought.

This joyful Day in Miniature we've shew'd
Scenes that enraptur'd *Athens* would have view'd;
Science triumphant! and a Land refin'd,
Where once rude Ignorance sway'd th' untutor'd Mind;

Of uncouth Forms no more the dark Retreat,
 Transform'd to Virtue's and the Muse's Seat.
 Welcome! thrice welcome, ye who grace our *Dome*,
 To *Wisdom's Schools* so throng'd the Sons of *Rome*,
 So oft with *Greeks* the fair *Lyceum* shone,
 Whose Taste applauding they approv'd their own.

Come, then, my Friends, your Notes mellifluous pour,
 And the soft soul of Harmony explore.

With melting Strains the happy day prolong,
 What more enchanting than the Charms of Song?

Palæmon. Joyous we join thee in the choral Lay,
 To add new Transports to this blissful Day;
 To trace the Muses to their hallow'd spring,
 Catch the sweet Sounds, and as they fire us, sing.
 The pleasing Theme, PHILANDER, shall be thine,
 To wake the Raptures of th' immortal Nine,
 Say, in thy Breast what sprightly Thoughts arise,
 Illume thy Face, and kindle in thy Eyes?

Philander. Not with more Pleasure o'er the fragrant Lawn,
 Sports the fleet Hare, or bounds th' exulting Fawn,
 When to black Storms succeeds the solar Ray,
 And gilds each Beauty of the smiling Day,
 Than my Heart gladdens at the Dawn of PEACE;
 As Wrath subsides, and War's loud Tumult cease.
 GEORGE gave the Word—and bade Mankind repose!
 Contending Monarchs blush'd that they were Foes:
 Old Warriors now with Rage shall glow no more,
 But reap the Fields their Valour won before.
 Such is the Subject which my Soul enjoy'd,
 In my Eyes sparkled, and my Thoughts employ'd;
 And sure no Theme more fitting could we chuse
 Our Friends to glad, and fire each youthful Muse.

Horatio. AUSPICIOUS Theme! for which shall be display'd
 The richest Chaplets of th' *Aonian* Shade.
 How bright the Scene! unsullied Days arise,
 And golden Prospects rush before my Eyes!
 Hail smiling Goddess! in whose placid Mien
 Celestial Bliss with ev'ry Grace is seen;
 O'er thy smooth Brow no rugged Helmet frowns,
 An Olive-Wreath thy shining Temple crowns.
 Far shalt thou banish barb'rous Strife and Woe,
 With purple Vengeance to the Realms below. [wield,

Palæmon. STERN Chiefs no more their crimson'd Blades shall
 Nor deadly Thunders bellow o'er the Field;
 Satiated of War, the battle-breathing Steed
 Peaceful shall range the Grove and verdant Mead:

No Drum shall animate the Soldier's Breast,
Nor piercing Fife arouse him from his Rest,
The Trump shrill-sounding and the clang of Arms
Shall shake the Plain no more with dire Alarms.

Philander. THE useless Rampart shall its Strength resign,
And o'er the Bastion spread the curling Vine ;
Th' aspiring Ivy round old Towers shall stray,
And in the Trenches harmless Flocks shall play ;
The crystal Streams shall flow without a Stain,
The Groves bloom Spotless and each flow'ry Plain.
Countries oppress'd by War's destructive Rage
Again revive to bless a milder Age ;
In the same Fields where Groves of Lances rose
The furrow'd Grain shall golden Ranks compose.

Horatio. OH haste, fair PEACE ! begin thy pleasing Reign,
Come, with each lovely Virtue in thy Train !
Then pure Religion's Precepts shall prevail,
Impartial Justice poise her balanc'd Scale ;
Bright Liberty shall wanton in the Breeze,
Innoxious Pleasure, philosophic Ease,
Heart-cheering Mirth, and Plenty ever gay,
With rosy Joy shall tend thy gentle Sway !

Palemon. HASTE then, O haste, thy soft'ning Pow'r renew,
Bless ev'ry Clime, the *Old-world* and the *New* !
In friendly League unite each distant shore,
And bid Mankind with Anger burn no more :
COMMERCE shall then expand without control,
Where Coasts extend, or farthest Oceans roll ;
These spacious Realms their Treasures shall unfold,
And *Albion's* Shore shall blaze with *Indian* Gold.

Philander. HAIL ! happy *Britain*, in a Sovereign blest
Who deems in Kings a virtuous Name the best ;
Guardian of Right and sacred Liberty,
Rome's glorious* NUMA shall be seen in Thee ;
Beneath thy smile fair SCIENCE shall increase,
And form one Reign of LEARNING and of PEACE.
E'en we who now attempt the Muse's Shell
Great GEORGE'S kind Munificence can tell,
Tho' far, far distant from his glorious throne,
Yet has our Seat his regal Bounty known.
So universal shines the God of Day,
Each Land enlight'ning with his genial Ray.

* Vid. Plut. vit in Num.

Horatio. ENOUGH, my Friends! Ye sweeter Numbers flow,
And let the deep-ton'd swelling Organ blow,
Ye tuneful Quire your dulcet Warblings join,
And soothe the attentive Soul with Harmony divine.

ODE.

I. SMILING Pleasure's festive Band
Swift descends to bless our Land,
Sweet Content and Joy and Love
Happy Off-springs from above!
No more fell *Discord* calls aloud to War,
Her crimson Banners flaming from afar.

Chorus. BLEST *Æra* hail! with Thee shall cease
Of War the wasting Train;
On thee attendant white-rob'd *Peace*
In Triumph comes again.

II. WHERE the grim Savage Devastation spread,
And drench'd in Gore his execrable Hand;
Where prowling Wolves late wander'd o'er the Dead,
And repossess'd the desolated Land:
There beauteous Villages and wealthy Farms
Now variegate the far-extended Plain;
And there the Swain, secure from future Harms,
Delighted views his Fields of waving Grain.

Chorus. BLEST *Æra* hail! with Thee shall cease
Of War the wasting Train;
On Thee attendant white-rob'd *Peace*
In Triumph comes again.

III. HASTE! ye Muses and explore
The tawny Chief on *Erie's* Shore;
Or among the Forests wide
That imbrown *Ontario's* Side.
Bid him quick his Bow unbend,
Hateful War is at an End.
And bid the *Sire of Rivers*,* as he runs,
The Joy proclaim to all his swarthy Sons.

Chorus. BLEST *Æra* hail! with Thee shall cease
Of War the wasting Train;
On Thee attendant white-rob'd *Peace*
In Triumph comes again.

* *Sire of Rivers* is a translation of the word Mississippi.

IV. MAY *Britain's* Glory still increase,
 Her Fame immortal be,
 Whose Sons make War to purchase *Peace*,
 And conquer to set free.
 Such Pow'r, like the bright Star of Day,
 Invades the Realms of Night,
 Before whose Beam, each Beast of prey
 To Darkness speeds his flight.
 Still may it grow, till round the earthly Ball
Science and *Liberty* illumine all !

Chorus. BLEST *Æra* come ! when War shall cease
 With all her wasting Train ;
 And *Justice*, *Innocence* and *Peace*
 Shall ever more remain.

There were nine graduates at this Commencement ; among them Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, born in Princeton, N. J., 1746 ; delegate to Congress from New Jersey, 1776 ; Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, 1777-80 ; died in the yellow fever of 1793 ; a man deserving honor for his own merits, and worthy of remembrance as the father of that upright and eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, long beloved by the community, and, with Mr. Binney and Mr. Chauncey, the pride of its Bar—JOHN SERGEANT.

We now shift the scene, and find ourselves in Dublin, to which city Dr. Smith sailed from England in September, 1763.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DR. SMITH ARRIVES IN DUBLIN—SICKNESS—RECEIVES HIS DEGREE OF D.D. FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN—DR. MARTIN TO DR. SMITH—LEAVES DUBLIN—POWER OF ATTORNEY FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND OTHERS TO CLOSE ACCOUNTS WITH THE BRIEF LAYERS—DR. FRANKLIN AND DR. SMITH.

UPON the arrival of Dr. Smith in the city of Dublin, in September, 1763, he was taken seriously ill ; so much so that his friends gave up hopes of his recovery. When the Hon. Thomas Penn was informed of the Provost's illness, he and Lady Juliana Penn were immediately by his side, and remained with him until he was in a condition to be removed.

He made a strong impression in Trinity College, Dublin, which hastened to add its Doctorship to those which he had received in 1759 from Aberdeen and Oxford.

The diploma is a short one; an *ad eundem*. Its words are these: The critical scholar may compare its Latinity with that of the diplomas of England and Scotland given on previous pages:

OMNIBUS AD QUOS PRÆSENTES LITERÆ PERVENERINT.

SALUTEM.

Nos Præpositus et Socii Seniores Collegii Sacrosanctæ et individuae Trinitatis Reginae Elisabethæ, juxta Dublin, Testamur; Reverendo viro GULIELMO SMITH gratiam concessam fuisse pro gradu Doctoratus in Sacra Theologia, apud nos Dublinienses, quem apud Oxonienses habet: In cujus rei Testimonium, singulorum manus, et Sigillum, quo in hisce utimur, apposuimus.

Nono Die Januarii, A. D. 1764.

GUL. CLEMENT,

Vice Præpositus.

[SEAL.]

J. STOKES,
W. MARTIN,
THOAKER WILDER,
THOS. LELAND,
GUL. ANDREWS,
A. MURRAY.

Dr. Martin, who I suppose was a Fellow, had informed Dr. Smith of the Degree conferred. Upon which it would seem that Dr. Smith sent him a letter of thanks, inquiring also what fees were to be paid; sending also one of the Liverpool papers containing the Dialogue and Ode which made part of the Exercises at the College of Philadelphia in this year.

Dr. Martin replies:

Dr. Martin is obliged to Dr. Smith for the two pieces which he has sent him; he will read them with much pleasure.

The University of Dublin takes *no fees* for degrees *ad eundem*. He heartily wishes the Doctor a happy voyage, whenever he sails.

TRINITY COLLEGE,

Thursday Morning.

Dr. Smith was prevented by his illness from leaving Dublin till the 7th of March, 1764. He then went to Stoke, the seat of his kind friend, Mr. Penn, where he remained until he had fully recovered.

It was now time for Dr. Smith to turn his face to the westward. He had been in England two years and some months.

The Commissioners named in the Royal Brief had executed a Power of Attorney in form, to enable him to close all accounts with the Brief Layers. As it is not every day that our readers—even those who belong to the law—see a Power executed by Archbishops, Bishops, Proprietaries and Aldermen, I give the document entire. I have no belief that Graydon's Book of Forms, or any more fashionable like volume, contains a safer one to follow.

POWER OF ATTORNEY.*

Whereas His present most Gracious Majesty King George the Third, by certain Letters patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster, the 19th day of August in the second year of his Reign, Did, upon the joint petition of William Smith, Doctor in Divinity, Agent for the Trustees of the College Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, and Provost of that Seminary, and of James Jay, now Sir James Jay, Knight, Doctor of Physick, Agent for the Governors of the College of the Province of New York in America, Grant to the Governors and Trustees aforesaid a public Collection from House to House throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain, called England and Dominion of Wales, for the joint and equal benefit of the said Two Seminaries and Bodies Corporate for the preservation of the Protestant Religion in those countries, and Did therein Authorize, Nominate and appoint us whose Names and Seals are hereunto set, Together with divers other persons in the said letters patent particularly named, Trustees and Receivers of the charity to be collected by virtue thereof, with power to any five or more of us to give Deputations to collectors to be chosen by the Petitioners as therein mentioned, And to make and sign all necessary orders for the due and regular collection of the said Brief, and to dispose and distribute the money to be collected by virtue thereof in such manner as might best answer the ends for which the said Letters patent were intended, as by the said Letters patent may now at large appear. *And Whereas* five of the said Trustees in the said Letters patent named Did, by a certain instrument in writing under their Hands and Seals bearing date the 13th day of April last, at the nomination of said Petitioners, Testified by a writing under their Hands and Seals, appoint John Byrd, John Hall and John Stevenson of Stafford, in the County of Stafford, Gentlemen, Collectors of the said Letters Patent or Brief for the purposes aforesaid, and in pursuance thereof They, the said John Byrd, John Hall and

* From the original, in the possession of William Kent Gilbert, M. D.

John Stevenson, have Collected and received divers sums of money which now remains in their Hands to be accounted for.

Now Knowe all Men by these Presents, That in order finally to settle the accounts of the moneys collected by virtue of the said Letters Patent or Brief, and to appropriate the same to the uses in the said Letters Patent mentioned, We, whose names are hereunder written, being five of the Trustees appointed by the said Letters Patent, Have in pursuance of the Power thereby given to us, Nominated, Constituted, Authorized and Appointed, and by these presents *Do* Nominate, Constitute, Authorize and Appoint, and in our place and stead put William Smith, Doctor in Divinity, of the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Barlow Trecothick, Esquire, Alderman of the city of London, our True and Lawful Attorneys, jointly and severally for us and in our Names, but to and for the use and purposes in the said Letters patent mentioned, To ask, demand and receive of and from the said John Byrd, John Hall and John Stevenson, the collectors appointed as aforesaid, their Heirs, Executors and Administrators, and of and from all other person and persons whom it doth or may concern, All sum and sums of money which have already been collected or shall hereafter be collected by them or any of them, or by their or any of their agents by virtue of said Letters patent, and to examine all and every the Brief Returns and Indorsements thereof, and to state, settle, adjust and allow the Charges and Disbursements of the said Collectors, or any of them, in the management of the Briefs according to an Agreement in that behalf made between the said William Smith and Sir James Jay, and Thomas Stevenson and John Stevenson, Jr., Agents or Attorneys for the management of the said Briefs, under the said John Byrd, John Hall and John Stevenson, and upon receipt of any sum or sums of money, or the Balance of the said accounts from the said collectors for us and in our names, or in the names of all or a sufficient number of the said Trustees, acquittances or other sufficient discharges for the same, to make, sign, seal, and deliver, and further to act, do, and perform all and every matter and Thing whatsoever necessary and requisite to be done in and about the premises, and we do also authorize and empower the same Thomas Penn and Barlow Trecothick, or either of them, for the purposes aforesaid, to make and depute one or more Attorney or Attorneys under them, and such Deputies from Time to Time at pleasure to displace and others to substitute, and we do hereby promise and agree to allow, ratify and confirm all and whatsoever our said Attorneys, their Deputies or substitutes shall jointly or severally lawfully do or cause to be done in the premises by virtue of these presents, so long as they shall continue in Great Britain or Ireland, for it being our meaning and intention, That when they or either of them shall embark for America, then our Power of Attorney shall cease and determine.

In Witness thereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this

13th day of May, in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and Sixty Three.

Sealed and delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the presence of

THO. CANT. [SEAL.]

CHRIS. HARGRAVE,
THOS. PARRY.

Sealed and delivered by the Lord Bishop of London in the presence of

RIC. LONDON. [SEAL.]

WILLIAM DICKES,
RICHARD NELSON.

Sealed and delivered by the Lord Bishop of St. David's in the presence of

S. ST. DAVIDS. [SEAL.]

RICHARD BRADON,
THO. ALLEN.

Sealed and delivered by Tho^s. Penn, Esq., in the presence of us.

THO. PENN. [SEAL.]

DAVID CHEVAUX,
WILLIAM SALMON.

Sealed and delivered by Barlow Trecothick in the presence of us.

BARLOW TRECOTHICK. [SEAL.]

JOHN THOMLINSON, JR.,
T. APTHORP.

That the Brief Layers had not used the whole fund in stamps, commissions and like expenses appears by a receipt, which follows :

Received, London, April 4th, 1764, of Mess^{rs}. Byrd, Hall and Stevenson, by the hands of Mess^{rs}. Thomas & John Stevenson, the sum of Six Hundred Pounds on further account of the Brief for the Colleges of Philadelphia and New York, making with former Payments above mentioned, the sum of *Nine Thousand Six Hundred Pounds* in the whole now paid on account of this Brief. We say received by virtue of the within Power of Attorney.

£9,600 in all.

WILLIAM SMITH, for himself,
and SIR JAMES JAY.

Witness :

BARLOW TRECOTHICK,
WM. NEATE.

We must regard the work done by Dr. Smith as a great achievement. John Adams describes him, in 1774, as "soft, polite, insinuating, adulating, sensible, learned, industrious, indefatigable." And hardly anything short of all these qualities would have done what he did, when he did it.

"The list of persons who preferred to give directly to the Agents rather than to the Brief Commissioners," says the Provost Stillé, in speaking of Dr. Smith's work, "now lies before me, and it is a most curious and interesting document. It embraces more than eight hundred names of people of every rank and condition in life, residing in widely distant portions of the kingdom, from the 'King's most sacred Majesty,' who contributed £200, and the Princess Dowager of Wales, who gave £100, to 'Master Tommy Ellis,' who offered his mite of two shillings and sixpence! In the list are to be found, as has been said, the names of both Archbishops and of all the Bishops, and of very many of the clergy, one of whom, Rev. Dr. Tew, Rector of Bolden, near Newcastle, gave £100. There is also a long array of noblemen, including the Dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle, the Duchess of Argyle, the Earls of Shelburne, Dartmouth, Temple, Chesterfield, and Shaftesbury, Lords Bute, Clive, Grosvenor, Spencer, Gage, etc. Each of these historical personages made a liberal donation. Among the contributors was the Right Hon. William Pitt, who gave £50."

The various Colleges of the University of Oxford gave £163, although Dr. Smith complains in his diary "that at St. John's and Baliol, Dr. Franklin's friends were very averse." At the University of Cambridge he collected £166. Liverpool gave £211, Halifax, £52, Birmingham, £127, Bristol, £112, Gloucester and the neighboring towns, £85. These amounts are made up of small sums, far the larger portion of them not exceeding a guinea each, contributed by several hundred different persons; and the labor attending such a collection can only be estimated by those who have had experience in such undertakings. In this way were gathered for the two Colleges about £2,400.

It is "not pleasant," to use the expression of the Provost Stillé—it is not pleasant to record that the only man in England and America by whom the great effort of the College and its then Provost was opposed, thwarted and injured, was Dr. Benjamin Franklin; himself at the time a Trustee of the College, and also the Provincial Agent, that is to say the accredited agent of his Province to the British Government; a capacity in which he had gone to England in 1757, and was there in 1762, after Dr. Smith arrived, though then about to come home. The Provost Stillé says:

Dr. Franklin was still one of the Trustees of the College, and Dr. Smith's instructions directed him to be guided in a great measure by his advice on his arrival in England. He found, however, that the Doctor was about embarking for home, and either could not or would not do anything more than give him a general introduction to his friends. Dr. Smith soon discovered that Franklin's dislike for *him* was a far stronger feeling than sympathy with the *business which had brought him to England*.

Dr. Smith, as we have already seen, in two colleges of that University which had recently given to him its high honors, now "found *Dr. Franklin's* friends very averse" to giving anything. These men must have been Churchmen. By what statements he operated on *them* we do not know. How he operated on Dissenters Dr. Smith himself tells us. In giving an account of his general success, and his occasional want of it, he thus writes:

An eminent Dissenter called on me, and let me know that Dr. Franklin took uncommon pains to misrepresent our Academy, before he went away, *to sundry of their people*, saying, that it was a narrow, bigoted institution, put into the hands of the Proprietary party as an engine of government; that the Dissenters had no influence in it (though, God knows, all the Professors but myself are of that persuasion), with many things grievously reflecting upon the principal persons concerned in it; that the country and Province would readily support it if it were not for these things; that we have no occasion to beg, and that my zeal proceeds from a fear of its sinking, and my losing my livelihood. . . . The virulence of Dr. F. on this subject betrayed itself, and disgusted the gentleman, who had procured me forty guineas to the design.

As the whole claim for support in England was based on the catholicity and wide character of the scheme of the College, Dr. Franklin struck his blows just where he thought that they would inflict a mortal wound.

These statements—assuming the "eminent dissenter" to have spoken the truth, and Dr. Smith to have correctly reported him—were untrue in fact, were made in violation of Dr. Franklin's duty as a trustee, and were alike dishonorable to him, malicious and vindictive.

1. *They were untrue in fact.* No one can have read this book, even so far as the page where I now write, and not see that the College was not "a narrow, bigoted institution," in which "Dissenters had no influence." The Vice-Provost, and Professor of

Moral Philosophy, Dr. Alison, was a Presbyterian Clergyman, a leader in his sect; Dr. Ewing, Professor of Natural Philosophy, and the now acting President, a Presbyterian Clergyman also; Mr. Kinnersley, Professor of Oratory, was a Baptist Clergyman, as his father had been before him. John Beveridge, Professor of Languages, and Hugh Williamson, Professor of Mathematics, were Dissenters as much as they were anything. The only Churchman in the Faculty, Dr. Smith, was so liberal in his ideas that, as will be seen hereafter, he was inclined to admit as ministers of the Church of England the whole body of the Lutheran clergy in Pennsylvania, without further ordination than what they had.* It is plain he never sought to use the College as an instrument of advancing the Church. In fact, so far as education was concerned, he obliterated the Church as a distinctive element of it. This was one of the difficulties between him and Dr. Jenney. In speaking of Dr. Jenney's dislike of the College, he says:†

I find Dr. Jenney is not very fond of the Design, and says that our Trustees have little regard for religion. But the truth is, that from the first he has opposed the Institution, *because it was not made a Church Establishment & all the Masters to be of that persuasion*. His zeal for the best Church on earth is certainly commendable; but it may be carried too far. Had our College been opened on that plan in such a place as Philadelphia, the Students would indeed have been a very scanty Number. The People would not have borne even the Mention of such a Design at first.

As respected the trustees, many were known Dissenters. William Allen, afterwards Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, and a leading man in the Board, was a Presbyterian. Franklin was anything and all things. William Coleman, another trustee, was his most valued friend, but not a Churchman. The President of the Board indeed was Richard Peters, a Clergyman of the Church of England, but a man as void of anything narrow or bigoted in his heart or mind as any man that ever lived. He was a man of large fortune, untrammelled by domestic ties in America, and his whole life seems to have been a series of kind, hospitable and beneficent acts to people around and about him. No biography of him has yet been published, but I speak with knowledge of what I assert. As for his churchmanship it was so broad—its exterior tints were

* See *infra*, p. 402-3.

† *Supra*, p. 143.

so mild and so affected from colors outside of them—that no man could see its edges or tell where the church ended and the sects began. In 1769—a few years later than the time we are speaking of, but still showing what his *spirit* always must have been, being then the Rector of the United Churches—he was invited to take a leading part in the dedication of the great Lutheran Church, then recently built on Fourth Street above Arch. He did so. Now listen to him as, from the pulpit of that majestic edifice, he speaks to the thousands of every name and of many tongues that were seated before him.*

Your Invitation to the Ministers and Members of the Episcopal Church, to mix their Devotions with yours, and to partake of the Joy you must needs feel on bringing this large Building to such an admired and astonishing Perfection, fills us with an high Sense of your Brotherly Love to us in Christ Jesus. It reminds us of the Love and tender Affection which subsisted between the first Christian Churches, and which makes so large and delightful a Part of the Apostolic Epistles recorded in Scripture. All those numerous Congregations, which in divers and distant Parts, and under various Forms of Divine Worship, were brought together by the Apostles and first Preachers of the Gospel, had nothing afflictive or joyous in their Affairs, but what they were all alike Sharers in. As often as Occasion called them to distant Places, they went with the utmost Cheerfulness into one another's Churches, and joined together in Communion of Prayer and Exhortation. And is it not much to be lamented, that the same affectionate Intercourse does not prevail now? Do we not all worship the one God and Father of All—the one Son and Redeemer of All—the one Holy Ghost and Sanctifier of All? What though Churches are built in different Forms, what though Ministers wear different Habits, what though every national Church has a different Mode of Expression in the Compilement of their Articles and Prayers—has not Christ Jesus provided one and the same strong Cement of Love and Charity to tie and keep all these his different Members together? Should the Differences be Reasons for Enmity, Distance, or separate Interests? What does the Spirit of Christ say to us all on this Occasion? “As the Body is one, and hath many Members, and all the Members of the one Body, being many, are one Body, so also is Christ, for by one Spirit are we all bap-

* A sermon Preached in the New Lutheran Church of Zion, in the City of Philadelphia, at the instance of the Ministers, Wardens, and Vestrymen of the incorporated Congregation of St. Michael's. On the 26th day of June, 1769. By the Rev. Richard Peters, Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's in the said City. Philadelphia. Printed by John Dunlap at the *Newest Printing Office*, in Market Street, the Third Door below Second Street. MDCCLXIX.

tized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit."

We heartily wish this Union of Hearts, this Communion of affectionate Intercourse, was general among Protestant Churches. And we have a very sensible Pleasure in being able publicly to declare, that between your Church, the Swedish Church, and our own Episcopal Church, there has always been, from the very first, a kind and loving Participation of Divine Service and Brotherly Offices. May the good God bless this disinterested friendly Union! and may we all use our own earnest Endeavours to inspire the same Zeal into our Children, that we may forever continue in the sincere Love of one another, and in an open undisguised Participation of Worship and Instruction.

If this was churchmanship, it was churchmanship "with a difference." Except as the Book of Common Prayer—the index and conservatory of her true principles—kept him in right line, such a man could hardly have kept himself with the Church at all. Certainly he was not "narrow" nor "bigoted."

I say, therefore, that Dr. Franklin's statements, if made, were untrue in point of fact.

2. *They were in violation of his duty to the College, and dishonorable. I should say also in violation of his duty as agent of the Province.*

Franklin was at the time when he was thwarting the effort of the Trustees, a member of their Board, and the Agent of the Province. His position as a Trustee of the College made it obligatory, while he held that position of honor, to advance the purposes of the Trustees, and not privately to thwart them. In addition, as the Provost Stillé tells us, "Dr. Smith's instructions directed him to be guided in a great measure by Franklin's advice on his arrival in England." The Trustees said in those instructions:

If Mr. Franklin should be in England on your arrival, we desire you will wait upon him, lay before him your several Papers, acquaint him with our necessities, consult with him, and desire he will give you all the assistance in his power; and we doubt not but he will readily advise and assist you, and by his means *you may be recommended to many persons of wealth and Distinction.*

It is plain, from this, that the Trustees looked upon Dr. Franklin as a friend. He was bound, therefore, "in double trust," both as a Trustee of the institution, and as one specially looked to in a

foreign land and in an official post. And, withal, he was the Agent of the Province, bound to do everything to promote learning, science, and the arts, in all parts of it, everywhere.

3. *Franklin's action was malicious and vindictive.*

From about the year 1754 Dr. Franklin had been an active partisan in the political disputes that then arose between one class of persons in Pennsylvania and the Proprietaries. He managed his weapons like a practised combatant, and was opposed by Dr. Smith with more than equal strength and skill. His object was to break down the Proprietary title of the Province, as derived from William Penn, and to vest it in the British Crown—to take it from a family ever beneficent to this Province, and vest it in the Government which so soon afterwards began to oppress us. He did not succeed in that object, and he seems to have cherished on that account an animosity towards Dr. Smith.

The Provost Stillé tells us, too, that Dr. Smith opposed the granting of a Doctor's degree by the University of Oxford to Franklin. We are not enabled by an exhibition of Dr. Smith's objections, as assigned, to judge whether his action was blame-worthy, excusable, or to be justified and commended.

But there was a deeper cause, I think, than any of these things. In the year 1757-8—the era of our early electrical discoveries—there was a person in the Faculty of the College—somewhat Franklin's junior—named Ebenezer Kinnersley. “He was,” says Dr. Stillé, “a man of remarkable attainments,” and is reported to have been “the first person who delivered a course of lectures on scientific subjects in this city.” Dr. Stillé adds:

He had assisted Dr. Franklin in his first experiments in electricity, and is thought to have deserved more credit for their results than he received.

There is no doubt whatever, I believe, that Franklin, a Trustee of the College, a member of the power which appointed its Faculty, and the senior of Kinnersley, was on terms of intimacy with him; that he and Kinnersley made joint experiments and joint discoveries; but that Kinnersley, experimenting also by himself at home, *made other discoveries which were his own exclusively, but which he communicated to Franklin.* All the discoveries which were made anywhere, or by any one, were communicated to the

public by the pen of Dr. Franklin alone, and chiefly by letters to his friend, Peter Collinson, in London. Europe soon resounded with the name of FRANKLIN. The name of Kinnersley was honored only within the College walls:*

In this state of things, Dr. Smith, in the year 1758, in giving out a Prospectus of his College, and exalting the advantages which it offered from the merits of its Professors, when he came to the department of Kinnersley, in speaking of the Professor there, said:

He is well qualified for his Profession, and has moreover great merit with the learned world in being the chief Inventor of the Electrical Apparatus, as well as *author of a considerable part of these discoveries in Electricity, published by Mr. Franklin, to whom he communicated them.* Indeed Mr. Franklin himself mentions his name with honor, though he has not been careful enough to distinguish between their particular discoveries. This perhaps he may have thought needless, as they were known to act in concert. But though that circumstance was known here, it was not so in the remote parts of the world to which the fame of these discoveries has extended.

I do not think that Dr. Smith in this statement, which, if too broad, was not without foundation, meant to do injury to Franklin. His purpose, rather, was to do justice to a man of real merit whose modesty was too great to allow him to do justice to himself, and to place the merits of the College upon their proper basis. But Franklin was deeply offended.

He soon exhibited his feelings to the Provost in these lines, which he wrote on the title page of a benevolent pamphlet by Dr. Smith, printed in 1759, and under the author's name. *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ!*

Full many a *peevish, envious, slanderous* elf
Is in his works, Benevolence itself.
For all mankind, unknown, his bosom heaves,
He only injures those with whom he lives.
Read then *the poem*. Does truth his actions guide?
Exempt from *petulance*, exempt from *pride*?
To social duties does his heart attend—
As son, as father, husband, brother, *friend*?
Do those who know him love him? If they do
You have *my* permission—you may love him too.†

* There its honors increase. Through the generous efforts of a Senator of Pennsylvania—the Hon. H. G. Jones—a memorial window has been recently erected in the new University to the memory of this early and gifted Electrician.

† "Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution," edited by the late Winthrop Sargent. I

Such an effusion was malignant and vindictive; denigratory simply. In law it was libellous, and if Franklin had himself printed it in his lifetime instead of leaving it in his library for others to print—after he was dead—he might have been convicted of an offence, for which in his day, I think, an institution not far from his own house, called the Pillory, was the punishment, and for which Dr. Smith, if he had been inclined, could have retaliated in a way about as refined as the Doctor's own in the original offence.

We *now* have the secret of Dr. Franklin's active, though apparently clandestine opposition to the work of the Trustees and Dr. Smith. Rather than have *Dr. Smith* succeed, he was willing to break down an institution which he had himself brought into being, and which his friends were now seeking to rear; one, too, which his official place in it and special confidence put in him by the Trustees, made it obligatory on him, in honor and duty, to specially protect and assist. To gratify this personal spite he was willing, in this unavowed way, to deprive the city of Philadelphia of an institution which would make her queen among cities, a centre of learning, science and the arts; an institution by which the Province that he was representing would be elevated and dignified among the Provinces of America, and by which the people of the whole country, if it were successfully established, would forever receive, as they are now receiving, benefits of incalculable value.

I have seen a statement made by William Allen, afterwards Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, not a Churchman, but as I have said a "Dissenter," in a letter of the 4th of February, 1758, to Mr. Paris, an agent of the Penns, which last-named persons were apparently indisposed to think that Dr. Franklin could be ever other than all that he professed to be. The letter says:

I have the pleasure of your agreeable favors of the 14th of October and the 3d of May, in which I duly observe your thoughts of our great Squire Franklin; that he is not likely to distress our Proprietors, and they will be neither cajoled nor bullied by that spark.

have seen with my own eyes the pamphlet to which Mr. Sargent refers. I know Dr. Franklin's handwriting as much as any one now living can know it; and the verses are undoubtedly in his chirography.—H. W. S.

Whatever his fair pretences are, I have been *so often in the Assembly witness to his envenomed malice* that I am quite sure he will do them and their friends all the mischief a very wicked heart is capable of.

I have seen a letter by the elder Adams, written late in life, in which he characterized Franklin as "the base flatterer of the King of France." Mr. Allen, in referring to Franklin's "fair pretences" to the Proprietaries and to "his envenomed malice," believed, it is plain, that Franklin was capable of flattering chiefly when he meant to destroy.

The popular estimate of Franklin—the estimate merely popular I mean—is that he was a man free from all unworthy passions, of a calm, elevated, serene nature, to whose heights no malignant or unworthy passions ever rose. This estimate places him beside Washington—in purity, in honor, in personal dignity, and in political integrity—and makes him worthy to stand there. "Franklin and Washington. Washington and Franklin. United in worth. Let them never be separated in fame."

With this estimate any one whom Dr. Franklin has deliberately characterized as peevish, envious and a slanderer; injuring those with whom he lived, while professing benevolence to all the world beside; his actions not guided by truth; himself petulant and proud; a bad son, a bad father, a bad husband, a bad brother, and a bad friend, hated by all who know him—any one thus characterized by HIM can surely deserve, but little, the respect of posterity.

But I have a word to say about the epigrammatist himself. It was a little bit unwise for the runaway apprentice from his father and brother to speak of a bad son and a bad brother; not very safe for him who had acted as Franklin did to the family of Mr. and Mrs. * * * *, to speak of "injuring those with whom he lived;" considerably dangerous for a man who "took to wife" * a woman that he had once abandoned—and who, on his own showing, might perhaps be claimed at any time, by another man as *his*,—so much as to whisper "husband."

Dr. Franklin was not always engaged in bringing thunder from heaven, nor in wresting the sceptre from tyrants. He kept much

* It is in this way that Dr. Franklin mentions his marriage. No particulars of the thing are given.

other company than that which he met in the Congress of 1776 and the Convention of 1787. He did not grow up amidst the elegancies of Versailles, and in the nation of gallant men, the nation of men of honor and cavaliers. His education was among associations coarse, and if he tells the truth about the causes of his running off, worse; associations calculated to vulgarize his nature even if heaven had given to him one, in itself, elevated and refined. He came, a runaway, at the age of seventeen, to Philadelphia, and during much of a long life lived there. His steps were in many ways and many walks in that place. He was in trade of many kinds: dealing in lamp-black and chimney jambs, as well as in books, in stationery, in newspapers and stationers' blanks. He was long in local politics, and in several stations there, humble as well as more high. He was in boards of business, of science, and of humanity. He was in active every-day life in that city for over thirty years. The people of Philadelphia were as familiar with his face, his frame, his ways, his deeds—private as well as public—as they were with the streets of their little town; and it is a fact, undeniable of any, that in that city of his longest residence and most active and busy career, there were ever many men—men who could weigh the motives and actions of their fellow-citizens with impartiality and truth—who largely disesteemed him. In a popular election of 1764 he was set aside in favor of an honorable citizen, of whom it was never said that he courted popularity, and who on a memorable occasion openly defied it. So, too, some of the best citizens of Philadelphia protested publicly against his appointment as Colonial Agent, charging him with being the author of many of the calamities which had then befallen the Province.* There was, in short, nothing in the character of Dr. Franklin in the days in which they both lived, that for active usefulness, disinterested effort, elevated sentiment, or generous qualities—and most of all as respects his conduct as a son, brother, father, husband, neighbor and friend—could in the least outweigh the character of Dr. Smith.

Mr. Sparks, to whom literature and history are so much indebted for his edition of Franklin's works, has considered himself at liberty in discharging an editorial office entrusted to him by the

* See Appendix No. V.

people of America, and designed to present to the world in their most dignified form the writings of one of its great representatives, to omit the malignant libels which Franklin wrote and preserved, but never dared to print in their lifetimes, upon his friends or his rivals, and to suppress without a notice, at the places of his having done so, passages of obscenity and irreligion which dishonor Franklin's earlier character and writings. In reference to his duty, Mr. Sparks was quite right in his omission of such passages; though perhaps not so absolutely right in failing to indicate at the proper places a suppression of some sort. His task was in a great degree national, and neither the reputation of our country nor the proper pride of its people could gain anything by exhibiting Franklin as a man who at any time of his life was deficient in moral sense, or who could so far forget himself as to write with malignity, coarseness and obscenity.

But while Mr. Sparks, in discharging a special duty, did right to do what he did, others do equally right—in discharging a duty still more special—to speak of Franklin's writings as he made and as he left them. The statements of Dr. Franklin as to the narrow and bigoted character of the old college impugn directly the candor and even the veracity of Dr. Smith; for he was collecting money only upon representations that it was catholic and liberal. Dr. Franklin's characterization of him in verse goes to every part of his character. And both the representations and the characterizations I find put by others and without my agency into print.

In such a case any descendant of Dr. William Smith is quite free, indeed is bound to speak of Franklin as our Philadelphia fathers—his best judges—knew him and as in truth he was. If the men of this generation had nothing but the beautiful edition of his works that comes from the city to which by birth he belonged, and to which the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in not adopting him for one of the Statues with which Congress has recently allowed her to do honor to her statesmen—seems disposed to have him relegated—they might still think, as they read in a charming autobiography an account of the way in which *Franklin* reached the summit of worldly honor, and as they consider how purely “wisdom for a man's self”—a depraved thing, *right earth*, as Bacon calls it—is the animating spirit of all that Poor Richard ever taught

his countrymen—that by the history, counsels and example of no one man has American character been so much educated to those *unenviable* features which signalize it to the eyes of Europe.

But they would still, perhaps, have some difficulty to comprehend what JOSEPH DENNIE—"whose genius was *catholick* as it was confessedly splendid"—*—and others, the best educated and loftiest men of Franklin's later days, have meant by charging him with having "clubbed with Deists," with "foisting dull jokes into manuals of catholic piety," with sneering at the most moral and religious tracts extant in any language from a mere spirit of levity or the natural and spontaneous modesty of *immoral* philosophy.† They would be at a loss to know, if they ever hear it, how in the city of his early life and longest residence the man who received the homage of two continents, and stood before kings, has left behind him, as a fitting distinction, the traditionary title of "The old Rogue;" to understand how in the summer breezes of Twyford and the cooling shades of Passy he was still carrying out, through twenty years, the same purpose; and, habitually "regardless of literary reputation" in general, was covering up with apparent calmness and candor, in the most careful of his writings,‡ —the manuscript "erased, corrected on every page, filled with inter-

* So characterized by N. Chapman, M. D. John Quincy Adams, in inscribing his tombstone, says that "as the first editor of the Port-Folio he contributed to chasten the morals and to refine the taste of the nation," that "to an imagination lively not licentious, a wit sportive not wanton, and a heart without guile, he united a deep sensibility, which endeared him to his friends, and an ardent piety which, as they humbly trust, recommended him to his God."

† See "The Port Folio," Vol. I., p. 165, No. 21, Paper of May 23d, 1801, and "The European Magazine" of July, 1804, p. 115, for a letter, as written by Dr. Franklin, the original of which was long preserved in Philadelphia by the late Mr. E. D. Ingraham, to whom it came from the late Rev. James Abercrombie, D.D. (who received it, it is said, from the late Mr. Collinson Read), and see "Franklin's Works," Boston, 1840, Vol. VII., p. 17, for the same letter as published by Mr. Sparks.

‡ Franklin's Autobiography was begun when he was visiting Dr. Shipley, at Twyford, in 1771, and resumed at Passy in 1784, and again in 1788 (*Works, Boston, 1840, Vol. I, pp. 148, nn.*) "Few writers," says Mr. Sparks, "have been so regardless of literary reputation as Franklin . . . The fame of authorship appears rarely to have been among the motives by which he was induced to employ his pen." (*Preface to Franklin's Works, Vol. I.*) His "Autobiography" seems to have been an exception. Mr. P. Jul. Fontaine, in whose possession the original manuscript of it was in 1836, thus describes it: "*Il est entièrement écrit de la main de l'auteur, raturé, corrigé à chaque page, rempli d'intercalations, d'additions et les marges couvertes de notes.*" (*Manuel de lamateur d'Autographes, Paris, 1836, p. 337.*)

lineations and additions; its margins covered with notes"—the offences of his early life, the intrigues of his trade, the aims and arts of his local politics in an autobiography which, by concealing, coloring, substatizing and overstating should make—upon the basis of generally admitted fact—whatever impression,—whether a true one, or one false—it was its author's design to leave; and though dishonesty demonstrable, should largely pervade it, would still present a relation of such extraordinary interest—a narrative written with such inimitable art—as that no one, in any time to come, would ever attempt to write a biography of the man who is its subject, with truth.

With what magnanimity—with what freedom from all resentments—in fact, with what perfect, absolute sweetness of nature Dr. Smith acted towards the character and memory of Franklin, after all that we have described, this will be seen hereafter.* Dr. Smith's conduct in 1790, on the death of this great citizen, places him high in the rank of Philosophers; much more, it establishes his title to that "excellent gift," the brightest possession of the Christian.

In the next chapter we shall revert to our main subject. When we departed from it for the purpose of paying our tribute of justice to Dr. Franklin, we left Dr. Smith getting ready, after great success with his collection, to return to Philadelphia.

* See Vol. II., in my account of his oration on the death of Dr. Franklin.

CHAPTER XXV.

DR. SMITH GETS READY TO RETURN TO PHILADELPHIA—LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—SEEKS TO PREVENT DANGER TO THE COLLEGE BY DR. FRANKLIN'S MISREPRESENTATIONS—THOMAS PENN TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH TO THOMAS PENN—SAILS IN MAY, 1764—HE IS LADEN WITH LETTERS OF HONOR—THOMAS AND RICHARD PENN TO THE TRUSTEES—ARCHBISHOP SECKER AND OTHERS TO THE REV. MR. PETERS—REV. MR. CHANDLER TO THE REV. MR. PETERS—DR. LLEWELIN TO THE REV. MORGAN EDWARDS—THE REV. DR. STENNET TO THE REV. MORGAN EDWARDS—MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES—CONVENTION AT AMBOY—PETITION OF THE GERMAN CHURCH TO THE TWO ARCHBISHOPS AND TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—DR. SMITH'S CERTIFICATE IN REGARD TO IT—BISHOP OF LONDON TO DR. SMITH.

BEFORE setting sail for America, Dr. Smith, pressed as he was for time, found enough of it to address a letter to the Bishop of London, upon a matter having direct practical importance in America. The parochial clergy, in 1764, to the northward and eastward of Maryland—in number perhaps seventy—were all, except those in Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Through that society it was that the Church of England gave to us “a long continuance of nursing care and protection.”

Dr. Smith to the Bishop (Obaldiston) of London.

LONDON, April 17, 1764.

MY LORD: The Society for Propagating the Gospel have long found themselves under Difficulties in carrying on their Good Designs, for want of some Societies of Correspondence in America to give them due Intelligence of Things necessary, and two or three Agents under them to take Bonds from the People for the effectual Payment of the Sums subscribed, to take Care of the Libraries sent by the Society into these Parts, and do such other Things as they may be instructed from Time to Time.

The Society have now before them Proposals for remedying these Inconveniences upon a Plan almost wholly the same with that which I had the Honor to lay before your Lordship near two years ago. This Plan has been well considered by the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, who with your Lordship, the Secretary, and myself were appointed a Committee for that Purpose; & the Bishop of Winchester has wrote to your Lordship on the Subject. The Society are

to meet on Friday next to take this matter before them & come to proper Resolutions upon it.

At present it is proposed to have but three Agents, viz., one for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, & New Hampshire, one for New York and Connecticut, & one for Pennsylvania & New Jersey; these being the Countries where the chief of the Societies lie. In each of these Districts it is proposed to have some of the Principal Gentlemen as a Society to advise & assist these Agents & to transmit faithful Accounts to your Lord^{sh} & the Society. The Business of the Agents will be a Business of Labor, and not of Profit or Power. They are to solicit larger Subscriptions from the People, to take Bonds for the Payment in the Society's Name, & see that these Contracts are duly fulfilled; & they can do nothing without advice. Much Good may also be expected from the corresponding Societies, not only in the Article of giving faithful Intelligence, but likewise in Countenancing those who are to execute whatever Orders your Lordship or the Society may give; and when that happy Time arrives when it shall please God to bless us with the Government of Bishops on the spot, these Societies will no doubt be the first to take them by the hand, & to support them in the Discharge of their Office. Another material Benefit expected from this Design is the establishing more Missions & Schools among the Indians, which it is feared can never be done effectually till some leading Men in America are thus associated to assist the Society in it.

If it be agreeable to your Lordship, I believe it will fall to my Share to set this Design on foot for Pennsylvania & New Jersey. I am to set out on Friday evening next for Falmouth, to embark for America in the Packet, & would take Bath in my Way to pay my Duty to your Lordship if you think it convenient. It is at the earnest Desire of the Missionaries of our Parts that I would take any share of this Business, & they have fully signified their good-will to me in an Address to your Lordship. Many of them have been my Pupils, & I have the Happiness to be well in their Esteem.

I hope your Lordship's Health is so well restored as that I may be honored with two or three Lines from your Lordship or D^r. Parker before Friday; as the Society would be willing perhaps to do something farther in this Matter before I go.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

We have seen in a former chapter that, unless grossly misrepresented, Dr. Franklin had sought to impress the minds of people in England that the College "was a narrow, bigoted institution of government, put into the hands of the Proprietary party as engine of government, and that Dissenters had no influence in it." Nothing, as we have said, could be more untrue. But Dr. Smith

well knew that these misrepresentations were not the less dangerous because they were false. He was a man distinguished by foresight. He saw into the future, as he was informed of the present. I do not doubt that he had in his mind as a possible, and perhaps as a probable result of Dr. Franklin's misrepresentations, such consequences as followed in November, 1779, when, under the same allegations that Franklin made in 1762, the "Dissenters" abrogated the charter of the College and entered into its estates; allegations as much unfounded at the one time as they were at the other, and not more so. Just before Dr. Smith embarked for America, therefore, he sought, so far as he could, to ensure the perpetuation of that "free and catholic plan" in the management of the College, which he had urged upon those to whom he applied for money as one of the very strongest reasons for its support. Just before he embarked, he went to his friend, Dr. Chandler, stated to him, no doubt, the fears which he had of what might be the effect of Dr. Franklin's representations that the College was a narrow and bigoted institution, and suggested that something should be done which might counteract them.

It was resolved that the two persons, Dr. Chandler and himself, should go to Lambeth Palace and see Archbishop Secker, and take his judgment on the matter. This they did, and at Dr. Smith's suggestion a letter to the Trustees was prepared and signed by the archbishop, praying that the ancient liberal base might be preserved; and Dr. Chandler and the Penns subsequently put their names to it. It was thus:

Archbishop Secker and others to the Trustees.

April 9th, 1764.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE OF PHILAD^A.

GENTLEMEN: We cannot omit the opportunity which Doct^r Smith's Return to Philadelphia gives us of congratulating you on the great Success of the Collection which he came to pursue, and of acknowledging your obliging Addresses of Thanks to us for the Share we had in recommending and encouraging this Design. Such a Mark of your attention to us will, we doubt not, excuse our hinting to you what we think may be further necessary to a due Improvement of this Collection and the future Prosperity of the Institution under your Care.

This Institution you have professed to have been originally founded and hitherto carried on for the general Benefit of a mixed Body of People. In his Majesty's Royal Brief, it is represented as a Seminary

that would be of great use "for raising public Instructors and Teachers, as well for the Service of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as for other Protestant Denominations in the Colonies." At the time of granting this Collection, which was solicited by the Provost, who is a Clergyman of the Church of England, it was known that there was united with him a Viceprovost who is a Presbyterian, and a principal Professor of the Baptist Persuasion, with sundry inferior professors and Tutors, all carrying on the Education of Youth with great Harmony; and People of various Denominations have hereupon contributed liberally and freely.

But Jealousies now arising lest this Foundation should afterwards be narrowed, and some Party endeavour to exclude the Rest, or put them on a worse Footing than they have been from the Beginning, or were at the Time of this Collection, which might not only be deemed unjust in itself, but might likewise be productive of Contentions unfriendly to Learning and hurtful to Religion, We would therefore recommend it to you to make some Fundamental Rule or Declaration to prevent Inconveniences of this kind; in doing of which, the more closely you keep in view the Plan on which the Seminary was at the time of obtaining the Royal Brief, and on which it has been carried on from the Beginning, so much the less Cause we think you will give for any Party to be dissatisfied.

Wishing continual Prosperity and Peace to the Institution, We are with great Regard,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful Friends and Servants,

THO. CANT,

THO. & RICH^d PENN,

SAM^l CHANDLER.

The following little correspondence, on the eve of Dr. Smith's leaving London, does so much credit, both to Mr. Thomas Penn and to Dr. Smith, that I cannot forbear inserting it:

Mr. Thomas Penn to Dr. Smith.

SPRING GARDEN, Apr 9th, 1764.

SIR: The great Zeal with which you have solicited the Contributions for the Benefit of the College of Philadelphia must entitle you to the Regard and Esteem of every Person that wishes well to the Province of Pennsylvania: And, as I am perfectly sensible of it, I was willing to make my Acknowledgements to you for it, & to assure you of my Friendship on all Occasions; as a Token of which I desire your Acceptance of the enclosed Draft on my Banker for fifty Pounds, & am,

Your affect^d Friend,

THO. PENN.

TO REV^d DR. SMITH.

*Answer to the Foregoing Letter.*LONDON, Apr^r 9th, 1764.

HON^d AND WORTHY SIR: The kind Sense which you have express'd of my sincere & well-meant Endeavours to serve the College of Philadelphia, makes an Impression on my Heart, which no Length of Time can erase. The Hopes of obtaining your Approbation in the End, animated me thro' a Series of Labors and Difficulties, which would have cool'd an ordinary Zeal; and the best Reward I can enjoy is the Prospect you give me of your future Protection & Countenance, while you think I continue to merit it.

I was far from wishing, or having any immediate Need of, the generous Mark of your favour which accompanied your most obliging Note; but the Manner of bestowing it was so truly honorable to me, that I do with the utmost Gratitude receive it.

I have never gone in the least Instance out of my Way to make Use of the Opportunities I might have had here for benefiting myself; chusing to rely solely on your Goodness, as Head of the Country where I live, to make my Settlement easy & useful in it.

Nothing but that Regard which every Man must feel for a growing Family, and the Fears of Leaving them, after a Life of the greatest Labor, in a worse Situation than the Children of the meanest Tradesman, would have induced me to open my Heart to you in the free Manner I did this Morning; & your truly kind Intentions of future Kindness to me will send me home happy in the View of my own Situation, & happy in the Issue of my Endeavours for the Service of the College.

Please to accept my Assurances, that so far as my Judgment or Abilities can carry me, you shall ever find me, in all Prudence, earnest to promote the best Interests of the Country with which you are so closely connected, & which I know you & your Family will always consider as inseparable from your own Interests.

There were several Gentlemen with me when your Servant delivered your kind Note, or I would have answered it immediately. I am, with great Gratitude & Regard,

Hon^d Sir,Your most obliged & obd^tHumble Serv^t,TO THE HON^{BLE} THO^s. PENN, ESQ^r.

WILL. SMITH.

Dr. Smith embarked at Falmouth early in May, 1764, freighted with letters of honor from his friends, for America. We give a few:

*Mr. Thomas Penn to the Trustees of the College.*LONDON, April 12th, 1764.

GENTLEMEN: As D^r. Smith, your worthy Provost, is now on his departure for Pennsylvania, I take this opportunity by him to acknowledge

the receipt of your Letter of the 11th of January, 1763, and to do justice to his conduct in the execution of the Commission you gave him the charge of. With regard to the first, I should not have thought myself worthy the regard of such People, whose good opinion every honest Man would covet, had I omitted any opportunity of serving such a Cause as the advancement of your College, from whence so great advantages will, in all probability, be derived to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania; the Subscription was the Act of the Proprietors, which you will take notice of in your Books, as by your Letter to me I apprehend you conceived it to be my private benefaction.

With regard to Dr. Smith's conduct in his solicitations for subscriptions, I think he merits the highest commendations and that he has laid great obligations on every Man who has the welfare of this Institution at heart; he has been so constantly attentive to this object, and so zealously concerned to establish it effectually, that no other seemed to have any place in his thoughts, or any labour to be regarded that was necessary to serve the Cause.

His Success has been great, and I make no doubt of your care so to place the Money out that the principal Sum may be secured so as always to remain a fund, the Interest of which only, or the Produce of Land purchased with that Money, may be applied to the Support of the College, this being what the Contributors fully depend.

I make not the least doubt but that the College will now, under your direction, be carried on so as effectually to answer every reasonable expectation, which I most heartily wish, and assuring you of my good offices wherever they will contribute to so good a purpose,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate Friend,

THO. PENN.

The Messrs. Penn to the Trustees.

LONDON, Apr 12th, 1764.

GENT^l: In Compliance with your Request in your Address to us, we have given our Assistance to Dr. Smith for putting forward your Intention of Collecting money for the Use of the College of Philadelphia; and have had the Pleasure to find that, by the benevolent dispositions of y^e People of this Country, and the constant Attention & Labor of Dr. Smith, a very large Sum of Money has been collected, to which we have added £500 Sterling; which together will be at least as large a Sum of Money as the most Sanguine did expect.

We heartily wish you Success in your Endeavours for the Improvement of Mankind, for w^{ch} Purpose you may be always assured of our Encouragement. We are, with great Regard, Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate Friends,

THO. PENN,

RICH^d PENN.

T. THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA.

Archbishop Secker to the Rev. Mr. Peters.

LAMBETH, April 13th, 1764.

GOOD M^r. PETERS : I rec^d and read your Letter of y^e 22^d October w^t great Pleasure. But I have had the Gout almost, if not quite, ever since ; w^{ch} hath attack'd not only my Feet, but my Hands, in such a Manner, that for a long Time I was not able to write so much as my Name, and now I can write but very little, without doing myself Harm.

However, I cannot let D^r. Smith go without sending you a Line by Him. Providence hath bless'd our Endeavours here, for the Benefit of his College, much beyond my Expectation. And indeed his Abilities and Diligence have been the chief Instruments of the Success.

Dissenters have contributed laudably ; but the Members of the Church of England, and particularly the Clergy, have been proportionably more liberal. Doubtless they were induced to it by the Allegation in the *Brief*, that this Seminary, and that of New York, would be extremely useful in educating Missionaries to serve the Society for propagating the Gospel. And therefore I hope the Trustees of the College of Philadelphia will be careful to make Provision, that all such as are designed for Clergymen of our Church shall be instructed by a Professor of Divinity who is a Member of our Church ; which may surely be done without giving any Offence to Persons of other Denominations : a Fault that by all Means should be studiously avoided ; as I doubt not, thro' your Prudence, it may and will. And with due Precaution, the Thing is necessary to be done.

My Hand admonishes Me that I have gone my Length. I have many Things to say to you ; but must postpone them till we meet, if it please God to give us Life and Health for it. I have heard within these few Days that you have been very ill. May the Father of Mercies preserve you for the Good of his Church.

I am,

With very great esteem,

Your loving Brother,

THO. CANT.

Mr. Chandler to the Rev. Richard Peters.

REV^d & DEAR SIR : I hope our good Friend, D^r. Smith, will deliver this safe & in good Health into your Hand, and that he will find you entirely recovered from every Indisposition & thoroughly established in your Health, which I know will be very pleasing to Him, & will give the highest Satisfaction to me. The D^r. has been indefatigable in his Endeavours to serve the Philad^a College, & greatly successful. He well deserves the sincerest Thanks of all the Trustees, of the several Professors & Masters, & all who wish well to the College, and indeed, in general, of all y^e Friends of Knowledge & Learning.

I cannot help further recommending him to the Esteem of all our common Friends in Philad^a in that he hath not only exerted himself with an unremitting Zeal in Reference to the Collection, but hath shown an honest & public Concern for the future Peace & Prosperity of the College.

As there have been some Suspicions entertained on both Sides that the present Constitution of it may be altered, and the Professors & Masters, now of different Denominations, in Time may all be of one prevailing Denomination to the Exclusion of those of the other, by the Art & Power of the Prevailing Party; and as the Doctor justly apprehended this would be contrary to the Intention of those who have contributed towards the Support of the College (who have been of all parties amongst us) and inconsistent with the Prosperity of y^e Institution itself, by his Desire, I waited, Monday last, on the good Archb^p of Cant^y, where, with the D^r., we freely debated this Affair for an Hour together. His Grace, a Friend to Liberty, and highly approving the present Plan on which the College is established, gave his Opinion that this Plan should be preserved without Alteration. I had the Honor entirely to agree with the Archb^p, and, on D^r. Smith's proposing to him that a Letter to the Trustees representing our Judgment in this Affair, & signed by both of us, might be of some Weight to keep Things on their present Footing and prevent all future Jealousies on either Side, he readily assented to it.

A Letter to this Purpose was read & signed by us Both, w^{ch} the D^r. will have the Pleasure of shewing You. I do not expect that I can be considerable enough in myself to have any great Influence in an Affair of this Nature. But as my Judgment is supported by that of so worthy a Prelate, and as I apprehend, by the Reason of the Thing itself, I hope it will, as his Judgment, have the good Effect of preventing all future Jealousies, and of establishing Peace & Harmony amongst all the worthy Professors, & of promoting Religion, Learning, and Liberty, which I pray God may long continue to flourish in that Seminary.

As the [free] Schools, &c., in Pennsylvania are now at an End, tho' I could have obtained his Majesty's Bounty for the Continuance of them, had it been of any Consequence to have upheld them longer, you, Sir, and the rest of our worthy Trustees, have my most sincere and warm Thanks for the Care and Integrity you have shewn in this Affair; and I will take Care you shall have all due Acknowledgments of the Society upon their first Meeting.

Your last Account I have rec^d, ag^t which there can be no possible Exception. We have got some Moneys left, which I shall use my Endeavors shall for the most Part be applied to the Use of the College. You will do well to appropriate whatever outstanding Debts may come in, to the Use of the Charity School; for which Purpose I intend to keep in my Hands a small Sum that yet remains with me; for which I shall

desire at a proper Time to be drawn on. I have honored your Draught to Mess^{rs}. Barclay for £100. I am, with the sincerest Affection and esteem,

Rev^d & Dear Sir,

Your, &c.,

SAM. CHANDLER.

TO REV^d. M^r. PETERS.

From Dr. Llewelin to Rev. Dr. Edwards, Philadelphia.

(EXTRACT.)

SOUTHAMPTON STREET, BLOOMSBURY, April 12th, 1764.

* * * I congratulate you also on the extraordinary Success of our common Friend, Dr. Smith. You ought to welcome him Home with Ringing of Bell, Illuminations, and Bonfires. The Professors of the College in Particular (for which he has collected upwards of £6,000 Sterling) ought to meet him at least Half Way from New York, & from thence usher him into Philadelphia with all the Magnificence and Pomp in their Power. The Scholars, Students, and Fellows should all attend the Cavalcade, in their proper Order and Habits; and the Procession should march thro' the principal Parts of the City, and terminate at the Lecture Room, or rather Hall, where Verses and Orations in various Languages should be delivered in Praise of Knowledge and Learning,—in Praise of the Liberality and Generosity of the Mother Country, of the Unanimity & Harmony of her Colony of Pennsylvania, & especially of the Catholic College of Philad^a, with Vows for its Continual Prosperity and Success.

As a Baptist, as a Friend of Learning, as a hearty Approver of a Plan so free and open, I would add my Wish *quod felix faustumque sit*. As a Graduate of the College, as a dutiful Son of this *Alma Mater*—you will readily join in every Act of Rejoicing on this Account.

If it was in my Power to make any Laws for this Seminary, or any Alteration in its settled or intended Plan, it should only be that the Professors should rank, or become Provost, &c., according to their Seniority or Standing in the College, in future Elections. I should wish this, not only as it may open a Way for you *ad Cathedram*, but as it seems to me to be more fair & equal, & more consistent with the Rest of the Plan. But as it is, it is a very good Thing, & I wish all concerned may duly improve it, & be ever careful to preserve it from any Alteration for the worse.

From Rev. Dr. Stennet to the Rev. Mr. Morgan Edwards, Philada.

(EXTRACT.)

LONDON, Ap^r 12, 1764.

* * * Dr. Smith, you see, has met with extraordinary Success. I wrote particularly on those Matters in one of my last. The Plan is,

I think, exceeding good. What some have feared is, lest it should, in Time, be perverted. But Dr. Smith assures us every possible Method will be taken to prevent an Abuse of the Institution.

What he proposes relative to our Interest in your Parts is the raising a Sum to furnish Exhibitions for the Encouragement of such a Number of young Persons as shall be thought needful to send to the College. You are to have your own Divinity Tutor. If you can agree upon any Scheme of this Sort, & can raise any Thing among you towards it, it may be very well. But you are best Judges yourselves. If any Assistance could be given you by your Friends here, I sh^d rejoice in promoting it. But I am not authorized from any to give you Assurances of this Sort. You know pretty well how it is with our Interest here.

Upon the return of Dr. Smith the Trustees met and unanimously voted to him their thanks for the zeal which he had shown in the collection of funds for the College, and publicly acknowledged that they, as well as all friends of learning, were under the greatest obligations to him. They voted him also for his services an annuity of £100 currency *for life*, which, I believe, he received until his death.

Almost in this same moment, in which the Trustees were thinking and acting with this generous justice towards him, he was thinking of the permanent welfare of the College. Dr. Franklin's misrepresentations preceded that gentleman—went with him—stayed behind him. So untruth always courses. The first thing to be done by Dr. Smith was to show explicitly that the statements of the Colonial Agent had no foundation.

The letter of Archbishop Secker, the Messrs. Penn, and Dr. Chandler, was put before the Trustees at the earliest date. They now make the following record:

The Trustees being ever desirous to promote the peace and prosperity of this Seminary, and to give satisfaction to all its worthy benefactors, have taken the above letter into their serious consideration, and perfectly approving the sentiments therein contained, do order the same to be inserted in their books, that it may remain PERPETUALLY DECLARATORY of the present wide and excellent plan of this institution, which hath not only met with the approbation of the great and worthy personages above mentioned, but even the royal sanction of His Majesty himself.

They further declare that they will keep this plan closely in their view, and use their utmost endeavors that the same be not narrowed, nor the members of the Church of England, or those dissenting from

them (in any future election to the principal officers mentioned in the aforesaid letter), be put on any worse footing in this Seminary than they were at the time of obtaining the Royal Brief. They subscribe this with their names, and ordain that the same be read and subscribed by every new trustee that shall hereafter be elected, before he takes his seat at the board.

RICHARD PETERS, President, etc.

This Declaration was signed by all the Trustees then in office, and by all who were subsequently elected under the College Charter.

For the present Dr. Franklin's efforts to break down the College had failed. From a *causa proxima*, at least, he was relegated into a *causa remota*, a *causa causans*; and President Reed, in due time, became his successor.

There was a convention of the Clergy of the Province of New Jersey and of their Brethren from New York and Pennsylvania held at Perth Amboy, in September of this year (1764).

It was the third convention of the Clergy in this region, and was a sort of general convention, or one at least of the Clergy of the Middle States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the "Lower Counties" (what is now known as "Delaware")—all sending ministers. Dr. Smith presided at it. We have no record of its proceedings that I know of beyond incidental allusions—one of a painful kind—further on in Dr. Smith's letters. From them we learn that it was harmonious, and approved of the plan of Corresponding Societies, Agencies, etc., as recommended by Dr. Smith in the letter already given on page 349. It seems to have ordered an Address to Dr. Terrick (as I suppose it was) on his then late translation to the See of London. Bishop Terrick wrote no great deal, and his name has passed into tradition. But he was a most amiable and benevolent man. Many of our clergy—including the excellent Robert Blackwell—were ordained by him; and Dr. Smith felt peculiar regard for him as a warm friend and liberal benefactor of the church in America.

The year 1764 was signalized by great heats of party between the supporters of the Proprietary government and those who opposed and wished to change it. John Dickinson, with Dr. Smith, belonged to the former party; Joseph Galloway, with Dr. Franklin—whose confidential friend he was—to the latter. Dickinson and Galloway were members of the Assembly; both were

able men, and both made able speeches. These were afterwards printed—the speech of Dickinson, with a preface by Dr. Smith, and the reply of Galloway, with one by Dr. Franklin. It is stated by the late William Rawle* as remarkable that, able as were the speeches, the prefaces were more admired than they were.

Mr. William Thomson Read,† after speaking of the great ability of all the papers, says :

It seems to me, however, that Smith and Dickinson have the advantage in the main argument, showing, as they do, very clearly the inexpediency and folly of relinquishing the existing Charter, inasmuch as, from the temper of the British Parliament to the Colonies, so far from its being likely that new privileges would be conferred, it was unlikely that those enjoyed would be retained.‡

We have seen by the exordium of a discourse already given§ of the Rev. Dr. Peters, Rector of the United Churches, how fraternal was the feeling in early days between the United Churches—Christ Church and St. Peter's—and the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. We have evidence of the good ground which existed for this friendly feeling by the Church of England to them in the following document, which was transmitted to the English Archbishops and to the Bishop of London, with a certificate which will be found appended to it. Dr. Smith's early efforts to educate the Germans in English—not at all by forcing the church upon them, but by leaving them free to adopt it only when and as they liked—was now beginning to bear good fruits.

* "Recollections of the Pennsylvania Bar," p. 167.

† Life of George Read, p. 19.

‡ John Dickinson was the eldest son of Samuel Dickinson and Mary Cadwalader, born in Maryland, in 1732. It is not known where he received his education, except that William Killen (afterwards Chief-Justice and Chancellor of Delaware) was for some time his tutor. In addition to the "Farmers' Letters," by which he is most extensively known, he wrote nine letters signed "Fabius," advocating the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, and fourteen, under this same signature, to inform his fellow-citizens in regard to the French Revolution still in progress, and foster and increase friendly feeling for the French people. He was a consistent Quaker, to which Society he belonged, living in a liberal style as suited his ample fortune. When he retired from public life he went to reside in Wilmington, Delaware, where he died, on the fourteenth day of February, 1808. He was interred in the Friends' burying ground. *No stone marks his grave.*

§ *Supra*, p. 338.

To the most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers in God, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert, Lord Archbishop of York, and Richard, Lord Bishop of London.

The Petition of the Representatives of the High German Church called St. George's Church in the city of Philadelphia,

IN ALL HUMBLE MANNER SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners and other members of this Congregation have at very great expence erected an handsome brick church in the said City for the service of Almighty God, being eighty feet in length and fifty-two feet in breadth.

That your Petitioners have felt the inconveniences which have too often arisen in our Churches by being under the jurisdiction of a Coetus here or a foreign Synod in Holland or Germany, are desirous of being under the protection of the Lord Bishop of London or whatever other Bishop our most gracious Sovereign may be pleased to appoint over this part of America.

That your petitioners have therefore got a Declaration of Trust for the uses of the said Church duly executed by Nine of the twelve trustees of the Ground (which they are advised is sufficient in Law), empowering fourteen members of the Congregation in conjunction with the said Trustees or a majority of them and the said Fourteen (whose names are subscribed) to frame, settle and finally conclude upon fundamental Articles and Rules for the good order and future government of the said Church forever.

That in pursuance of the trust so reposed in us, we, your petitioners by and with the consent of the Congregation have agreed upon the following fundamental articles, viz. :

First, "That from and after Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, no Minister shall be capable of officiating in the said Church or of being chosen to the office of Minister thereof without first receiving Episcopal Ordination nor without being specially licenced or approved for the same by the Lord Bishop of London for the time being or whatever other Bishop His Majesty may be pleased to invest with Episcopal Jurisdiction over this part of America."

Secondly, "And we do hereby further provide that such Licence or approbation on the part of the Bishops as aforesaid shall only be given to such Minister or Ministers as the Representatives of the said Congregation or a majority of them known by the name of Consistory shall nominate and recommend to the Bishop for that purpose."

Thirdly, "And we do further ordain and settle it as a Fundamental constitution of the said Church and Congregation that the Liturgy and Service of the Church of England or a translation thereof in the German as used in the King's German Chapel and none else, be used in the said Congregation of the said Church."

Fourthly, "And we do hereby with the approbation, consent and advice of the Congregation nominate, appoint and recommend the Reverend M^r. Frederick Rothenbuhler to be the fixed and settled Minister of the said Church, provided he shall receive Episcopal Ordination and be licenced, qualified and approved agreeable to the Tenor hereof."

That your petitioners in pursuance of the said Articles had proposed to send our present Minister, M^r. Rothenbuhler (who was educated and had Calvinistic Ordination at Berne, in Switzerland), to receive Episcopal Ordination from the Lord Bishop of London, if thought worthy of the same, and to solicit the benefactions of pious and well-disposed persons in England to enable us to pay off a debt of above a Thousand pounds sterling, contracted in building the said Church (which is not yet near finished in the Inside), for which Debt the Estates and Houses of many of your poor Petitioners are mortgaged and no means left in their power to clear the same, having raised everything they could by contributions among their Friends in this city and Province.

That our said Minister would have embarked for England immediately, but was advised by the Episcopal Clergy of this city first to transmit the state of our case and obtain the approbation of your Graces and of your Lordship for the same.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray (as they are the first German congregation in this country who have solicited to be taken under the Protection of the Church of England and united with her), that their case may be favourably received and that they may be informed whether their Minister may be permitted to proceed to England in the Spring agreeable to the Articles aforesaid, and whether your poor petitioners may not have hopes by Royal Brief or otherwise of obtaining assistance from pious and well disposed persons in England in their present distressed state of circumstances; and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c.

CONRAD ALSTER,
JOHN HANG,
VALENTINE KERN,
JOSEPH JOB,
CHRISTIAN ROTH,
SIGMUND HAGLEGAUSS,
PETER FIESS,
JOHN FRICK,
JOHN WOLF,
CHRISTIAN ALBERGER,

FREDERICK SCHREYER,
CONRAD SCHNEIDER,
JOHN GAUL,
JACOB ROTH,
ABRAHAM FRIOTH,
SAMUEL MAUS,
GEORGE FODEL,
JACOB BECKER,
JACOB KLEISLY,
JACOB BARR.

.*

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, Philadelphia, October 21st, 1764.

* Illegible.

DR. SMITH'S CERTIFICATE APPENDED.

PHILADELPHIA, October 22d, 1764.

MY LORDS: Give me leave to certify that the above is a true state of the aforesaid Congregation and Church and that the subscribers, whose names I have annexed in English, are the regular Representatives of the Congregation. It would not become me, who have been so lately a Beggar in England myself, and so highly favored by the countenances of your Graces and your Lordship, to become a speedy or warm solicitor for others. But if by any means something could be done for these poor people, they are really objects of Charity and their case worthy of Notice. The Congregation is very considerable in number, the greatest part of them are but of low circumstances and any countenance given to a German Congregation on this plan may be of happy consequence among their numerous countrymen in this Province. The answer to their Petition may be transmitted under cover to,

My Lords, Your most dutiful son and obliged humble Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH. -

We now have the Bishop of London's reply (through Dr. Smith) to the Address of the Convention upon his recent translation:

FULHAM, November 10th, 1764.

REV'D SIR: I take the first opportunity of expressing to you and the rest of the Clergy, who have been pleas'd to favour me with their Congratulations upon my Translation to the See of London, my sincere Acknowledgments of so early a Testimony of their Regard and Attention. You, sir, will be so good as to assure them in return, that as I come to that station (in which His Majesty's Goodness has thought fit to place me, however undeserving of it); with a due sense of the Importance of that part of my Duty, which by Custom & long Usage is more particularly connected with the See of London—the Care of spiritual Concerns in the Plantations, so it shall be my constant Endeavour to make use of any Influence, which my Situation may give me, in forwarding every Measure that may be thought the most conducive to the more general Advancement of Religion and Virtue in the World.

No one can be more sensible than I am of the peculiar disadvantages attending the Church of England in America, for want of a more perfect & Compleat Establishment. And I should have great Satisfaction if I could in any Degree be instrumental in promoting a measure, which, upon true Principles of Liberty, seems to me to be founded in Reason and Equity. But we can only declare and humbly represent our own Sentiments; we must leave it to the superiour Wisdom of Government to judge how far and when such a Measure may be seasonable;

and we must acquiesce with all Duty in the Determination, however it may interfere with our own private opinions and wishes.

All that I can promise with any assurance, is my own Care & Attention to the Concerns of the American Churches, so far as they are thought to belong to my Station; and a cheerful readiness to assist with my best Advice, any of the Clergy who may think proper to apply to me, as the State of Religion in their several Parishes may require.

I shall hope, likewise, that they will, as opportunities offer, give me any information which may better enable me to discharge my Duty, however imperfectly at this distance. For I most earnestly desire (and in Duty I owe it to the best of kings, who plac'd me in the Relation I now bear to you,) to answer, in every possible way, that great and good Purpose (which He has most sincerely at Heart); the Success and influence of true Religion in the remotest parts of His Dominions. As you are at the Head of that Convention of the Clergy, who have given me so acceptable a Proof of their regard, I must desire you to convey my grateful sense of it in what manner you may think proper, and assure them of the Affection which I bear to them.

I am, Rev^d Sir, Your loving Brother,

LONDON.

TO REV. DR. SMITH, Provost of the College at Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXVI.

COMMENCEMENT AT THE COLLEGE—REV. GEORGE WHITFIELD THERE—WILLIAM (AFTERWARDS BISHOP) WHITE A GRADUATE—RETURN OF DR. MORGAN TO AMERICA—HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS—ADDRESS IN VERSE BY MR. NATHANIEL EVANS, ON TAKING HIS DEGREE—COL. HENRY BOUQUET—DR. SMITH WRITES THE HISTORY OF HIS EXPEDITION IN 1764 TO OHIO—THE WORK MUCH ADMIR'D—DIFFERENT EDITIONS—DR. SMITH'S LETTERS ABOUT THE CONVENTION OF 1764—THE STAMP ACT—"AN INDEPENDENT EPISCOPAL CHURCH"—DR. SMITH COLLECTS AND PUBLISHES THE POEMS, ETC., OF THOMAS GODFREY, THE YOUNGER.

THE Annual Commencement this year (1765) took place at the College on Fourth street below Arch, on the 30th and 31st of May. Although the Church Clergy of Philadelphia would not now invite Whitfield to preach in their *Churches*, Dr. Smith invited him to deliver a Sermon in the College Hall at the Commencement. Indeed, as the edifice in which the College was held was originally built as a church for Whitfield, there seemed some special

propriety in asking him to address the Classes. Whitfield thus speaks of the College:

It is one of the best regulated institutions in the world. Dr. Smith read the prayers for me; both the present and the late Governor with the head gentlemen were present, and cordial thanks were sent to me from all the Trustees for speaking to the children and countenancing the institution.

This Commencement marks an important event in the history of the College. Dr. John Morgan, of whom we have made some mention among the graduates of 1751, now proposed to establish a medical school in the College. He was born in Philadelphia in the year 1736. After graduating he studied medicine under Dr. Redman, and subsequently entered the Provincial Army during the French war as a surgeon. After four years' service in the army he went to Europe, where he studied in London, under Hunter and Hewson, and graduated as M. D. at Edinburgh in 1763. Dr. Morgan and William Shippen had been companions in London, and it is believed that they agreed together upon the plan of establishing a medical school in Philadelphia. Dr. Morgan was desirous to have the influence of the College in favor of medical instruction, and he brought with him a letter to the Trustees of the College from Thomas Penn, recommending Dr. Morgan's plan for introducing "new professorships into the academy for the instruction of all such as shall incline to go into the study and practice of physic and surgery, as well as the several occupations depending upon these useful and necessary arts." He also had letters from Mr. Hamilton and Dr. Peters, former members of the Board of Trustees of the College, who were then in England, as also Dr. Fothergill, Dr. Hunter, Dr. Watson and Dr. Cullen, distinguished British physicians.

The Trustees, says Mr. Westcott, to whose valuable "History of Philadelphia" I am indebted for this whole account, received the application of Dr. Morgan with favor, and, after due consideration, on the 3d of May, 1765, unanimously elected him Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic. At this commencement of the College in this year, he delivered an inaugural address entitled "A discourse upon the institution of medical schools in America." In that address he prophetically said:

Perhaps this medical institution, the first of its kind in America, though small in its beginning, may receive a constant increase of strength and annually exert new vigor. It may collect a number of young persons of more than ordinary abilities, and so improve their knowledge as to spread its reputation to distant parts. By sending these abroad fully qualified, or by exciting an emulation among men of parts and literature, it may give birth to other useful institutions of a similar nature; or, by its example, it may occasion to arise numerous societies of different kinds, calculated to spread the light of knowledge through the whole American continent wherever inhabited.

Thus was the Medical Department of the College, since so renowned, begun.

Among the graduates of this year was one whose name deserves from all a special honor. I refer to him who afterwards was the *Rev. John Andrews, D. D.* This excellent man was born in Maryland, April 4th, 1746. In his boyhood he was educated under the care of the Newcastle Presbytery, at Newark, Delaware. After graduating he taught school in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and studied divinity under the Rev. Thomas Barton, missionary at that place. He was ordained in England, in February, 1767, and sent by the Society for Propagating the Gospel to Lewes, in Delaware. In 1784 he was made Principal of the Episcopal Academy, at Philadelphia, and afterwards Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He died A. D. 1813, aged 68 years. There was also another, named James Sayre, a Scotchman by birth, who, also, if I remember rightly, became a clergyman. He refused to approve the doings of the General Convention in regard to the Book of Common Prayer; entering his protest upon the record. He became dissatisfied with the Episcopal Church, and afterwards apostatized, joining the Methodists. He died somewhere about 1798, *ætat* 60, in Fairfield, Connecticut, leaving a wife and seven children, who continued to be zealous and useful Episcopalians.

The most noteworthy, however, of all the graduates was *William White*, son of *Col. Thomas White*, of England, and *Esther Hewlings*, of Burlington, New Jersey. His history, as well as his praises, are in all the churches, and, indeed, over all the land. We need repeat neither.

At this commencement the Master's degree was conferred on several graduates of a former year; among them on Mr. Nathaniel

Evans, a young gentleman of great piety and attainments. He took orders in the church, and for some years was at the Gloucester mission, New Jersey, in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the predecessor in that place—with the exception of a very short time when the Rev. Mr. Griffith was there—of the Rev. Robert Blackwell. He died at the age of 26, “a dutiful and only son of aged and affectionate parents.” On receiving his Master’s degree he spoke an address to the Trustees of the College and Academy. We give it here:

’Twas nobly done! The Muse’s seat to raise
In this fair land, and earn immortal praise!
To civilize our first fam’d fires began,
’Twas yours to prosecute the glorious plan;
They peopled deserts with unwearied toil,
Establish’d laws and till’d the fruitful soil;
’Twas yours to call in each refining art,
T’ improve the manners, and exalt the heart;
To train the rising race in wisdom’s lore,
And teach them virtue’s summit to explore.

What land than this can choicer blessings claim,
Where sacred liberty has fixt her name;
Where o’er each field gay Plenty spreads her store,
Free as yon * river laves the winding shore;
Where active Trade pours forth her jovial train
O’er the green bosom of the boundless main;
Where honest Industry’s bright tools resound,
And Peace her olive scepter waves around?
To such a state fair Science to convey,
And beam afar the philosophic day;
To make our native treasures doubly blest,
Was sure a scheme to fire each worthy breast;
Was fit for gen’rous patriots to pursue,
Was fit for learning’s patrons—and for you!
As from the east yon orb first darts his ray
O’er heaven’s blue vault, and westward bends his way,
So Science in the orient climes began,
And, like bright Sol, a western circuit run;
From eastern realms to Greece was learning brought,
Whate’er Pythagoras or Cadmus taught;
Her form illustrious Athens did illume,
And rais’d the genius of imperial Rome;

* The Delaware.

From Latium's plains she sought Britannia's shore,
 And bid her barb'rous sons be rude no more ;
 Fierce nations roam'd around the rugged isle,
 Till Science on its fields began to smile ;
 Fair Cam and Isis heard no muse's strains,
 Their shades were trod by wolves and fiercer Danes,
 Till with the Arts Augusta's grandeur rose,
 And her loud thunder shook the deep's repose.
 Just so, in time (if right the Muse describes)
 Shall this wide realm with tow'ry cities rise ;
 The spacious Delaware, thro' future song,
 Shall roll in deathless majesty along ;
 Each grove and mountain shall be sacred made,
 As now is Cooper's hill and Windsor's shade.

Flushed with the thought I'm borne to ages hence,
 The muse-wrought vision rushes on my sense.
 Methinks Messiah's ensign I behold
 In the deep gloom of yonder shades unroll'd,
 And hear the Gospel's silver clarion sound,
 Rousing with heav'nly strains the heathen round ;
 Methinks I hear the nations shout aloud,
 And to the glory-beaming standard crowd ;
 New inspirations shake each trembling frame,
 The Paraclete pours forth the lambent flame—
 In renovating streams on ev'ry soul,
 While through their breasts celestial transports roll.
 Stupendous change ! methinks th' effects appear ;
 In the dark region sacred temples rear
 Their lofty heads ; fair cities strike my sight,
 And heaven-taught Science spreads a dazzling light
 O'er the rough scene where error's court was found,
 And red-eyed slaughter crimsoned all the ground.
 Oh haste, blest days ! till ignorance flee the ball,
 And the bright rays of knowledge lighten all ;
 Till in yon wild new seats of Science rise,
 And such as you the arts shall patronize !
 For this your names shall swell the trump of fame,
 And ages yet unborn your worth proclaim.

Nothing, I think, in the character of Dr. Smith, is more striking than the variety and versatility of his powers ; and the slight degree in which anything external operated in the way of a perturbation of them. Whether engaged in severe work, or surrounded by

political excitements, or made anxious by economical solicitudes, or suffering—as he must have suffered—by misrepresentations of his purposes and acts, he was ever able to work, and to work steadily, and to work well; to give out what he knew upon an old subject, or to acquire matter for exhibition in a new.

In the year 1765 he formed, at Philadelphia, the acquaintance of Colonel Henry Bouquet, and at his request, and from facts narrated orally by him, or derived from papers which he furnished, prepared the volume known as “Bouquet’s Expedition against the Indians;” a work which had, when it appeared, an immense popularity in America, Great Britain, and over the Continent. It places Dr. Smith higher as a “narrator” or historian, I think, than his discourses place him as a pulpit orator.

But “Who was Colonel Henry Bouquet, and what Indians did he go against in 1764?” This is a question which, when speaking of this remarkable book, I have been constantly asked. It would be a question disgraceful to the inquirer, were it not a sad fact that there never has been a History of Pennsylvania yet written. I mean a history which should inspire general interest among the people of our State, and invite and reward a study of our colonial annals. The fault has not been wholly with our writers. Since the death of the venerable Samuel Hazard, some years ago—to whose labors we owe the publication of our earlier colonial records and State archives—our State, until lately, has been somewhat perhaps to blame. Until lately, I say; for now, indeed; under the animating zeal of such men as Dr. Eagle, Mr. Linn, Mr. Quay, and a few gentlemen at Harrisburg, the Legislature is putting into print all our historical manuscripts, and putting before the writers of Pennsylvania the means of knowing what her history—a great history—is. Nor ought I to pass, without words of high praise, that recently established journal, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, published by the Historical Society of the State from the resources of that “well-managed fund,” which has deservedly attracted the praise of the chief magistrate of our Commonwealth.*

* “The Centennial celebration has attracted particular attention to State history, with the gratifying result that this Commonwealth has not been behind others in providing liberally for the preservation of its true source. The labors of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in this direction are worthy of especial notice. Its well-managed

Let us say then, first, a few words of Colonel Henry Bouquet.

HENRY BOUQUET was born at Rolle, a small town in the Canton of Vaud, on the northern borders of the Lake of Geneva, Switzerland, in or about the year 1719. In 1736, being then seventeen years old, he was received a cadet in the Regiment of Constant, in the service of the States-General of Holland, and in 1738 obtained an ensign's commission in the same regiment. He soon went into the service of the King of Sardinia, and distinguished himself as First Lieutenant, and afterwards as Adjutant, in the memorable and ably conducted campaign which that great prince sustained at this time against the combined forces of France and Spain. The written reports which he made—equally scientific, truthful and interesting—attracted the attention of the Prince of Orange, and that prince induced him to enter the service of the Republic. Bouquet accordingly, about 1748, went to the Hague, where he was made Captain Commandant, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment of Swiss guards just then formed in that place; and, along with Generals Burmania and Cornabe, was appointed to receive from the French all the places in the Low Countries that, in pursuance of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were to be given up; as also to make arrangements for the return to the Republic of prisoners then in the hands of the French. This work being all happily accomplished, he travelled for some time in France and Italy along with Lord Middleton. On his return to the Hague, he pursued, every moment which his regimental duties allowed, his military studies, paying especial attention to Mathematical studies, which so much form military science. When the Seven Years' war broke out, in 1756—that war which in Pennsylvania we call the French and Indian war—England wishing to send troops to America, a corps called the "Royal American" was raised, composed of four battalions of 1,000 men each; the ranks to be formed, in a great measure, of the Germans and other continental settlers of Pennsylvania and Maryland, under the orders of one chief. Fifty of the officers might be foreign Protestants, but, in any case, men of capacity and experience. Bouquet

Publication Fund has contributed to historical resources the correspondence of Penn and Logan, the History, by Axtell, of our Swedish Settlers upon the Delaware before the time of Penn; and Heckwelder's Indian Nations; and the Historical Map of Pennsylvania."--*Extract from the Message of Governor Hartranft, January, 1877.*

was one of the first persons to whom attention was directed, and he agreed to serve in a brigade as Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1763, after the conclusion of the Seven Years' war, the *Indian* war broke out. Bouquet, having distinguished himself in it, in the campaign of 1763, was appointed Colonel of Infantry and Brigadier-General in the expedition made in the same war against the Indians in Ohio. It is this campaign which constitutes the chief subject of the work of Dr. Smith.

But let us give a little of the history which preceded.*

The general peace, concluded between Great Britain, France and Spain, in 1762, at the end of the Seven Years' war, was universally considered as a most happy event in America. To behold the French, who had so long instigated and supported the Indians, in the most destructive wars and cruel depredations on our frontier settlements, at last compelled to cede all Canada, and restricted to the western side of Mississippi, was what Pennsylvania had long wished for, but what her people had scarcely hoped to see accomplished. The precision with which our boundaries were expressed, admitted of no ground for future disputes, and was matter of exultation to every one who understood and regarded the interest of these Colonies. The Province had now the pleasing prospect of entire security from all molestation of the Indians, since French intrigues could no longer be employed to seduce, or French force to support, them. Unhappily, however, it was disappointed in this expectation. Our danger arose from that very quarter, in which we imagined ourselves most secure; and just at the time when we concluded that the Indians were entirely awed, and almost subjected by our power, they suddenly fell upon the frontiers of our most valuable settlements, and upon all our outlying forts, with such unanimity in the design, and with such savage fury in the attack, as the Provinces had not experienced, even in the hottest times of any former war.

The reason of this uprising of the Indian tribes seems to have been a jealousy of our growing power, heightened by their seeing the French almost wholly driven out of America, and a number of forts now possessed by us, which commanded the great lakes

* A large part of what follows for some pages is taken, with little or no change of language, from the Introduction to Dr. Smith's "Expedition."

and rivers communicating with them, and awed the whole Indian country. They beheld in every little garrison the germ of a future colony, and thought it incumbent on them to make one general and timely effort to crush our power in the birth.

The different Indian nations surrounding our settlements were in that day powerful, and their situation with respect to each other not unfavorable to a strong combination. The Shawanese, Delawares and other Ohio tribes, took the lead in this war; their scheme appears to have been projected with much deliberate mischief in the intention, and more than usual skill in the system of execution. They were to make one general and sudden attack upon our frontier settlements in the time of harvest, to destroy our men, corn, cattle, etc., as far as they could penetrate, and to starve our outposts, by cutting off their supplies, and all communication with the inhabitants of the Provinces. In pursuance of this bold and bloody project, they fell suddenly upon our traders whom they had invited into their country, murdered many of them, and made one general plunder of their effects, to an immense value. The frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were immediately overrun with scalping parties, marking their way with blood and devastation wherever they came, and all those examples of savage cruelty, which never fail to accompany an Indian war. All our out-forts, even at the remotest distances, were attacked about the same time; and the following ones soon fell into the enemies' hands, viz.: Le Boeuf, Venango, Presqu' Isle, on and near Lake Erie; La Bay, upon Lake Michigan; St. Joseph's, upon the river of that name; Miamis, upon the Miamis river; Ouachtanon, upon the Ouabache; Sandusky, upon Lake Junundat, and Michilimackinac. Being but weakly garrisoned, trusting to the security of a general peace so lately established, unable to obtain the least intelligence from the Colonies, or from each other, and being separately persuaded by their treacherous and savage assailants that they had carried every other place before them, it could not be expected that these small posts could hold out long; and the fate of their garrisons is terrible to relate. The news of their surrender, and the continued ravages of the enemy, struck all America with consternation, and depopulated a great part of our frontiers. The Provinces now saw most of those posts, suddenly wrested from us, which had been the great object of the late war,

and one of the principal advantages acquired by the peace. Only the forts of Niagara, the Detroit and Fort Pitt, remained in our hands, of all that had been purchased with so much blood and treasure.

The Indians had early surrounded Fort Pitt, and cut off all communication from it, even by message. Though they had no cannon, nor understood the methods of a regular siege, yet, with incredible boldness, they posted themselves under the banks of the Ohio and Monongahela, at the junction of which stood the fort, and continued, as it were, buried there, from day to day, with astonishing patience; pouring in an incessant storm of musketry and fire-arrows; hoping at length, by famine, by fire, or by harassing out the garrison, to carry their point. Captain Ecuyer, who commanded there, though he wanted several necessaries for sustaining a siege, and the fortifications had been greatly damaged by the floods, took all the precautions which art and judgment could suggest for the repair of the place, and repulsing the enemy. His garrison, joined by the inhabitants and surviving traders who had taken refuge there, seconded his efforts with resolution. Their situation was alarming, being remote from all immediate assistance, and having to deal with an enemy from whom they had no mercy to expect. The fort remained all this while in a most critical situation. No account could be obtained from the garrison, nor any relief sent to it, but by a long and tedious land-march of near 200 miles beyond the settlements, and through those dangerous passes where the fate of Braddock and others still rises on the imagination.

Colonel Henry Bouquet was appointed by General Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, to march to the relief of the fort, with a large quantity of military stores and provisions, escorted by the shattered remainder of the Forty-second and Seventy-seventh regiments, lately returned in a dismal condition from the West Indies, and far from being recovered of their fatigues at the recent siege of Havannah. General Amherst, having at that time no other troops to spare, was obliged to employ them in a service which would have required men of the strongest constitution and vigor. Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, but such were the universal terror and consternation of the inhabitants, that when

Colonel Bouquet arrived at Carlisle, nothing had yet been done. A great number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the savages; many of the mills destroyed, and the full-ripe crops stood waving in the field, ready for the sickle, but the reapers were not to be found! The greatest part of the county of Cumberland, through which the army had to pass, was deserted, and the roads were covered with distressed families, flying from their settlements, and destitute of all the necessities of life. In the midst of that general confusion the supplies necessary for the expedition became very precarious, nor was it less difficult to procure horses and carriages for the use of the troops. The commander found that, instead of expecting such supplies from a miserable people, he himself was called by the voice of humanity to bestow on them some share of his own provisions to relieve their present exigency. However, in eighteen days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent and active measures which he pursued, joined to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of the persons he employed, the convoy and carriages were procured with the assistance of the interior parts of the country, and the army proceeded. Their march did not abate the fears of the dejected inhabitants. They knew the strength and ferocity of the enemy. They remembered the former defeats even of our best troops, and were full of diffidence and apprehensions on beholding the small number and sickly state of the regulars employed in this expedition. Without the least hopes, therefore, of success, they seemed only to wait for the fatal event, which they dreaded, to abandon all the country beyond the Susquehanna.

In such despondency of mind, it is not surprising, that though their whole was at stake, and depended entirely upon the fate of this little army, none of them offered to assist in the defence of the country, by joining the expedition; in which they would have been of infinite service, being in general well acquainted with the woods, and excellent marksmen.

It is obvious that the defeat of the regular troops on this occasion would have left the Province of Pennsylvania, in particular, exposed to the most imminent danger, from a victorious, daring, and barbarous enemy; for (excepting the frontier people of Cumberland county) the bulk of its industrious inhabitants was composed of merchants, tradesmen and farmers, unaccustomed to

arms, and owing to the influence of the Society of Friends in our Legislature, the Province was without a militia law. The Legislature had ordered seven hundred men to be raised for the protection of the frontiers during the harvest; but what dependence could be placed in raw troops, newly raised and undisciplined? Under so many discouraging circumstances, Colonel Bouquet (deprived of all assistance from the Provinces, and having none to expect from General Amherst, who had sent him the last man that could be removed from the hospitals) had nothing else to trust to but about five hundred soldiers of approved courage and resolution indeed, but infirm in health, and entire strangers to the woods, and to this new kind of war. A number of them were even so weak as not to be able to march, and sixty were carried in wagons to reinforce the garrisons of the small posts on the communication.

Meanwhile Fort Ligonier, situated beyond the Allegheny Mountains, was in the greatest danger of falling into the hands of the enemy before the army could reach it. The stockade being bad, and the garrison weak, they had attacked it vigorously, but had been repulsed by the bravery and good conduct of Lieutenant Blane, who commanded there. The preservation of that post was of the utmost consequence, on account of its situation and the quantity of military stores it contained, which, if the enemy could have got possession of, would have enabled them to continue their attack upon Fort Pitt, and reduced the army to the greatest straits. For an object of that importance, every risk was to be run; and Colonel Bouquet determined to send through the woods, with proper guides, a party of thirty men to join that garrison. They succeeded by forced marches in that hazardous attempt, not having been discovered by the enemy till they came within sight of the fort, into which they threw themselves, after receiving some running shot. This post being secured, Colonel Bouquet advanced to the remotest verge of our settlements, where he could receive no sort of intelligence of the number, position, or motions of the enemy. This indeed was often a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of a campaign in this country. The Indians had better intelligence, and no sooner were they informed of the march of our army than they broke up the siege of Fort Pitt, and took the route by which they knew we were to proceed, resolved

to take the first advantageous opportunity of an attack on the march.

In this uncertainty of intelligence under which Colonel Bouquet labored, as soon as he reached Fort Ligonier, he determined to leave his wagons at that post, and to proceed only with the pack-horses. Thus disburdened, the army continued their route. Before them lay a dangerous defile at Turtle Creek, several miles in length, commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills. This defile he intended to have passed the ensuing night, by a double or forced march, thereby, if possible, to elude the vigilance of so alert an enemy, proposing only to make a short halt in his way to refresh the troops, at Bushy Run. When they came within half a mile of that place, about one o'clock in the afternoon (August 5th, 1763), after a harassing march of seventeen miles, and just as they were expecting to relax from their fatigue, they were suddenly attacked by the Indians, on their advanced guard: which being speedily and firmly supported, the enemy was beat off, and even pursued to a considerable distance. But the flight of Indians, in war, is often a part of the engagement, rather than a dereliction of the field. The moment the pursuit ends, they return with renewed vigor to the attack. Several other parties, who had been in ambush in some high grounds which lay along the flanks of the army, now started up at once, and falling with a resolution equal to that of their companions, galled our troops with a most obstinate fire. It was necessary to make a general charge with the whole line to dislodge them from these heights. This charge succeeded; but still the success produced no decisive advantage, for as soon as the Indians were driven from one post, they still appeared on another, till by constant reinforcements they were at length able to surround the whole detachment, and attack the convoy which had been left in the rear. This manoeuvre obliged the main body to fall back in order to protect it. The action, which grew every moment hotter and hotter, now became general. Our troops were attacked on every side; the Indians supported their spirit throughout; but the steady behavior of the English troops, who were not thrown into the least confusion by the very discouraging nature of this service, in the end prevailed; they repulsed the enemy, and drove them from all their posts with fixed bayonets. The engagement ended only with the day, having continued from one o'clock without any intermission.

At the first dawn of light on the next morning the Indians began to declare themselves all about the camp, and, by shouting and yelling in the most horrid manner, endeavored to strike terror by an ostentation of their numbers and their ferocity. They then went to attack them after this, and, under the favor of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones. Our troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger. They were besides extremely fatigued with a long march, and with the equally long action of the preceding day; and they were distressed to the last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire. Tied to their convoy, they could not lose sight of it for a moment, without exposing, not only that interesting object, but their wounded men, to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed them on every side. To move was impracticable. Many of the horses were lost, and many of the drivers, stupefied by their fears, hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. Their situation became extremely critical and perplexing, having experienced that the most lively efforts made no impression upon an enemy, who always gave way when pressed, but who, the moment the pursuit was over, returned with as much alacrity as ever to the attack. Besieged rather than engaged, attacked without interruption and without decision, able neither to advance nor to retreat, they saw before them the most melancholy prospect of crumbling away by degrees, and entirely perishing without revenge or honor, in the midst of those dreadful deserts. The fate of Braddock was every moment before their eyes, but they were more ably conducted. The commander was sensible that everything depended upon bringing the Indians to a close engagement, and to stand their ground when attacked. Their audaciousness, which had increased with their success, seemed favorable to this design. He endeavored, therefore, to increase their confidence as much as possible. For that purpose he contrived the following stratagem. Our troops were posted on an eminence, and formed a circle round their convoy from the preceding night, which order they still retained. Colonel Bouquet gave directions that two companies of his troops, who had been posted in the most advanced situations, should fall within the circle; the troops on

the right and left immediately opened their files, and filled up the vacant space, that they might seem to cover their retreat. Another company of light infantry, with one of grenadiers, were ordered "to lie in ambuscade," to support the two first companies of grenadiers, who moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The dispositions were well made, and the plan executed without the least confusion.

The Indians fell into the snare. The thin line of troops, which took possession of the ground which the two companies of light foot had left, being brought in nearer to the centre of the circle, the barbarians mistook those motions for a retreat, abandoned the woods which covered them, hurried headlong on, and advancing with the most daring intrepidity, galled the English troops with their heavy fire. But at the very moment, when, certain of success, they thought themselves masters of the camp, the two first companies made a sudden turn, and sallying out from a part of the hill, which could not be observed, fell furiously upon their right flank.

The Indians, though they found themselves disappointed and exposed, preserved their recollection, and resolutely returned the fire which they had received. Then it was the superiority of combined strength and discipline appeared. On the second charge they could no longer sustain the irresistible shock of the regular troops, who, rushing upon them, killed many and put the rest to flight.

At the instant when the Indians betook themselves to flight, the other two companies, which had been ordered to support the first, rose "from the ambuscade," marched to the enemy, and gave them their full fire. This accomplished their defeat. The four companies, now united, did not give them time to look behind them, but pursued the enemy till they were totally dispersed.

The other bodies of Indians attempted nothing. They were kept in awe during the engagement by the rest of the British troops, who were so posted as to be ready to fall on them upon the least motion. Having been witnesses to the defeat of their companions, without any effort to support or assist them, they at length followed their example and fled.

This manœuvre rescued the party from the most imminent danger. The victory secured the field, and cleared all the adja-

cent woods. But still the march was so difficult, and the army had suffered so much, and so many horses were lost, that before they were able to proceed, they were reluctantly obliged to destroy such part of their convoy of provisions as they could not carry with them for want of horses. Being lightened by this sacrifice, they proceeded to Bushy Run, where, finding water, they encamped.

The Indians, thus signally defeated in all their attempts to cut off this reinforcement upon its march, began to retreat with the utmost precipitation to their remote settlements, wholly giving up their designs against Fort Pitt; at which place Colonel Bouquet arrived safe with his convoy, four days after the action, receiving no further molestation on the road, except a few scattered shot from a disheartened and flying enemy.

Here Colonel Bouquet was obliged to put an end to the operations of this campaign, not having a sufficient force to pursue the enemy beyond the Ohio, and take advantage of the victory obtained over them, nor having any reason to expect a timely reinforcement from the Provinces in their distressed situation. He was therefore forced to content himself with supplying Fort Pitt and other places on the communication with provisions, ammunition, and stores, stationing his small army to the best advantage he could against the approach of winter. The Indians in the meantime retreating into what is now Ohio, reformed, and reinforced and fortified themselves with rapidity and skill. To dislodge and destroy or conquer them was the work of the campaign of 1764, described in the "Expedition" of Dr. Smith.

The military knowledge, the literary skill and the patriotic zeal of Dr. Smith were never better illustrated than in this work. The narrative is comprehensive in thought, rich in fact and brilliant in style; and so little did he value literary fame that the book, published anonymously, was for nearly a century attributed to Mr. Hutchins.

The work of Dr. Smith was first printed at Philadelphia in quarto—some copies on fine demi-paper at 10s. the copy, and some on common paper at 8s. The title is upon the page which faces this.

A N
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE
OHIO INDIANS, in the YEAR 1764.

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

HENRY BOUQUET, ESQ;
COLONEL of Foot, and now BRIGADIER GENERAL in AMERICA.

INCLUDING

His Transactions with the Indians, relative to the delivery
of their prisoners, and the preliminaries of PEACE.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT

Of the Preceeding Campaign, and Battle at BUSHY-RUN.
TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED

MILITARY PAPERS,
CONTAINING

Reflections on the war with the Savages; a method of forming
frontier settlements; some account of the Indian country, with a
list of nations, fighting men, towns, distances and different routs.

The whole illustrated with a Map and Copper-plates.

Published from authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country.

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

PRINTED and sold by WILLIAM BRADFORD, at the LONDON COFFEE-
HOUSE, the corner of Market and Front-streets. M.DCC.LXV.

The work was illustrated with three copper plates in the best style of old English engraving. 1. A general plan of the country on the Ohio and Muskingum River, with the road through which Col. Bouquet passed (Engraved Designs.) 2. A plan of the Battle at Bushy Run. 3. Plans of the line of march, encampment, disposition to receive the enemy and general attack, to explain the military papers. There is in addition a plan in letter-press meant to explain the way in which frontier townships might defend themselves.

The work had an immense popularity. Soon after its appearance it was published in a handsome quarto in London in 1776, with maps and two charming engravings, one by Grignion, after Benjamin West, a particular friend and early protégé of Dr. Smith, who exerted his pencil to effect for this work. The maps, however, are not near as fine as in the Philadelphia edition. It was also translated into French, and published in Paris; also, A. D. 1769, in 12mo. in Amsterdam. The Amsterdam edition has the maps and engravings after the same two pictures of West. In 1867—just one hundred and two years after it appeared from the old London Coffee-House—coming back to the country from which it originated, it was handsomely printed in Cincinnati, Ohio, by Robert Clarke & Co., from the London edition; with photo-lithographic copies of the maps and engravings in it. The work for some years was supposed to be written by Thomas Hutchins, but there is no doubt now, that Dr. Smith was its author.*

The French translator pays to Dr. Smith and his work this high compliment:

“ Si j’ai su atteindre à la moitié seulement de l’elegance et du pathétique de l’original Anglois, ma copie doit plaire et toucher. C’est déjà beaucoup. Si j’ai rendu fidelement ce qu’il y a d’instructif, elle sera utile; et peu de feuilles ferent se que des volumes ne font pas toujours, de renfermer l’agréable avec le solide.

N’oublions pas de faire remarquer une autre grace particuliere à ce livret, celle de la nouveauté. Un ouvrage rempli de goût, de sentiment et de vues, écrit et imprimé originairement en Pensylvanie (naguere un désert) a réellment de quoi piquer la curiosité, exciter même la surprise de ceux qui, n’ayant qu’une connaissance imparfaite des Colonies Septentrionales de l’Amerique Anglaise, ignorent que quelques-unes de celles-ci ne sout plus qu’improperement appellées du nom modeste de Colonies;

* See *infra*, p. 392.

que ce sont déjà des peuples nombreux, des Etats croissants, que ont leur villes du premier et du second ordre, leurs bourg et villages ; des formes de Gouvernement calculees pour le plus grand bonheur des citoyens, des ecoles publiques, des bibliotheques, des gazettes et des journaux."

This volume in this its first American form has become a jewel in the case of Bibliophiles. Robert Clarke & Co. apparently never saw it. A copy of it was sold October 29th, 1878, by Messrs. M. Thomas & Sons, at auction, in my presence, for \$52.

We have mentioned in our last chapter that a convention of the church was held in the autumn of 1764 at Perth Amboy. We now have some mention of it. Who Mr. Morton was, with whose case the convention was so much occupied—further than that he seems to have been a missionary who had got into some trouble with a young lady—I must leave it to some person more of an ecclesiastical antiquary and lover of *la chronique scandaleuse* than I am, to inform my readers ; if, indeed, they wish to know.

*Dr. Smith and Others to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.**

ELIZABETH TOWN, Jan'y 11th, 1765.

REV^d SIR: At a convention of the clergy of this Province and some of their Brethren from New York and Pennsylvania, held at Perth Amboy in Sept^r last, among other things the case of M^r. Morton (agreeable to the Society's pleasure formerly signified) came under their consideration, and they would at that time have presented the Venerable Society with the unexpected termination of that affair as it had been laid before them—but in the course of the enquiry certain evidence of a very material nature, being then inattainable, a full account was deferred till that could be procured. Of this the Honorable Society was informed by our general Letter, and that a Committee was appointed to finish this business, and report the Issue of the whole matter.

From the evidence and vouchers produced at the late Convention it appeared that the prosecution against M^r. Morton had been withdrawn by his adversary, who had also given him a full and final Release, and that the only motive influencing the plaintiff to this conduct, mentioned in the papers respecting this settlement, was a scruple of conscience restraining him from an injurious act. But it being moved that a report had prevailed of M^r. Garrison's declaring that he had received from one Charles Steuart, Esq^r, a sum of money for compromising this dispute, the Convention upon the whole came to the following Resolution : That

* This letter was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. McKean. See following letter.—Ed.

if M^r. Morton could make it appear to their satisfaction that the said Charles Steuart, Esq^{re}, did not give any money with the consent or privity directly or indirectly of the said M^r. Morton, it is the unanimous opinion of this Convention M^r. Morton stands fairly acquitted of the charges brought against him in all its parts.

That this matter might be determined as early as possible—we, the subscribers, were appointed a Committee by our Brethren as signified in the above-mentioned general letter. For this purpose, Sir, we had a meeting at Trenton, where we were attended by M^r. Steuart and have now the Honor, through you, of acquainting the Venerable Society with the result of our enquiries.

M^r. Steuart, being solemnly interrogated, returned us the following answers, viz. :

1. "That the desire of an accommodation arose from M^r. Garrison, who solicited him to effect a meeting between him and M^r. Morton ;—that he at first declined intermeddling, but on M^r. Garrison's repeated solicitations and declarations of his uneasiness, and desire of having the affair settled, he undertook to speak to M^r. Morton, and accordingly proposed a meeting, which M^r. Morton, suspecting (as he said) some evil design, refused, but on his urging his opinion of M^r. Garrison's sincerity in the overture, M^r. Morton agreed to meet, but not without the presence of witnesses.

2. "That he did not give M^r. Garrison any money to procure the said accommodation with the consent and privity of M^r. Morton, directly or indirectly, but so far from it that M^r. Morton declared to him both before and on the day they met, that if M^r. Garrison would not voluntarily, honorably and without the least overture from him release all matters of accusation whatever, he would not agree to any accommodation, nor enter on that subject with him.

3. "That at the meeting, M^r. Garrison readily and freely offered and gave M^r. Morton a full release of all actions and causes of action either in respect of himself or daughter ; but that after the matter was thus concluded and not before, upon M^r. Garrison's privately urging and bewailing his distressed circumstances, the necessity he was under of immediately paying costs, and his inability thereunto, and otherwise bespeaking his pity, he did from a disinterested, generous and charitable view, and from a regard to Religion and the peace of his neighbourhood promise and afterwards pay him a sum of money to assist him in his difficulties, and prevent any subsequent complaints, and that this was all done without the consent or privity of M^r. Morton either directly or indirectly.

4. "That he had never received any reimbursement of the said money from M^r. Morton or from any person on his account, nor did expect or claim any such reimbursement.

5. "And lastly, that he believes M^r. Morton knew nothing of this transaction of his with Garrison, till about ten or twelve days after the

Meeting; that M^r. Morton and M^r. Grandin came to him in apparent uneasiness and disturbance and informed him of a Report prevailing of his having given M^r. Garrison a sum of Money to effect the accommodation and desired to know whether he had given any money, at which time he related the circumstances of that matter, as he before declared, at which M^r. Morton expressed great uneasiness and disapproved of what he had done, as it might be construed to his disadvantage. M^r. Steuart concluded by adding that he should never have mentioned this transaction had not M^r. Garrison been influenced by some evil-minded people to report the affair in an injurious and unjust light."

These declarations of M^r. Steuart were taken from his own mouth, and were in due form of question and answer by us reduced to writing in proper minutes, and were afterwards repeatedly read and assented to before us by M^r. Steuart, in testimony of which we subscribed our names to the said minutes, and from those minutes the foregoing account is almost literally extracted, as conveying the fullest and most perfect view of this particular.

A copy of the release and a Letter to the Attorney General, both which we know to be genuine, we herewith enclose, as likewise a determination of M^r. Morton's Churchwardens and Vestry, after a particular scrutiny into the many scandalous reports propagated by Bad people concerning the accommodation.

Thus, Sir, have we faithfully laid before you the evidence offered to us on this very disagreeable subject. The Honorable Society will determine as it appears to them with their usual candour and uprightness. We cannot conclude, however, without observing, that as we have it in our power with full confidence to say, that from all accounts M^r. Morton's behaviour in every other respect and circumstance still continues unblemished, and that he is yet diligently and usefully employed in the duties of his mission, we cannot therefore but be greatly pleased at this termination of his late misfortunes.

But we would with submission add, that we are of opinion that though he may be in some measure usefully employed where he is, yet we apprehend not so extensively as he might otherwise have been, or as he may be in some other place, besides that we apprehend he cannot be so happy among his enemies as if removed somewhere out of their reach.

This, with everything herein offered, we humbly submit to the paternal regard of the Honorable, able and Venerable Society, and are with a due sense of their goodness to us, and of the trust reposed in us,

Rev^d Sir,

Their & your most obed^t Serv^{ts},

WILLIAM SMITH,
COLIN CAMPBELL,
SAM^l COOKE,
ROB^t M^r KEAN,
LEO^d CUTTING.

The Same to the Same.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, May 8th, 1765.

DEAR & WORTHY SIR:

* * * I am not clear in one expression in our joint letter, which says that the convention at Amboy judged that if this enquiry to be made of M^r. Steuart should terminate in M^r. Morton's favor, "he stood fairly acquitted of the charge brought against him in all its parts." Tho' I presided at the Convention, and attended close to everything before us, I do not remember any conditional or other decision to have been made. Tho' we thought M^r. Morton legally acquitted, yet it was too general an opinion among us founded on good grounds, that he had by imprudences in his behaviour to the Girl (tho' I really believe not of a criminal nature), given advantages against himself, and therefore we all wished that he might be removed to a distant place where he might not lie under these or any other imputations to hurt his usefulness. But as M^r. McKean drew the committee's Letter with all the minutes before him, he knew best what was in them, and I may have forgot particular words; and therefore made no scruple to sign my name.

M^r. Whitfield is here, but will receive no invitation from us to preach in our Churches, being determined to observe the same conduct as when he was here in October last, which our superiors in England have approved.

He has turned his Georgia Hospital into a College, and is to solicit a Royal Charter and Grant of Lands for it, If a proper security is made for a Church of England Head of his College. However Catholic and wide his scheme may be otherwise, it may be of service to grant his request, But if he intends it otherwise as a nursery of his own particular Tenets, which tend to hurt order and a regular ministration of the Gospel, I should be sorry ever to see it established. He declares this is far from his intention. I shall have some conversation with him on this Head and shall write to the Archbishop.

I am, Worthy Sir, &c.,

W. SMITH.

We observe in the year to which we have now arrived something of a cessation of correspondence between Dr. Smith and the higher clergy of England. We were now in the memorable year of the Stamp Act, and political feeling between the colonies and the mother country was operating to refrigerate the sentiments which lead to pleasant letter-writing. Dr. Smith, in common with nearly all America, opposed the Act as highly impolitic and unjust. Writing to Dr. Tucker, the celebrated Dean of Gloucester—

the same who shortly after declared that the severest punishment which could be inflicted upon the rebellious Colonies would be to "let them depart in peace"—under date of December 18th, 1765, he says:

With regard to the Stamp Act, or any act of Parliament to take money out of our pockets, otherwise than by our own representatives in our Colony legislatures, it will ever be looked upon so contrary to the faith of charters and the inherent rights of Englishmen, that amongst a people planted, and nursed, and educated in the high principles of liberty, it must be considered as a badge of disgrace, impeaching their loyalty, nay, their very brotherhood and affinity to Englishmen, and although a superior force may, and perhaps can, execute this among us, yet it will be with such an alienation of the affections of a loyal people, and such a stagnation of English consumption among them, that the experiment can never be worth the risque.

The spirit of political opposition which the Stamp Act called forth infused itself both soon and strongly into the church.

We have mentioned three Conventions of the Church as having been held—two at Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, in 1760 and 1761, and one in New Jersey, in 1764, at Perth Amboy. Dr. Smith presided at all. These were all harmonious and useful, further than that Mr. Macclanechan was a disturber of the first one. A fourth one was held in 1765, which made some excitement. Dr. Smith was not at it. We must enlarge a little at this point.

The reader will have already seen that the want of Bishops resident in America was a want which was felt by all our early clergy. Many of the English Bishops also acknowledged that it was very desirable that the Church should be completed in the Colonies by the presence of its highest order as well as by the presence of the two lower orders. The Bishop of Landaff, in a sermon before the Propagation Society, in 1767, and Archbishop Secker oftentimes, and once specially in a letter to Walpole, urged the matter in England with earnestness. But up to this date the matter took no form offensive to any one.

Among the American clergy earliest and most active in urging an American Episcopate was Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut. He had been urging it from as far back as the year 1727 or thereabouts. In the year 1766 he addressed himself to the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D. D., a man of energy and

parts, to bring the matter before the public by some printed work. Dr. Johnson was at this time afflicted by a tremor in the hand—some sort of paralysis, I suppose—which made it difficult for him to use his pen. Dr. Chandler accordingly undertook to make a printed appeal to the public in behalf of the Church of England in America. While he was engaged on his tract, the clergy of New York and New Jersey met in voluntary convention at Shrewsbury, and assisted by some of their brethren from the neighboring provinces, took into consideration the propriety of what Dr. Chandler was engaged in. “After a thorough discussion of the point”—according to Dr. Chandler’s own account—they were unanimously of opinion that fairly to explain the plan on which American Bishops had been requested; to lay before the public the reasons of this request; to answer the objections that had been made, and to obviate those which might otherwise be conceived against it, was not only proper and expedient, but a matter of necessity and duty.

The Convention accordingly voted that something to this purpose should be published; and Dr. Chandler was appointed to do it, with liberty, however, to make the time of doing it convenient to himself.

I suppose it, too, to have been the fact, that Dr. Chandler had his appeal nearly ready for the press, and desired the support of the Convention in bringing it out.

The English Bishops having apparently done all that they could do, and the ministry having refused to comply with their wishes, this action of the clergy in New Jersey had a little the aspect of insubordination. And when Dr. Chandler’s printed book, called “An Appeal to the Public, in Behalf of the Church in America,” came forth—as it did from the press of James Parker, of New York, in 1767—with rather a fierce motto from Justin Martyr, “*We desire a fair trial. If we are guilty, punish us: If we are innocent, protect us*”—a considerable disturbance was raised. A regular battle of pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers began. The book from beginning to end was most respectful, and asked nothing not proper to be asked. The Presbyterians, however, saw nothing in it but the “likeness of a kingly crown;” and were thrown at once into convulsions. Indeed, had the Tiara itself been seen sailing into Boston Bay or along Long Island Sound, and the

Beatissimo Padre under it, those in Massachusetts and Connecticut would have hardly been more excited. But the thing somewhat alarmed our own Church. An "appeal!" From whom? From what? Plainly from the English Bishops, the English Crown, and the English Ministers. An appeal to what? To whom? Plainly to laity and clergy everywhere; in short, to general justice. Suppose, then, that the English Bishops, Crown and Ministry, who had always professed a readiness to listen to appeals *to* them, would not be constrained to act on appeals *from* them? What then? The answer was obvious. You acknowledge some foreign Episcopates.—The Swedish, the Moravian. We will apply to them. We will apply to the Non-Juring Bishops; most of them now Scotch. We will set up an independent American Episcopal Church. The Church was thus in a sort of rebellion before the State was. As we have said, there was not a word in the Appeal which could properly be found fault with by any one, ecclesiastical or lay, in either England or here. Some resolutions of the Convention were possibly more open to remark.

The matter, by good fanning, soon came to a great flame. Dr. Chandler's appeal to the public was answered by the Rev. Charles Chauncy, D. D., pastor of the First Church of Christ, in Boston, a Presbyterian clergyman. Dr. Chandler then published his "Appeal Defended," in answer to Dr. Chauncy's "Misrepresentations." Dr. Chauncy replied to this. And Dr. Chandler published his "Appeal further Defended." Six pamphlets by the two gentlemen. Dr. Chauncy, moreover, in "A Letter to a Friend," published in 1767, made his remarks on the Bishop of Landaff's sermon, and William Livingston, in 1778, came to his aid with "A Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Landaff, Occasioned by his Lordship's Sermon on the 20th of February, 1776, in which the American Colonies are loaded with great and undeserved reproach." "A Lover of Truth and Decency" got at both gentlemen, and defended his lordship's sermon from "the gross Misrepresentations and Abusive Reflections contained in Mr. William Livingston's Letter to his Lordship," and made "Observations" besides on Dr. Chauncy's remarks. "An Anti-Episcopalian" printed "A Letter concerning an American Bishop." Two periodical papers—*The American Whig* and *The Centinel*—were set up to oppose the matter. *The American Whig*

was answered by "A Whip for the American Whig;" *The Centinel* by "The Anatomist." Bishop Porteus wrote a "Life of Archbishop Secker," and "A Defence of his Letter to Mr. Walpole on American Bishops." This was followed by "A Critical Commentary on Archbishop Secker's Letter to Mr. Walpole concerning Bishops in America." And this again by "A Free Examination of the Critical Commentary." In Virginia some of the Episcopal clergy—the Rev. Mr. Henley, the Rev. Mr. Watkin, the Rev. Mr. Hewitt and the Rev. Mr. Bland—publicly and formally protested against an application for an American Episcopate; calling the plan of introducing them as "a pernicious project." And the House of Burgesses—most of whose members were professed Episcopalians—on the 12th of July, 1771, resolved that the thanks of the House be given to the said gentlemen for the wise and well-timed opposition they had made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken clergymen for introducing an American bishop; "a measure by which much disturbance, great anxiety and apprehension, would certainly take place among his Majesty's faithful American subjects." And Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Bland were directed to acquaint them therewith.

The "protesters" in Virginia were all regularly ordained ministers of the Church of England. That church was the established one of the State. Most of the Legislature professed to be Episcopalians. One of the writers in Virginia speaks of the Church in Virginia as an independent society, making no part of the Church of England. One of them, the Rev. Mr. Henley, thus speaks of Archbishop Secker,* who had always desired that we should have an episcopate:

As to Secker, he is laid in his grave. Disturb not his slumber. His character, no more than his body, can endure the keen question of the searching air. Unless you would give another proof of your friendship, cause him not to stink to futurity.

"Mr. Camm" answered the Protesters; and to counteract such doctrines as were coming from Virginia, a regular "Address" was made by a committee of the clergy of New York and New Jersey, who had been at the convention in the latter State, "to Episcopalians in Virginia, occasioned by some late Transactions in that Colony Relative to an American Episcopate."

* Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette, of July 18th, 1771.

I speak only of such pamphlets as I have seen. There were doubtless others; while periodical journals and the newspapers were filled with the discussion.

From this little history of a most unreasonable and unaccountable excitement, both in the Church and out of it, from 1767 till the Revolution, the reader will better understand some allusions in subsequent letters of Dr. Smith. It seems that he went into the fight himself.*

I have alluded, on a former page,† to that gifted child of genius, Thomas Godfrey, the younger—poet, musician and dramatist—and to Dr. Smith's procuring for him a lieutenancy in the army, then stationed at Fort Duquesne. His name forms part of the literary honor of Pennsylvania; but the spirit of our antiquaries has of late given so many early productions to the country, that I am not sure all my readers are as well acquainted with the name of Godfrey the younger, as they probably are with that of the father, whose name is immortalized as the inventor of the quadrant, though the honor of the discovery was taken by another. I more willingly give some account of him, as I find one written by my own father, Richard Penn Smith. He says:

Of the exact time of his birth, there is no record: but his intimate friend, the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, states that he was born in the year 1736, in the city of Philadelphia, and that at an early age he was made an orphan by the death of his ingenious, though neglected parent. On this melancholy event, he was placed among his relations, and received from them the rudiments of an English education. He was afterwards apprenticed to a watch-maker; but it appears that he never was pleased with the pursuit selected for him by those who had the control of his early life.

His taste for poetry displayed itself in youth; and the productions of his muse were communicated to the world through the pages of the *American Magazine*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Smith. The benevolent feelings of Dr. Smith prompted him to extend his favourable regards to one, who had thus exhibited no inconsiderable talent in an

* When Bishop White went, after the Revolution, to be consecrated in England, some of his friends, fearing that it might expose him to indignity, begged him not to take, on his return, the title of Bishop. Hence he was long called by many Doctor White. He used to tell this anecdote himself. "But now," said he, speaking in the year 1834, "we have a score of bishops, in every part of the country; including, among the Methodists, a *black* bishop."

† Page 187.

art which himself admired and could properly appreciate. He encouraged Godfrey to cultivate his abilities, and not only supplied him with much valuable information, but also introduced him to the society of a number of his students, already endeared to him by their excellent dispositions and accomplishments.

Among these were Francis Hopkinson, Benjamin West, afterwards President of the Royal Society of Painters, and Jacob Duché, who subsequently became a clergyman and officiated as Rector of St. Peter's Church, in Philadelphia. With West our poet formed a close intimacy, which ripened into a strong and mutual friendship. Like this illustrious artist, Godfrey had early shown a taste for painting; but was dissuaded from pursuing it as a profession by his relatives. Whether it was from congeniality of feeling towards the art which West had determined to pursue throughout his life, or a similarity of temper and disposition, the young painter appears to have been the favourite with our subject. It is related by Galt, in his life of the above distinguished artist, that Godfrey would frequently compose his verses under a clump of pines, which grew near the upper ferry of the Schuylkill, to which spot he sometimes accompanied West, and their mutual friends, to angle. In the heat of the day he used to stretch himself beneath the shade of the trees, and repeat to them the verses as he composed them.*

Through the exertions of Dr. Smith, our poet received a lieutenancy in the Pennsylvania line, destined for an expedition against Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh. He continued with the army to the end of the campaign; and, amid the toils and privations of a border contest, he found seasons for engaging in his favourite pursuit. It was when garrisoned in Fort Henry that he wrote a poetic epistle, in which he describes the horrors of savage warfare; the miseries of the frontier inhabitants, and the dreadful carnage of Indian massacres. The description, although agonizing, is given with poetic force; and is valuable for being the first production of the kind published in America, on a subject so painfully interesting.

A short time subsequent to the termination of his military engagements, he was induced to accept a commission as a mercantile agent, and went to North Carolina. During his residence there he composed a tragedy, entitled "The Prince of Parthia." This drama, which, in many portions, is indicative of no little genius in that department of literature, is not calculated for representation on the stage, being deficient in scenic effect. It, however, contains much merit, and has the honour of being the first tragedy written and published in our country.†

Godfrey, on the death of his employer, returned to Philadelphia, and,

* There was long in my father's possession a portrait by West of his young friend.

† It was the *first* play by an American author performed by any regular theatre in America; it was acted on the 24th of April, 1767, at the Philadelphia Theatre.

having continued there for some time, was induced to sail as supercargo to the island of New Providence. Having completed his commissions, he revisited North Carolina, where, soon after his arrival, he was seized by a violent malignant fever, and in a few days was summoned to pay the debt of nature. He died on the 3d of August, 1763, and in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

"Thus hastily was snatched off," observes Mr. Evans, "in the prime of manhood, this very promising genius, beloved and lamented by all who knew him! The effusions of his muse flowed with a noble wildness from his elevated soul. Free and unpremeditated he sung; unskilled in any precepts but what were infused into him by nature, his divine tutoress. But whatever desert he may be allowed as a poet, it will be rendered still more conspicuous by his character as a man. His sweet and amiable disposition, his integrity of heart, his engaging modesty and diffidence of manners, his fervent and disinterested love for his friends, endeared him to all those who shared his acquaintance; and have stamped the image of him, in indelible characters, on the hearts of his more intimate friends."

Dr. Smith collected the various poems of Godfrey, and published them, together with "The Prince of Parthia," in a volume of 223 quarto pages.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DR. SMITH TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON—DR. SMITH TO DR. CHANDLER—A VISIT FROM COLONEL BARRÉ—THE COMMENCEMENT OF THIS YEAR—THE GRADUATES—MR. JOHN SARGENT'S PRIZE MEDAL AWARDED TO DR. MORGAN—DR. SMITH'S EARLY CONNECTION WITH THE TOWN OF HUNTINGDON, IN PENNSYLVANIA—DR. SMITH TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—DR. SMITH TAKES CHARGE OF OXFORD CHURCH, PA.—DR. SMITH TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

WE now introduce a new correspondent—the well-known Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New York. We see, in a letter from Dr. Smith to him, the first evidence of that desire for the acquisition of *lands*, which, by degrees, made a feature in Dr. Smith's character and history. It was a prevailing disposition of the day.

PHILADELPHIA, January 13th, 1766.

HONOURED SIR: The several voyages I have made to England, and various other interruptions, have for a long time past deprived me of the Pleasure of writing to you; but no one had all the while been more

sensible of the important services you have done your country, nor more sincerely rejoiced in the reward conferred on them by a most gracious Sovereign. I have in my way likewise been endeavoring to be of some use, and have been enabled to raise, from first to last, in Lands and money, a capital of about £9,000 sterling for our College. It gives me much satisfaction to hear from my good Friend, Mr. Barton (who most greatly acknowledges your civilities to him), that you made kind enquiries after me, and were pleased to remember me.

Mr. Barton, who is a very valuable man, informed me that you had recommended him for a grant of some Lands from your Government, and he generously offered me to share with him. If, by your goodness, any thing would be done this way, or any Tract worth recommending, I believe I have interest enough in England, and perhaps also in New York, to make it Effectual. I am sorry your modesty suffers so few of your numerous Services to transpire especially in your conduct of Indian affairs. I much want to have materials for a Complete account of all the Indians and their countries that are connected with us since the conquest of Canada and the general Peace. Mr. Croghan has favoured me with his last Journal, and some other things which would be of great use. If you should favour me with any thing in this way, it shall not be misapplied nor used in a manner that would be any discredit to you. Mr. Croghan set out the day before I expected he would, else I proposed sending you a copy of Bouquet's Expedition to Muskingum, which I drew up from some papers he favoured me with, and which is reprinted in England, and has had a very favourable reception. But I presume you may have received it before. I send this letter after Mr. Croghan to New York, and on his return should take it as an Honor to hear from you, being with the utmost Deference and Esteem, Hon. Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

Sir William answered this letter, and apparently in an interesting way. I do not find his letter, but we can gather parts of it in a letter from Dr. Smith to Dr. Chandler in England, which follows:

Dr. Smith to Dr. Chandler.

PHILADELPHIA, March 3d, 1766.

MY DEAR SIR: I have mentioned everything which I think of immediate consequence in the enclosed letter to his Grace, which you will no doubt have the perusal of; only I must trouble you with one thing which I did not recollect till after the enclosed was sealed up, viz., to propose the worthy S^r W^m. Johnson, Bar^r, his Majesty's Superintendant for Indian Affairs, as a member of the Society.

In this letter to me he writes "with satisfaction on the success of our College, which he says he observes with greater pleasure as the Church of England is weak in these parts and held in to much contempt by the blind zealots of other communions who may one day repay with a heavy hand, whatever severity they at any time suffered or rather brought on themselves in England. As a specimen of their good inclinations and charity (continues he in his letter to me), I send you a copy of a petition, some new Settlers here (near Mount Johnson), yesterday put into my hand requesting that I would patronize and assist them; but they met with the first refusal I ever gave such applications from any reformed denomination; the misrepresentations and Falsehoods in their petition were so gross I thought it would be worthy of your perusal."

This petition at which S^r William is so angry was from a sort of Scots Covenanters addressed to the Dutch Kirk at Schenectady in S^r William's Neighborhood, in which they say—

That altho' our Fathers be originally from Scotland, yet after residing some years in Ireland, being there *oppressed in our consciences by the vigorous impositions of superstitious Episcopacy & Archbishops* we set sail from Ireland in May, 1764 (to be sure you would have thought they came more than a century ago), & God hath provided us a settlement in *Batten Kilm*, but we have been 3 half years destitute of a Kirk, &c.,—and as God did in the bloody days of Charles the 2^d put it into the hearts of your fathers in Holland to shelter our ancestors who fled from the long 25 years persecution in Scotland so we hope, &c.

The design of all this was to work on the Dutch at Schenectady and make them believe these people fled from persecution in Ireland even as late as 1764—no wonder a man of S^r W^m's goodness rejected their Petition. The intention of the above extracts of his Letters is to show that he would be a worthy Member of the Society for which I beg he may be proposed. I am,

Dear & Worthy Sir, &c.,

WILL. SMITH.

The Annual Commencement at the College took place on the 20th of May. Dr. Smith, as usual, prepared a Dialogue and two Odes, which were published with the following title: "*An Exercise containing A Dialogue and two Odes, performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766. It was printed by William Dunlap, in Market Street, MDCCLXVI;*" a person who soon afterwards became a clergyman of the Church of England; though, as will appear in the sequel, he was more relished by Dr. Smith in the Printing-Office than in the Pulpit.*

* See *infra*, p. 403.

While Dr. Smith was preparing this Exercise Col. Barré was his visitor and guest, and the joyful news of the Repeal of the American Stamp Act was received in Philadelphia.

This Commencement was attended by the Board of Trustees, comprising the Governor, Chief-Justice and most distinguished men of the Province. After the business of the Commencement was finished, it was resolved, "that as Francis Hopkinson (*who was the first scholar* entered in this seminary at its opening, and likewise, one of the first who received a degree in it) was about to embark for England, and has always done honor to the place of his education by his abilities and good morals, as well as rendered it many substantial services on all public occasions, the thanks of this institution ought to be delivered to him in the most affectionate and respectful manner; and Mr. Stedman and the Provost were desired to communicate the same to Mr. Hopkinson accordingly, and wish him a safe and prosperous voyage."

The graduates were numerous; among them were—

Robert Andrews, Samuel Boyd, M. D., died 1783; *Hans Hamilton.*

Phineas Bond, Jr., born July 15th, 1749, and died in England in 1815.

Thomas Hopkinson, a young man of abilities, who afterwards studied divinity and was licensed to preach in Pennsylvania in 1773. He afterwards went to Virginia.

John Montgomery was another graduate. He took orders in the Church of England and was licensed to Maryland, where he established himself.

James Tilghman, a native of Maryland, educated to the law, and practised in that Province. By marriage to the daughter of Tench Francis, he assumed an interest in Pennsylvania which drew him to this Province. He came to Philadelphia in 1762, where he soon received the favor of the Proprietary family, and was made Secretary of the Land Office. In January, 1767, he became a member of the Proprietary and Governor's Council.

Thomas Coombe, born in Philadelphia in 1747. He became one of the Assistant Ministers at the United Churches. He translated some of Beveridge's Latin poems. In 1775 he published in London a poem entitled "The Peasant of Auburn; or, The Emigrant," which was afterward republished in Philadelphia by Enoch Story. It is dedicated to Goldsmith, and was apparently designed

as a continuation of the poem of "The Deserted Village." Coombe takes his emigrant to the banks of the Ohio, "where," says Mr. Westcott, "Indian atrocities seem to show that it would have been much better if the emigrant had not deserted Auburn, or had at least chosen some more favorable place of exile." But on the breaking out of the war, he rather for a time espoused the popular side, but afterwards became a royalist, and finally retired to England. He never returned. Bishop White mentions that when he was consecrated Bishop at Lambeth, Mr. Coombe, his old associate in the United Churches, was present.

This Commencement is memorable in the annals of the College, from the award of Mr. Sargent's gold medal to Dr. Morgan, for a prize essay. The following advertisement explains the nature of this honor:

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, March 6th, 1766.

WHEREAS, John Sargent, Esq., Merchant of London and Member of Parliament, hath presented to this College a Gold Medal for the best English Essay on the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual union between Great Britain and her American Colonies, notice is hereby given by order of the Trustees, that the said Medal will be disposed of at the ensuing Commencement in May, for the best Essay that shall be produced on the subject proposed, by any one of those who have received any degree or part of their education in this College; and, as the said subject is one of the most important which can at this time employ the pen of the patriot or scholar, and is thus left open to all those who have had any connection with this College, either as students or graduates, it is hoped for the honor of the Seminary, as well as their own, they will nobly exert themselves on a subject so truly animating, which may be treated in a manner alike interesting to good men, both here and in the Mother country.

From nine performances which were presented, the Committee of Trustees selected that of Dr. Morgan, and, immediately after the valedictory oration, "the Hon. John Penn, Esq., Governor of the Province, as President of the Trustees of the College, delivered the medal to the Provost, ordering him to confer it in public agreeably to their previous determination. The Provost accordingly acquainted the audience that the same had been decreed to John Morgan, M. D., F. R. S., &c., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the College of Philadelphia, and then requested Dr. Morgan to deliver his dissertation in public, which

being finished, the eulogy accompanied the conferring of the medal."*

The sweet name of Thomas Secker now returns. His letters show how sincere was the love of this pious prelate for the Church in America, and how sincerely it was his wish to give to us an Episcopate of our own. Political causes prevented our having it.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Dr. Smith.

LAMBETH, August 2nd, 1766.

GOOD DR. SMITH: It is long since I wrote to you: Sickness and business have had their shares in preventing me, but the chief hindrance hath been that I could say nothing determinate concerning [MS. lost]. Our principal American ecclesiastical settlement of Quebec was almost made [a basis?] on which a Bishop might easily be grafted. But that was opposed by one great man as not favourable enough to the Papists. Then the Ministry changed. We were to begin again; and could get nothing but fair words though the King interposed for us. Now it is changed once more, and whether we shall fare better or worse for it I cannot guess. I have begged the Bishop of London to take out a commission. He is backward; but I hope at length to prevail, and then we may set up our corresponding Societies.† There were no improper expressions in the Address of the Connecticut or of the New York and New Jersey clergy; but they came when both you and we were on fire about the Stamp Act; and so were not presented. But the King was apprised of the contents of them, and desired they might be postponed.

The Bishops have expressed their good wishes to Mr. Wheelock's School,‡ but declined contributing to it, as the Society designs to set up one in imitation of it, which Sir William Johnson, who desires to be a member of the Society, presses as peculiarly seasonable. We have sent to ask his advice, and Mr. Barton's, and shall be glad of yours and every Friend's, in what place or places, under what masters or Regulations, we may best begin the work. I was at first for sending Indians to Mr. Wheelock, to be afterwards Episcopally ordained; but Mr. Apthorp was

* The essay was published, with others, under the title, "Four Dissertations on the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual union between Great Britain and her American Colonies, written for Mr. Sargent's Prize Medal, to which by desire is prefixed an Eulogium, spoken on the delivery of the medal at the public Commencement of the College of Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766. Philadelphia: Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, at the London Coffee-House, 1766."

† These were probably the Societies recommended by Dr. Smith, just previous to his leaving England for America, in a letter to the Bishop of London, of April 17th, 1764. See the letter, *supra*, on p. 348.

‡ This, I suppose, was what became Dartmouth College.

clear that they would all turn out Presbyterians. Mr. Whitfield hath got such hold of Lord Dartmouth, who was first Lord of Trade till a few Days ago, that I laboured in vain to oppose his scheme for the Orphan House. But if it be not completed, I hope it may now be altered. I wrote a long Letter to Mr. Duché in December, in answer to one from him about his religious notions. I hope he hath communicated it to you, and hath at least received no harm from it. I considered Mr. Peters as some way superior to the compliment of a Doctor's Degree; but if you find he would like it, and think it would be useful, I can easily obtain it on your sending me word, where he was educated, what Degree he hath, what age he is, &c. I condole with you on the sad loss of Messrs. Wilson and Giles and your Brother, which I mentioned to the King as one argument for American Bishops.* You will have had an account from Dr. Barton of what the Society have on the occasion, and I hope you will find that sooner or later, such care, as we can, hath been taken, or will be taken, of every thing which you have recommended to us; particularly we shall be mindful of what Mr. Peters and you desire concerning Sussex and Kent Counties. Mr. Neill hath been directed not to give his assistance any longer to Mr. Macclanachan's congregation, as they have made no application to the Bishop of London. The clergy at New York have been alarmed with a Report that the American Dissenters are uniting themselves with the Kirk of Scotland, in hopes of obtaining by their means some new privileges from our Parliament. I do not apprehend any danger of that sort. Pray write frequently and fully about everything, though I should write seldom and briefly. Yet I will endeavour to mend in that respect, if I am able. But at least be assured that I shall take much notice of your Information and advice, and that I am,

With great Regard,

Your loving brother,

THO. CANT.

On September 6th, Dr. Smith having purchased a tract of land on the Juniata, at the mouth of Standing Stone† Creek, went there

* These were two young men who died on their voyage to England to get orders. It appears that up to the year 1767 fifty-two young gentlemen had sailed for Holy Orders. Forty-two returned safely. Ten, Messrs. Bradstreet, Browne, Miner, Dean, Checkley, Colton, Johnson, Usher, Giles and Wilson, lost their lives in the attempt. *Address from the Clergy of New York and New Jersey to the Episcopalians in Virginia.* New York: 1771. P. 48—Note.

† The *Standing Stone*, a landmark for trader and Indian travelling through the wilds of Western Pennsylvania in the middle of the last century, is first mentioned in records by Weiser in his Journal to Logstown. "Aug. 18, 1748," he writes, "had a great rain in the afternoon, and came within two miles of the Standing Stone." When the town of Huntingdon was laid out a few years prior to the Revolution, this historic column

with his brother, Thomas Smith, afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, to survey it. The place is where the town of Huntingdon now stands. A small settlement or trading-post, called Huntingdon, was upon the tract. Mr. Day, in his "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," states that the name Huntingdon was given to it by Dr. Smith, who having received when in England a large contribution to his College from the Countess of Huntingdon, named the town with her title, as a token of his grateful estimation of her liberality. There is no foundation for this story. Dr. Smith did, however, lay out the town now called Huntingdon, in regular lots, and sold them on ground-rent. The spot had been a trading-post, commonly called Huntingdon, after the township in which it was. The absence of foundation for the story of Mr. Day appears in the following petition from this region, where the name of Huntingdon appears as early as 1748, before Dr. Smith came to America, and where it appears that numbers of English people were settled at that early day:

To the Honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, &c.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Townships of Huntingdon and Tyrone, commonly called Conninaga, on the West side of the River Susquehana, in the Province of Penselvania.

May it please your Honours Graciously to look upon our Humble Petition for a minister of y^e Church of England & send us one to reside amongst us, & whereas we are sensible that itt is our duty to do y^e best we can toward his maintenance we transmit, enclosed with this, our Subscription for that purpose which we promise to renew & pay every year as long as he shall reside & officiate amongst us, & we make no doubt of y^e Subscription encreasing when we have a minister upon y^e spot who by his prudent conduct may recommend himself to those who at present are not so warm in y^e cause as we, but yet well minded to itt. Besides this Subscription we have purchased a Tract of Land of an hundred and eighty acres to remaine a Glebe for y^e use of y^e minister excepting as much thereof as shall be thought proper for a church yard or Burying Ground & we have built a small church already, which we have called Christ Church, of thirty feet long & twenty wide upon the same Tract. Besides there is another Tract of Land upon the Banks of Susquehana about Twenty miles distant given to y^e use of minister for the time being of y^e said church & to remain for ever a Glebe, containing One Hundred

was still, though mutilated, at its place. There is a "Standing Stone" in the Susquehanna, opposite the village of that name, in Bradford county, and there were Standing Stones at other places.

Acres, by the late M^r. John Huggins in his will he having dyed less than two years past. We have further to add that there are a good number of People members of our church at a place called Connidaigninam about Twenty miles from us who offer to join with us, & are willing to pay y^e missionary your Honours shall please to send in proportion to y^e share of the service that he will allow them. We humbly pray that your Honours will take this our humble Petition into consideration and according to your wonted piety & charity send us a missionary to whom we promise to pay great regard which we think is due to his sacred character. We are in a starving condition for y^e spiritual nourishment of our Souls nor can we ever hear Divine Service without travelling many miles. M^r. Locke is the nearest by much & he above Forty miles from us. We dread to think of our children being brought up in ignorance as to all Divine Knowledge & it cuts us to the very harte to see our poor Infants dye without being made members of Christ by Baptism. We are not willing to take up much of your Honours' time and therefore state our case as briefly as we can. We pray God to put itt in your Hearts to consider us & that he will reward your pious & charitable care for y^e churches in America is the hearty prayers of

May it please your Honours,

Your most obedient & humble Servants.

October y^e 3 day, 1748.

What became of the ancient Christ Church, mentioned in this early petition, I am not able to say. The place, however, is rendered interesting to churchmen by its later history as by its earlier. On this spot it was that on the 14th of August, 1836, the saintly JOHN WALLER JAMES, Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, having attained but the age of 31 years, rendered up his spirit. He had been the assistant of Bishop White; and on his death, July 17th, 1836, was elected Rector of the church. Availing himself of a short season of leisure afforded to him by the alterations which, at that time, were making in the church edifice, he left Philadelphia to visit his aged parents in Pittsburgh. Before arriving at Huntingdon he was taken ill, and stopped in that place. After a short term of severe suffering he died. His last words were:

"I wish to say to the dear people of my charge, 'Remember the words I spake unto you, while I was yet alive. The same truths make me happy in the prospect of death and heaven.'"

The people of Christ Church, Philadelphia, to whom Mr. James had deeply endeared himself by his lovely character and devotion to their welfare, erected a memorial chapel, meant to commemo-

rate the place of his death and their own affection for his memory.*

Dr. Smith to the Bishop of London.

PHILADELPHIA, 13th Nov^r, 1766.

MY LORD: The last time I did myself the Honor to write to your Lordship was by M^r. Evans.† I cannot now let the Bearers, M^r. Samuel Magaw and M^r. John Andrews, go without a few lines. They were educated and graduated under me, and I hope on Examination will do credit to our College. Their Letters to Doctor Burton‡ mention their Destination, viz. : Dover and Lewes, on Delaware, and their Testimonials to your Lordship will certify their moral character.

M^r. Macclanechan's or S^t. Paul's Congregation in this City I believe will now at last write to your Lordship. When we know that what they write has your Lordship's approbation, then will be time enough for us to take notice of them. I know they will make strong professions of their attachment to the Church as they do to us here. They will complain that the Missionaries (who indeed are but thin here and have Business enough of their own) do not supply them. But while their conduct contradicts their professions, while they look only to M^r. Whitefield to send them a Minister and want our Clergy to be convenient Instruments to keep them together till they can have a Minister of this stamp to divide and tear us to pieces, I cannot think we owe them any Service. They will even profess to your Lordship that they will have no Minister without your Licence; but they will try their Minister first, and if they like him, then they will ask a Licence. If your Lordship gives it, all will be well; if you refuse it for reasons *they* do not think sufficient, what will they do then? I have asked them the question and they say they would not give their man up; which was the case with M^r. Macclanechan, whom they kept, tho' refused a Licence, till at last they quarrelled with him. This was their conduct before. I hope they are now coming to a better sense, which we sincerely wish for and strive to promote. Your Lordship will be able to judge from their address and we shall be guided, as in Duty bound, by your advice, w^{ch} we hope to have as soon as possible.

I think after all they will not ask your Lordship to provide a minister for them, but will still look to the old Quarter, tho' I hope I may be

* Some thirty years ago the writer resided for some time in the town of Huntingdon. It was here he was married—it was before the Pennsylvania Railroad or telegraph was made—when it took eight or ten days to write to Philadelphia and get an answer. The recollection of the days spent in the "*Ancient Borough*" are replete with pleasant memories, as they were among the happiest of his varied life.

† Nathaniel Evans, the young man whose address at the College we have quoted on page 365-6; and of whom we give a particular account further on.

‡ Secretary, I believe, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in place of Dr. Bearcroft, who, I presume, was no longer living.

deceived and shall be glad to find myself so. They are now neither numerous nor of much Note, but are still worthy to be brought into the Bosom of our Church, if it can be done. Those among them who are true Churchmen, have generally fallen off. The rest are a mixt sort, chiefly for an Independent Church of England—a strange sort of Church, indeed! But the Notion gains too much Ground here even among some of the Clergy. I believe your Lordship will perceive something of this kind not altogether pleasing, if the resolves of a majority of last Jersey Convention should come before you against Commissaries, &c., preferring thereto a kind of Presbyterian or Synodical self-delegated Government by Conventions, which I fear will end in Quarrels by every one's striving to be uppermost in their turn and never could have been thought of, but as an expedient for friendly converse and advice, till something better could be done. I could not attend that convention, being the day our College met after vacation, and the place at 80 miles distance. I attended and presided in the year 1764, when all was harmony and the Design of Commissaries, corresponding Societies, &c., approved of. Mr. Peters attended now and bore his testimony against these Resolves as not becoming Missionaries especially, and Servants of the Society, and perhaps he may give some account of the matter to your Lordship. He was milder, I believe, than I should have been, for I think I should never have sat among them if they had put one of their own number in the Chair, while a member of the Society, a Clergyman of respect^{dy}, was present.

I am, Your Lordship's dutiful son and Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

About this time—some time, I mean, in 1766—Dr. Smith, notwithstanding his other labors, found time to preach frequently in Trinity Church, Oxford; a church at some distance from Philadelphia; and he continued to preach there for many years. For the sake, too, of procuring for it certain advantages in law, he suffered himself to be elected rector; though parochial duty was not greatly to his taste, and the less so because it necessarily interfered with his duties as Provost. Dr. Buchanan, its present respected incumbent, to whose excellent historical sketch of the Parish I have already referred,* gives all that I believe any one can now tell us on the subject. He says:†

A few months after the removal of Mr. Neill, in 1776, the vestry invited the Rev. Dr. William Smith, of the "College of Philadelphia," and a gentleman eminent for his learning and abilities, to accept the

* See *supra*, p. 260

† Page 31.

charge of the congregation; and he, "in consideration of the difficulties they were labouring under," consented to do so for a time, or until they could obtain another minister. He continued to officiate here certainly till 1770, and most probably for several years longer.

In 1770 the church wardens and vestrymen, in a communication addressed to the Society in England, write concerning him:

We are likewise to acknowledge that, since Mr. Neill's removal, the mission hath been supplied, with the approbation of the Society, by the Rev^d. Dr. Smith, who, notwithstanding his many engagements, hath been constant in his attendance upon us & zealous for the good of the congregation.

In the remainder of the letter, as they speak of a fact much to his credit, and of a change and improvement in the church building, which was probably soon after made, I shall make a further quotation from it:

We are now about putting a new roof on the church, and propose erecting a gallery; for defraying the expence of which, as it would be too great for us at present, Dr. Smith hath generously agreed to appropriate (with the Society's leave) one half of the two years' rent of the Glebe due to him, and also one half of the present year's rent.

Dr. Smith probably continued to officiate for them—at least occasionally—until his removal from Philadelphia to Maryland, about the year 1779. Nothing, however, is known in reference to the point; for the book containing the parochial Records for several years from 1770 was lost about the year 1782.

We have now an interesting letter, one which shows how far from "narrowness" and "bigotry" were the views of the first Provost, although he does no more "than just to mention the *facts* and the accession it might bring to our Church." I do not find, however, that his suggestion received any countenance from the Bishop of London. Nor would it be covered by Dr. White's tract of "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered;" a tract which expresses views applicable to a very special case indeed; one incident to a long war of English colonies, like that which was our Revolution; the case of a church wholly unable to procure Episcopal ordination—on the point of being extinguished, the extinguishment followed by a cessation in its communion of all religious ordinances and services whatsoever; a declaration of the necessity of Episcopal ordination whenever it can be had, and a determination to procure it at the earliest date practicable, preceding the whole arrangements contemplated.*

* When Dr. White issued this tract there was no prospect of a peace with England; and even if a cessation from war was secured, no prospect of any such relations with Great Britain as would give to us an Episcopate. On the first prospect of a peace with

The presence, however, in any great numbers, of regularly ordained ministers like the Rev. William Dunlap, I do admit, might tend to justify a little a laxity of notions such, perhaps, as, with such able clergy as were in the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, invaded, for a short time, the mind of Dr. Smith.

Dr. Smith to the Bishop of London.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec^r 18, 1766.

MY LORD: This will be delivered to your Lordship by M^r. Bryzelius, who has had ordination among the German Lutherans here and has maintained a good character as a preacher among them. He comes to London for Episcopal Ordination, in pursuance of the desire of the Society to M^r. Peters and myself to send some person capable of officiating in English and German in Nova Scotia, and his Credentials are signed by the Reverend M^r. Muhlenberg, the head of the numerous Body of the Lutherans in this Province, and the Reverend D^r. Wrangel, Commissary to the Swedish Congregations, both men worthy of all Credit from your Lordship. M^r. Bryzelius is a sedate and sensible man of good education and strong Constitution, and has already acquitted himself with such prudence among the Germans that we have no doubt of his future good conduct. He has often preached among our English Congregations to their satisfaction.

There is an extreme good disposition among the Lutheran Clergy here to be united to our Church, and tho' M^r. Bryzelius has agreed to go to England and request what they consider as the Re-ordination, yet this matter staggers many of them even as a point of conscience; setting aside the risque and distance of the Seas.

Your Lordship knows this is no new scruple among reformed persuasions that are desirous of Union with our Church. I think the majority of the great Divines concerned in the comprehension Scheme in King William's time seemed to be inclined to a concession that "those who had not had an opportunity of Episcopal Ordination, but had been ordained beyond Seas in any of the reformed Churches, be not required to re-ordination to render them capable of preferment in our Church." It is said also that there was an act of Q. Elizabeth of the same Import, but whether intended as temporary in favor of those of our Nation ordained abroad in the former times of trouble, or for what other reason I am not sufficiently versed in these matters to say. D^r. De Laune and M^r. Whittington, we are told, were both admitted to Livings, the latter to the Deanery of Durham, tho' ordained at Geneva, and had Judgment

Great Britain he called in all the copies which he could find of the tract. I think that when he issued it, he and Dr. Blackwell, assistant minister with him in the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, were the only two Episcopal Clergymen in Pennsylvania. At one time they were certainly so.

in Law that his Title to his Living was not thereby invalidated for want of Episcopal Ordination.

The Lutheran Ministry in America, willing to conform to our Church, have more to urge in their own favor, for those I have spoken of above being then in England, had an opportunity of Ordination from Bishops, but the latter have not without an expence and risque in crossing the Seas, which few will be able to undergo.

Whether, then, anything could be done to receive them without this is a matter which must be with your Lordship and our Superiors, and which it becomes not us any further to meddle with than just to mention the facts and the accession it might bring to our Church.

My last to your Lordship was by M^r. Andrews and M^r. Magaw, both educated in our College, since which another, M^r. Edmiston, educated with them, has sailed for Maryland on the same Errand. I hope it will appear to your Lordship that they are all well grounded in their education.

Your Lordship will give me the Leave in all humble Duty to mention an affair by which our Church, I fear, will suffer a little in the sight of her adversaries here. One William Dunlap, a Printer in this place, having also a printing press in Barbadoes, having gone to that Island after his Business, applied here for recommendations for orders which we could not give, as he had no education but reading and writing, as well as for other reasons. He did, however, it seems, procure Letters from some Clergy in Barbadoes, tho' they could not have known him above a year. No doubt they thought and your Lordship thought that, in the remote and new settled Islands, a pious man, without the learned languages, &c., might be useful, and with that view we hear your Lordship received him. Had he staid there in the West Indies, it might have been all well. But he is now in Philadelphia preaching in St. Paul's Church, and in a place where Presbyterian preachers have all some Learning, where the Laity, too, have learning, and where some things are remembered to his disadvantage, particularly the affair of a Lottery which a few years ago he had and was like to have been brought into Law trouble about it. His Printing Press, too, he still carries on, and it is seldom a "prophet has honor in his own country."

The man always appeared to me a simple, inoffensive man, whom I never could have thought of recommending for Orders, tho' I know no harm of him; only I wish he had not come here.

I mentioned St. Paul's Congregation in my last. No doubt your Lordship has received their Letters. A few days ago M^r. Whitefield sent them a letter telling them that he had prevailed on a Clergyman (they say M^r. Chapman, of Bath and Bradford) to come to them. Surely he will wait on your Lordship, tho' some here say not. I have some acquaintance with him. M^r. Evans, after preaching twice to them, declined any further Service and is properly applied to the Business of

his own Mission. I have yet little expectation of the Regularity from that Congregation, but I hope I may be deceived.

Your Lordship's goodness will excuse the Freedom I have mentioned M^r. Dunlap's affair as it is only to yourself, thinking it my Duty to do it, because if any other persons should come without Testimonials from the place where they properly reside and are known, Care may be taken to inquire concerning them. I need not mention that I would not have any public notice taken of the hints I have given, for M^r. Dunlap was bred under M^r. Franklin, now in England, in his Printing Office, and married some Relation of his, and his knowledge of our writing any thing now might only make differences. I hope prejudice will wear off and M^r. Dunlap be useful in some place, tho' not in this Town.

I am, Your Lordship's most dutiful son and Servant,

W^m. SMITH.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CORRESPONDENCE—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—WILLIAM DUNLAP IS ORDAINED A CLERGYMAN BY THE BISHOP OF LONDON—DR. SMITH'S REMARKS ON HIM—COMMENCEMENT DAY, 1767—DEGREES OF MASTER CONFERRED ON DAVID RITTENHOUSE AND JAMES WILSON—DR. SMITH DELIVERS A COURSE OF LECTURES IN THE WINTER OF 1767-8 ON NATURAL AND EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY FOR THE BENEFIT OF MEDICAL STUDENTS—ASSUMES TEMPORARY CHARGE OF CHRIST CHURCH—IS ELECTED TEMPORARY CHAPLAIN OF THE 18TH OR ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT—CORRESPONDENCE—DR. SMITH AND OTHERS TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON—COMMENCEMENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ARTS OF 1768—COMMENCEMENT IN THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—WAS THE FIRST IN THE UNITED STATES.

WE continue our extracts from Dr. Smith's correspondence. They disclose some curious particulars about the Church clergy; particularly about William Dunlap, whose imprints are known to the Bibliophiles of Philadelphia. It is probably to some such cases as that of Spencer that Bishop White refers in his "Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," and where he speaks of the "scandal sometimes brought on the Church by the ordination of low and vicious persons," "generally," he adds in a note, "by deceptions on the Bishop of London;" one of the proofs, as he considers, of the attachment of our church people to episcopacy, as it subjected them to such, among "many inconveniences," incident to having to send "three thousand miles for ordination."

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, May 1st, 1767.

REV^d AND WORTHY SIR: I have by Col. Croghan & with him & Mr. Peters's advice laid before S^r W^m Johnson a scheme something different, much more extensive & what he is pleased to think better, than any other for propagating the Gospel and the arts of Civil life among the Indians. Col. Croghan is just returned from him & he has sent me by him a few lines to let me know he will write fully to me as soon as the Indians then at his house were departed.

I shall in my next send you copies of the papers; & no doubt S^r W^m himself will write anew on the subject.

You did well to give M^r. Sturgeon the answer you did, for I assure you, on my own knowledge there are not more than two heads of families, & those of but poor characters, that are inclined to hear him in Oxford Mission. Time may make it otherwise. M^r. Barton is the person they desire, but they cannot yet encourage him. I have as often as I could be spared from Philadelphia & generally once a fortnight supplied Oxford since M^r. Neill's departure, & in order to recover their Glebe lands, rent their pews & do other things necessary, have suffered them to vote & enter me on their Books as their Minister till September next, or longer, if it suits me & the Society approves. But I would not have you make any entry of anything of this on your public minutes till you hear from them or me.

I am exceeding sorry & our Church suffers much by the too easy admittance of some men of indifferent character & no abilities into holy orders. One Dunlap, a Printer of this Town, who had no education & could scarce read English, has been ordained. One Spence or Spencer, who was publicly carted thro' New York & was otherwise of very bad character, to our prodigious astonishment we hear is also ordained. No Church on this Continent will receive him.

One Shippen & one of the name of Sayre, both born in this Town of reputable Parents, but who have been spendthrifts & behaved very wildly, we hear are gone home for the Gown.

I know the B^p of London is a most worthy and venerable Prelate, but I fear has been deceived in some recommendations. When young men or other candidates for orders come from America & bring nothing from any of the Clergy of the Province where they lived or were born, they ought always to be suspected. I do not say my recommendation or any other particular man's is necessary; but surely that of two or three reputable Clergymen, who have known the person recommended for at least two or three years, is requisite by your own Rules.

I am, worthy Sir,

WM. SMITH.

The Same to the Same.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, Sept^r 1, 1767.

REV^d & WORTHY SIR: I have in several late Letters informed you that since M^r. Neill's departure in October last, I have twice in three weeks supplied the Mission at Oxford in order to prevent that old and respectable Mission from dwindling away, and as the act of our Assembly, which was made for selling the old and purchasing the New Glebe, required that there should be a Minister to constitute a Vestry & do any legal act, I was obliged last February to let the people nominate me their Minister, in order that we might proceed to get possession of the Glebe for the use of the Church, and I accordingly consented to supply them for one year or till you appointed another, unless so far as M^r. Peters's indisposition might require my assistance in Town, which has been but seldom till within these few weeks past.

I have got possession of the Glebe & have leased it for one year, to commence from the first of June last, but this year's rent will not be sufficient to make the necessary repairs to the house and fences, which are suffered to go to great ruin. I have also let out the Pews and done everything to make the Mission worth M^r. Barton's acceptance, who has an unanimous invitation from the people. He was down here last week, but has not given his answer whether he will accept, as he fears he will change for the worse.

In the meantime I shall give them what help I can, but as nothing can be got this first year from the Pews nor from the Glebe, M^r. Neill's Tenant being insolvent, I shall receive nothing and shall be considerably out of Pocket in my frequent visits, besides Sundays, unless the Society should be pleased to give me some consideration, as they did D^r. Cooper, for supplying West Chester.*

I find by a Letter from the Lord Bishop of London that D^r. Franklin recommended M^r. Spencer for Orders, which is astonishing, as he well knew the shameful Character he bore at New York. The same D^r. Franklin recommended, as I am told, one M^r. Dunlap, a Printer, who is constantly thrown in our dish by the Presbyterians, & you say he has recommended M^r. Sturgeon to Oxford, where I assure you nobody would go to hear him, nor would they receive him; so that you see I had some reasons to give you hints concerning that Gentleman's recommendations, who may have political, but is not like to have religious motives for them.

I am, Rev^d and Worthy Sir, &c.,

WM. SMITH.

* This is West Chester, in New York.

The Commencement Day of 1767 took place on the 17th of November. Dr. Smith prepared for the occasion "An Exercise, containing a Dialogue and two Odes." The exercises in a former year were printed by William Dunlap, in Philadelphia. But, as we shall see directly, he had now turned clergyman. Those for this year were printed by William Goddard, who for a short time was established as a printer and publisher in Market Street, Philadelphia; a man of far superior education and capacity in every way to Dunlap.

Among the graduates were *Jacob Bankson*, *James Cannon*, afterwards Professor of Mathematics, from 1779 to 1796, in the College; *Francis Johnston*, a Colonel, A. D. 1778, in the Revolutionary army, and who died A. D. 1815; *Joshua Maddox Wallace*, son of Mr. John Wallace, originally of Drumellier in Scotland, afterwards of Philadelphia. He was born in the city just named October 4, 1752, and received his primary education in Newark, Delaware. Immediately on his graduation in the College at Philadelphia, he acted for a short time as tutor there. On the occupation of the city he went to New Jersey, and resided in Burlington till his death, in 1819. He was a Judge of the Common Pleas for Burlington county, N. J., 1784; member (1787) of the Convention of New Jersey which ratified the Constitution of the United States; a member of the Assembly of New Jersey; Trustee from 1799-1819 of Princeton College; Representative of New Jersey in the General Conventions of the Episcopal Church for the years 1786, 1795, 1808, 1811, 1814, and 1817; President of the Trustees of the Burlington Academy; President of the Society of New Jersey for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality; President of the Convention held in New York, May, 1816, by which the American Bible Society was formed. This graduate was a grandson on the maternal side of Joshua Maddox, Esquire, one of the founders and first trustees of the College.

A name, very eminent in the science of jurisprudence, comes too within the class of this year. I refer to that of Edward Tilghman. This great man was a native of Maryland, born at Wye, on the Eastern Shore, December 11th, 1750. He received his education, literary and classic, at Philadelphia. He went to England about the year 1770-71, and was entered as a student at the Middle Temple in the latter year. He remained in England probably

during the entire war, and was admitted to the Bar of Philadelphia on the 22d of June, 1785. After his admission, he gradually rose into practice, and continued in the exercise of his profession until his death, November 1st, 1815. During this time he held no office, and was content to be a lawyer. Governor McKean offered him the Chief-Justiceship, upon the death of Chief-Justice Shippen; but he declined it, and threw his influence in favor of his cousin, William Tilghman, who is recognized as an ornament of the Bench. Edward Tilghman was a deep-read lawyer, particularly well versed in the abstruse doctrines of devises and contingent remainders.

The honorary degree of *Master of Arts* was bestowed upon two men—both eminent, but eminent in different branches of science—David Rittenhouse and James Wilson. William Barton, nephew of the former,* tells us that the Provost, in conferring these degrees, addressed the two candidates in form. To Rittenhouse he said :

SIR: The trustees of this College (the Faculty of Professors cheerfully concurring) being ever desirous to distinguish real merit, especially in the natives of this province—and well assured of the extraordinary progress and improvement which you have made, by a felicity of natural genius, in mechanics, mathematics, astronomy, and other liberal arts and sciences, all which you have adorned by singular modesty and irreproachable morals—have authorized and required me to admit you to the honorary degree of Master of Arts in this Seminary. I do, therefore, by virtue of this authority, most cheerfully admit, &c.

Some address, suited to his proficiency in other branches, was made to Wilson. Wilson, however, had no biographer, and we have no special record of the address which was made to him. *Sacri tate caret.*†

The Medical Department of the College from its origin always much interested Dr. Smith. He could look into the seeds of

* Life of Rittenhouse, page 157.

† *James Wilson* was a Scotchman, born in 1742, and educated at Edinburgh. He came to America in 1766, studied law, and was admitted to the Bar about the year 1770. His talents were early conspicuous, and he was entrusted with important public interests. He was a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution of the United States. He was appointed by Washington a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. His eminence at the Bar, and his public services of many kinds, especially in the Federal Convention, were high. No record of them can be made in a note like this.

time, and say which grain will grow and which will not. Early in the year he united with the physicians in the Board of Trustees, and with Drs. Morgan and Shippen in framing a "Code of Rules" for it. They were submitted to the Board of Trustees in May, 1768, and at once adopted by it.

Later in the year he devoted himself to giving lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy. We give his printed announcement. It is a proof of the extraordinary variety of his attainments and the versatility of his talents.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, December 17th, 1767.

At the request of the Medical Trustees and Professors, the subscriber having last winter opened a course of Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy, for the benefit of the Medical Students, which he hath engaged to continue this winter on an extensive plan, notice is hereby given that on Monday, the 28th inst., at 12 o'clock, it is proposed to deliver the Introductory Lecture at the College. As these lectures are instituted and given gratis, with the view to encourage the medical schools lately opened, and to extend the usefulness and reputation of the College, any gentlemen who have formerly been educated in this Seminary, and are desirous of renewing their acquaintance with the above mentioned branches of knowledge, will be welcome to attend the course.

To the standing use of the large apparatus belonging to the College, Mr. Kinnersley has engaged to add the use of his electrical apparatus which is fixed there, and to deliver the lectures on electricity himself, as well as to give his occasional assistance in other branches; so that with these advantages, and the many years' experience of the subscriber in conducting lectures of this kind, it is hoped the present course will answer the design of its institution and do credit to the Seminary.

W. SMITH.

N. B.—An evening lecture in some branches of Mathematics, preparatory to the philosophical course, is opened at the College.

We arrive at the year 1768.

He now, for a short time, in the beginning of this year, took charge of Christ Church. The cause of his doing this is interestingly stated in the following extract from Dr. Dorr's history of that parish. Dr. Peters, before becoming the Rector of this church, had long been Secretary of the Provincial Land Office of Pennsylvania, and had there been brought into intimate relation with Indian affairs.

FEBRUARY 16th, 1768.

The Rector (Dr. Peters) informed the vestry that there was to be an Indian Treaty held at Fort Stanwix for the settlement of a boundary line between the Indians and his Majesty, and other matters of importance; and that the Governor and Council had desired that he would attend, from the belief that his long experience in Indian affairs would enable him to be of great service there; but as he thought with them that he might be of some service, being personally acquainted with Sir William Johnson, and having received letters from M^r. Croghan, Sir William's deputy, expressing their opinion that his attendance would be serviceable, he had consented to go; and that his friend, Dr. Smith, had been kind enough to promise to do his (Dr. Peters') duty during his absence. The vestry expressed satisfaction, &c.

In the spring of 1768 the 18th Regiment, commonly called the "Royal Regiment of Ireland," was at Philadelphia. It was composed of the survivors of the 60th and 42d regiments and of those of Montgomery's Highlanders. Their loss, while under Col. Bouquet here and in the West Indies, had been thirteen officers, twelve sergeants, and three hundred and eighty-two rank and file. James Wemyss—an uncle of Dr. Smith's wife—was the second officer in command. Dr. Peters having now returned from Fort Stanwix, Dr. Smith was elected the temporary chaplain. He preached a series of sermons; most or all of them being delivered in the "Great Hall of the College" before the regiment. The first was delivered on the 7th of April—the last in the summer; being a "Farewell to the Regiment," then under marching orders. It was at this time commanded by Col. Wilkins, who had been a school-mate of Dr. Smith at Aberdeen. Five of the sermons are in Dr. Smith's Works.* The subject of them is the Christian Soldier's Duty—his whole duty in a free State, under a Government and Laws, human and divine, in times of Peace as well as of War; as a servant of his God, as a servant of his King, and as a member of society; interested alike with his fellow-citizens in all that concerns the peace, order and prosperity of his country. They embrace, of course, a wide range of topics, and the topics are grandly handled. We should be delighted to make extracts from these sermons; but our space forbids.

* Vol. II., pp. 155-251.

We will now resume our correspondence.

Dr. Peters, Dr. Smith and Mr. Duche to the Bishop of London.

PHILADELPHIA, April 22nd, 1768.

MY LORD: We have presumed to address your Lordship concerning two hopeful young Gentlemen who are desirous of presenting themselves to your Lordship for Holy Orders, viz. : M^r. John Montgomery and M^r. Thomas Coombe. They have both had a regular education in our College, the former having been about five years in it, and the latter more than ten years. Both have taken their Bachelor's Degree, and this Summer will be of standing for and admitted to their Master's Degree.

We have great want of Clergymen in these parts, and both the young Gentlemen could be immediately provided for. M^r. Montgomery, if the Society approve of it, has an opportunity of being settled in the Mission of Oxford, which with the approbation of the Society D^r. Smith hath supplied once every Fortnight since M^r. Neill left it in October, 1766, and which he would be glad to be released from the fatigue of as soon as convenient. M^r. Coombe can be provided for several ways, and both would have been recommended Home this Summer, if they were of the age required. But in this matter neither they nor we would dissemble with your Lordship. M^r. Montgomery is twenty-two years next August, and M^r. Coombe twenty-one about the same time, tho' each of them will be a year older before they can return to America, should they be allowed to embark from hence next September.

Our humble request to your Lordship therefore is to know by a few lines as soon as possible "Whether this want of the full age might not be dispensed with in regard to America, without being made a hurtful Precedent to others who have not so well improved their time." We know it will subject us to disagreeable solicitations, but we have the resolution, 'tis hoped, to withstand them where there may not be equal merit.

If the rule can in any case be dispensed with on account of the necessities of the Church here, we would recommend it in this case, for both the Gentlemen and three others nearly of their age have for two winters past attended Divinity Lectures under D^r. Smith, and have acquitted themselves so well in delivering their Sunday Evening Exercises, that seldom fewer than a thousand persons have attended to hear them. They are well versed in Composition, and are excellent Speakers, M^r. Coombe in particular being admired for his Talent in this way, nor have we the least Doubt of their prudence, and shall be ready to give, as we think they will be ready to receive, our best advice at their first setting out in Life.

We say nothing of their accomplishments in the Languages and liberal Sciences, as we are persuaded they will give your Lordship satisfaction

in that, and no way sink in your opinion the favorable Idea you have been pleased to form concerning the education of such Youth as have come already under your Lordship's notice from the College of this City.

We submit the whole to your Lordship's Wisdom and are,
Your Lordship's most dutiful sons & Servants,

RICHARD PETERS,
WILLIAM SMITH,
JACOB DUCHÉ.

P. S.—What is particularly desired is whether they may be permitted to come home next Fall, viz.: about September, or whether they must be obliged to wait longer and how long, so as to have Priest's Orders, for they cannot well afford the expence or time for two Voyages to London.

APRIL 24th, 1768.

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON:

Since writing the above it hath been rumoured that one M^r. Chambers, born in this Town, educated a Presbyterian in New Jersey College, hath gone into Maryland, got a title to a Curacy from one Adams, I think, and some of the Maryland Clergy to sign his Credentials, deceived, I suppose, by his College Certificate, which is full; but it is three years since he left College and they know nothing of Him during that time, he having been in this province, nor yet the Cause of his leaving the Presbyterians, nor a very high charge against him at Lancaster about a month ago, in this Province, which made him quit that and go to Maryland, as the Rev^d M^r. Barton, the Society's Missionary there, informed me. This, if true, must render him wholly unworthy of Holy Orders. I have wrote to him not to venture to embark till this is cleared up, but if he is gone I pray your Lordship may suspend doing anything concerning Him, and you shall have an Authentic Account, which is a charge of having a Bastard, the Truth or untruth of which your Lordship shall receive by a letter in less than two weeks after this date. In any case his Testimonials should have been from this Province, for he is an entire stranger in the place where he now is. W. SMITH.

We have already—at page 386—spoken of the disturbance raised by Dr. Chandler's appeal, and the petition of the Clergy at the New Jersey Convention for an American Episcopate. The following extract of a letter from Dr. Smith to the Bishop of London, and written, I suppose, about this time, refers to this matter. I am not able to state where or how Dr. Smith contributed "his mite" to the contest—I presume through the newspapers. I have no knowledge of any pamphlet by him on the subject, though I know of many by others.

(EXTRACT.)

I wrote your Lordship that I had much reason to fear the extraordinary warmth of the Jersey Conventions might do hurt. Their addresses and Dr. Chandler's appeal about Bishops for America, tho' in the main well done, have raised a great Flame. There is nothing but writing in every Newspaper. I could not approve of any Appeals to the Public here about Bishops, as thinking such Appeals *Coram non Judice* and only provoking Strife. However, the Church here is now very rudely treated by a malevolent set of Writers, and tho' I could have wished our side had not given any cause, yet they must not be left unsupported, and I am determined now to contribute my mite, for great openings are given to detect their shameful misrepresentations. The time does not allow me to add more, but only to beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your Lordship's most dutiful son and Servant,

WM. SMITH.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, May 6th, 1768.

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR,

* * * The Presbyterians from one end of the Continent to the other are attacking the Church about American Bishops. I never liked appealing to the publick here about it, as it was an appeal *Coram non Judice*, nor did I like the too great zeal of our late Jersey conventions, for which they thought me too cold. However, Dr. Chandler's Pamphlet, tho' too long and sometimes foreign to the purpose in it, is on the whole such as he can support, and tho' I wish he had not published it, yet it is well defensible and he shall not be left to stand alone, for the virulence of his antagonists is now not to be borne.

I am, Worthy Sir, &c.,

WM. SMITH.

Dr. Smith to the Bishop of London.

PHILADELPHIA, May 6th, 1768.

MY LORD: In a postscript to a Letter which I wrote to your Lordship about ten days ago, I mentioned with sorrow the information I had that one Chambers, born in this City and educated a Presbyterian in New Jersey College, who had left Lancaster, in this Province, on a charge of having a Bastard, had gone into Maryland and got a title to a curacy from one Adams, with a certificate to your Lordship from some Maryland Clergy, none of whom could have known him above a fortnight.

In that letter I promised your Lordship that I would get the truth of the story from the Reverend Mr. Barton, the Society's worthy Missionary at Lancaster, and write as soon as I received it, adding a humble request

that your Lordship would suspend doing anything in Chambers's affair till you should hear further.

I have since received a letter from M^r. Barton with a Deposition in the affair from one of the Magistrates of Lancaster Borough, and find the story too true. The deposition is that of Mary Kalleren before James Bickham, Esquire, dated 16th Feby., 1768, who does depose and say, &c., "That the Bastard child, wherewith she is pregnant, was begotten upon her by Joseph Chambers, late of Lancaster, Schoolmaster, who is the Father thereof and none else." On this Deposition Chambers ran off from Lancaster.

M^r. Barton in his letter of May 3^d writes thus: "I am really sorry to hear Chambers has got off; the Church will be ruined by such things. I enclose you the Deposition taken before M^r. Bickham. The Girl is since delivered and declared that Chambers and none else was the Father of her child. This she did in the *Pains and Perils of Child Birth*, which the Law deems the highest Testimony to convict a man of the crime of *Bastardy*. Chambers, after he went off, likewise wrote to M^{rs}. Stout, whose Servant the Girl is, to 'provide her with Lodging, necessities, &c.,' for all which he would pay. But had M^{rs}. Stout taken his word, she would have been left in the Lurch for this as well as he has done for his Board, &c.

"Capt. Singleton, from Newark (where Chambers lived before), is here at present and says this is not the first crime of the sort in him. In short, he is a person of no valuable qualifications, has read nothing and can scarce write three lines correctly. His passions are violent and his conceit insufferable. He seems to prefer a life of Dissipation to anything serious, and discovers a fondness for Drink, Gaming and Low Company. If these charges require proof, they may be soon had. I beseech you send off *Duplicates* and even *Triplicates* of Letters to the Bishop, else he will carry his point, as he is a bold, importunate man."

I think, my Lord, a worse Character can hardly be given. I pray God this may come time enough to your Lordship's hand, and I cannot but repeat what I once before took the liberty humbly to suggest, that whenever a Man comes recommended from any other Province or place but where he last resided, or where the Clergy who recommended do not certify three years' personal knowledge, there ought always to be suspicion. I wish I knew what method your Lordship would take to prevent Impositions of this sort. I know of none, but requiring the hands of some two or more Clergymen in each province whom your Lordship can confide in, as indispensably necessary in each Certificate from that Province. Perhaps Chambers may go to some other Bishop, but I hope your Lordship will take care they be apprized of him.

Your Lordship's most dutiful Son and Servant,

W. SMITH.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, August 20th, 1768.

DEAR & WORTHY SIR,

* * * I have an opportunity of *preaching* a great many times & baptizing numbers of children at a place fifty miles from any settled Minister, and hardly ever visited but when I see them.* Great numbers of them are Church people that have come from the back of Maryland, & the settlement of Religion in that part of the Country will soon be an object worthy of the Society's Notice.

I am in haste, Dear & worthy Sir, &c.,

WM. SMITH.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, Oct^r 22, 1768.

REV^d & WORTHY SIR: I enclose you a letter I have received from the Churchwardens of Bristol & of another Congregation now building a Church in Bucks County in this Province, about 25 miles from Philadelphia, who are greatly encouraged by many *Quakers*, who at this day declare themselves highly desirous of seeing the Church flourish from a fear of being overrun by Presbyterians.

The present favorable disposition to the Church in this vastly populous Province should be considered, and when you reflect that we have but 6 or 7 Missionaries in the whole of it, we hope it will be thought that some additions here are as necessary as in any place where they have been lately made, and you will consider that from my knowledge of the state of the Society's Funds I have always been backward in recommending anything new, tho' I see this Province has suffered by it, while others have been pushing forward.

We are to have 3 different Charters, one from New York, one from New Jersey, & one from our Pennsylvania Governor, so that in which Province soever we meet, as convenience requires, we are still a Corporation in that Province, & can let out our money accordingly where interest and security may be best.† These Charters will be passed in a few weeks; & all we want is the Society's sanction & consent to the two following clauses which I send you beforehand, not having time to copy the whole, & believing that D^r. Auchmuty's full copy will soon reach you along with our public Letter. The design is so truly good

* Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

† Dr. Smith here refers to the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England; an institution in which he greatly interested himself, and of which we give an account further on.

that I am not under the least doubt of its meeting with the sanction of the benevolent & worthy Society. The clauses are the 2^d & 3^d, viz. :

2^d That there be deducted as the yearly rate of each Missionary three pounds sterling out of the Salary such Missionary receives from England, and that the Treasurer of this Corporation have power to draw on the Treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the yearly contributors of the several Missionaries who shall subscribe to this scheme.

3^d. And whereas the Fund would suffer & uncertainties arise by vacancies in Mission—that humble application be made to the Ven^{ble} Society to allow the £3 Rules to continue during the vacancies, & if the Society could be further prevailed on to suffer the rents of Glebes or other rents & Interest money (not particularly appropriated) to come to the stock during such vacancy, the capital might be considerably assisted thereby.

By allowing this the Glebes, &c., which are generally neglected and seldom come to any good during vacancies, would be properly look'd after by this Corporation & be found in better order for the next Incumbent.

The rest of the scheme relates to the proportioning the Annuities between the Widows & children; to the payment of the annual rates of Ministers who are not Missionaries, & who are to pay one penny in the pound for every day's default, in consideration that the rates of the Missionaries being to be drawn for in one Bill on the Society are always sure pay at the day, which is the first Wednesday after the Feast of St. Michael in every year.

That worthless man Joseph Chambers is, I hear, gone to Ireland to try for orders. Can nothing be done to prevent it? Pray write to some of the Bishops to put them on their guard, if it is not too late.

Dear & worthy Sir, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

Dr. Smith to Sir William Johnson.

PHILA, December 17th, 1768.

HON^o SIR: I take this opportunity of Mr. Maclay to trouble you with a few lines, hoping that, after the hurry of the important services in which you have been engaged for so many months past, you may now find leisure to favor me with a few lines upon subjects that I have formerly written to you upon. Mr. Peters tells me you were kind to say you would write to me soon, & says he had a good deal of conversation with you about Church affairs, and that you are truly attentive to them; and indeed the Church stands in need of such friends as you.

I should be glad to know whether any lands be reserved for the Church and Indian Missions upon the plan formerly mentioned. I think I have heard that you have appropriated some land for that purpose in your own part of the country. Pray how much, and where situated? Is there any thing secured on the Ohio or its waters for

making an attempt there, which could be conducted under your direction by proper persons from this place? Mr. Murray would be glad to know what the encouragement is at Schenectady, because that will determine him whether to move or not. He has lately married a woman with some little fortune and good family in this city. Mr. Peters and I have talked seriously about supplying you with proper persons for the Indian Mission, and on the whole submit to you whether it were not best to have one or two pious young men of sound principles and good education, not exceeding 22 years of age, to be sent immediately to spend two years under your direction as Catechists and schoolmasters, till they acquire the language; others, if found fit, to be sent for orders. We have two such now, who can speak both German and English, educated in our College, of exemplary good behavior; one of them, on account of his grandfather, Conrad Weiser, perhaps, might be particularly acceptable to the Indians. He is also the son of a most worthy man, the Rev^d Mr. Muhlenberg, who married Weiser's daughter, and is at the head of the Lutheran Churches in this Province, and is willing his son should go on this business and take orders in the Church. The other is Equally well qualified. I believe Mr. Peters will write on this subject. I wish, by your interest, a small grant of 12 or 15,000 acres of land could have been or could yet be got for Mr. Barton and me. I know you wish us both well; I have seen your kind professions of friendship to Mr. Barton, and have also had the like from you to myself, altho' I never had any opportunity of making you any return except in what care I took of your son *Sir* John, which was done with affection and esteem. Many persons have been favored in large grants of this kind. We want only a small one; and if you could yet help us to it in a good place or near any thing of your own, we would cheerfully pay the cost and zealously forward the settlement. I beg, by Mr. Maclay, you'll favor me with a few lines on the several particulars above, which will be gratefully acknowledged by

Hon^d & worthy Sir,

Your most Obligated Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

P. S.—We have Erected a philosophical society here, whereof you are chosen a member. I hope you will permit me the honor of saying you accept of it. Our year's transactions will soon be published, and I shall send you a copy.

TO the HON^{BLE} SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.

The Commencement of 1768 in the Departments of Arts took place in the College Hall early in June. It was attended by the various public bodies. Among the graduates were William Bingham, born A. D. 1751; a Trustee, 1791; Delegate to the Continental

Congress, 1787-1788; Senator of the United States from Pennsylvania, 1795; President of the Senate, *pro tem.*; Commercial Agent of the United States, during the Revolution, to St. Martinique; Benjamin Duffield; Edward Duffield; Adam Kuhn. This last gentleman was born at Germantown in 1741, and was the son of a physician who had emigrated from Germany. He became a physician. He went to Europe at the age of twenty, and studied botany and *materia medica* in Sweden under Linnæus. Afterward he studied medicine at Edinburgh, and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1767. He was appointed a Professor in the Medical Department of this College.

The Medical Commencement of this year, being the first public commencement of any medical school in America, was held in the College Hall, on Saturday, June 21st. The ceremonies attending it are thus minutely detailed upon the Minutes of the Board of Trustees:

This day may be considered as the *Birth-day of Medical Honors in America*. The Trustees being met at half an hour past nine in the forenoon, and the several Professors and Medical Candidates, in their proper Habits, proceeded from the Apparatus Room to the Public Hall, where a polite assembly of their fellow-citizens were convened to honor the Solemnity.

The Provost having there received the Mandate for the Commencement from his Honor the Governor, as President of the Trustees, introduced the business of the day with Prayers and a short Latin Oration, suited to the occasion. The part alluding to the School of Medicine is in the following language:

Oh! Factum bene! Vos quoque Professores Medici, qui magno nummi, temporis et laboris sumptu, longâ quoque peregrinatione per varias regiones, et populos, domum reduxistis et peritiam, et nobile consilium servandi, et rationali praxi, docendi alios servare valetudinem vestrâ civium. Gratum fecistis omnibus, sed pergratum certè peritis illis medicis, qui artis suæ dignitatis conscii, praxin rationalem, et juventutis institutionem in re medicâ liberalem, hisce regionibus, ante vos longè desideraverunt.

To this succeeded—

1. A Latin oration, delivered by Mr. John Lawrence, "*De Honoribus qui in omni ævo in veros Medicinæ cultores collati fuerint.*"

2. A dispute, whether the Retina or Tunica Choroides be the immediate seat of vision? The argument for the retina was ingeniously maintained by Mr. Cowell; the opposite side of the question was supported with great acuteness by Mr. Fullerton, who contended that the Retina is incapable of the office ascribed to it, on account of its being easily permeable to the rays of light, and that the choroid coat, by its being

opaque, is the proper part for stopping the rays, and receiving the picture of the object.

3. *Questio, num detur Fluidum Nervosum?* Mr. Duffield held the affirmative, and Mr. Way the negative, both with great learning.

4. Mr. Tilton delivered an essay "On Respiration," and the manner in which it was performed did credit to his abilities.

5. The Rev. Provost, Dr. Smith, then conferred the degree of Medicine on the following gentlemen, viz. :

John Archer, of New Castle; David Jackson, of Chester; Benj. Cowell, of Bucks County; John Lawrence, of East Jersey; Saml. Duffield, of Phila.; Jonathan Potts, of Phila.; Jonathan Elmer, of West Jersey; James Tilton, of Kent Co., Del.; Humphrey Fullerton, of Lancaster; Nicholas Way, of Wilmington.

6. An elegant valedictory oration was spoken by Mr. Potts "On the Advantages derived in the Study of Physic from a previous liberal education in the other sciences."

Dr. Smith then addressed the graduates in a Brief Account of the present state of the College, and of the quick progress in the various extensive establishments it hath already made. He pointed out the general causes of the advancement as well as the decline of literature in different Nations of the world, and observed to the Graduates, that as they were the first who had received medical honors in America on a regular Collegiate plan, it depended much on them, by their future conduct and eminence, to place such honors in estimation among their countrymen; concluding with an earnest appeal that they would never neglect the opportunities which their profession would give them, when their art could be of no further service to the body, of making serious impressions on their patients, and showing themselves men of consolation and piety, especially at the awful approach of death, which could not fail to have singular weight from a lay character.

Dr. Shippen, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, then gave the remainder of the charge, further inviting the Graduates to support the dignity of their Profession by a laudable perseverance in their studies, and by a Practice becoming the character of gentlemen; adding many useful precepts respecting their conduct towards their patients, charity towards the poor, humanity towards all; and with reference to the opportunities they might have of gaining the confidence of the sick, and esteem of every one who by their vigilance and skill might be relieved from suffering, and restored to health.

The Vice-Provost concluded the whole with Prayer and Thanksgiving.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BIRTH OF A FOURTH SON—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO DR. SMITH—THE CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF THE WIDOWS AND CHILDREN OF CLERGYMEN IN THE COMMUNION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA—A CLERICAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY AND SAVINGS BANK—ITS SOLID CHARACTER AND GREAT USEFULNESS—DR. SMITH THE FOUNDER OF IT, A. D. 1769, AND LARGELY THE AUTHOR OF ITS EARLY SUCCESSFUL ESTABLISHMENT—IS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF IT, A. D. 1783, AND CONTINUES TO BE SO UNTIL 1789—THE GLOUCESTER MISSION—DR. SMITH ASSISTS AT AN INDIAN TREATY AND PREACHES TO THE INDIANS.

ON the 25th of January, 1769, Richard, the fourth son of Dr. Smith, was born. He was baptized in Christ Church on the 19th of March by the Rev. Dr. Peters; Dr. Smith and Richard Hockley, Esq., Receiver-General of the Province, being sponsors.

We have now a reply from Sir William Johnson to Dr. Smith's letter of December 17th, 1768, already given by us on page 417:

Sir William Johnson to Dr. Smith.

JOHNSON HALL, Jan^y 3^d, 1769.

SIR: The return of M^r. M^cClay affords me a good opportunity of answering your favor of last month on the subjects you mention on some of which M^r. Peters & I have conversed, and to whom I have wrote fully the other day as well concerning M^r. Murray, as of the Two Young men you mention for Orders your Sentiments on which I greatly approve.

I long since informed the Society that if his Majesty's permission was obt^d I would use my Interest to get a valuable Tract of Land for the Church but have never since received any thing concerned it, I however lately secured a purchase made by myself for these purposes, & if the Society will use their Interest to obtain the Royal Grant, I will still endeavor to get a large purchase to the Northward where the Line is not yet Closed.

M^r. Barton and yourself may be well assured of my friendly regards, and of my inclination to do you any good office in my power, I am likewise Sensible of your care of my Son, and your good inclinations towards him, and wish I could obtain the Tract you require in a Convenient place. The Line as I before observed is not closed to the Northward so that Lands there must lye till his Majesty's pleasure is known, and for the rest it is Ceded to the King by the late Treaty, so

that it is hard to know what will be the Channell for Patents in future, and the fees here are Extremely high—at the late Treaty nothing was done with regard to Lands but what related to the boundary, or had been before determined on, should any Tract answer that may be had on a reasonable lay worthy your attention, I shall be very Glad to serve you in it. I am much obliged by the honor done me in Choosing me a Member of the Philosophical Society, and altho' my Necessary Avocations must deprive me of much of the pleasure I might otherwise receive as one of that Body. I cannot but accept it with many thanks, heartily wishing that their Institution may be attended with that Utility to the public & Reputation to the founders which may be reasonably expected from the Transact^{ns} of Gentlemen who apply to studies of such importance.

Be assured, Sir, of the perfect esteem with which I am always yours,
&c.,
WILLIAM JOHNSON.

We still have letters indicative of still continuing trouble at St. Paul's. The evil that Macclanechan did, lived after him, or at least lived after his leaving Philadelphia. We have already given an account of the matters spoken of in the letter above.*

PHILADA, 22 Feb^r, 1769.

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR: * * As for Trenton, they have applied for M^r. Thomson, as I wrote you before, & as for Glocester, M^r. Fayerweather would not be able to live on the income; and nothing will do there but turning it into an itinerant Mission for the whole County with some active young man.

I have no other particular to add; only to beg, as I cannot by this ship write to the Bishop of London, that you would wait on his Lordship & inform him that the congregation of S^t. Paul's, on receiving a Letter from M^r. Chapman that he was coming out with his Lordship's Licence and telling them that when he shall come out, M^r. Stringer, whom they now have at St. Paul's, cannot continue under him, & blaming them for employing a man ordained irregularly in London by some Greek or foreign Bishop—I say, on receiving this letter of Chapman's—which I think was not blameworthy—a majority of the congregation got offended at Chapman & passed a sort of confused vote to keep *Stringer* even if Chapman should come. But the Trustees of the Church & all men of sense declare that *Chapman*, having now the Bishop's Licence & everything they require, must be received as their Minister; & this the other party of them are so sensible of, that they trust only on being able in a letter they have written to M^r. Chapman, to discourage his coming out; for they could not barefacedly contradict their

* *Supra*, pp. 214–261.

own pressing former invitations to him. I was desired by some leading men to write Mr. Chapman & assure him that he would be received; but I did not chuse to put any letter of mine in his power. I beg then you may let the Bishop know this state of the case; & if Mr. Chapman comes I think he should be encouraged, as it seems now the only thing that can make that a regular Church & keep it from continuing in a state of separation. I think the Bishop should see Mr. Chapman before he sends any answer. Only as little use as possible should be made of my name. This matter deserves serious consideration.

Mr. Stringer seems a peaceable good man, tho' I am told all his sermons are in one strain & only in the way of Romaine, &c. But were his orders regular, I believe he might be made a useful Missionary; and he says he is willing to be employed wherever he can serve the cause of religion.

I am, dear & worthy Sir, &c.,

W^m. SMITH.

"Mr. Stringer" was undoubtedly "a peaceable good man" his sermons a little too much "in the way of Romaine" to be agreeable to Dr. Smith's logical head and highly educated taste; but probably very much to the taste of some of his parishioners. He became satisfied that the "Greek or foreign Bishop," who ordained him, had no good authority, and he submitted to the Bishop of London and was properly ordained.

There exists in Philadelphia a society known as "The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." The institution is a clerical life insurance company, and a clergyman's saving bank for the benefit of his widow and children. But it differs from most life insurance companies and from most savings banks in this: that the clergyman insuring his life or depositing his money in this corporation, purchases a right in favor of his widow and children to have such a portion of any profits above what is necessary to keep the company solid, as the directors in their discretion may see fit to give to them. The legal power of the directors in distributing the surplus is an absolute one, but is controlled against all abuse by their characters, their moral duty, and their responsibility to public opinion. The corporation is so opulent, that what it gives away year by year in bounty far exceeds what it gives away year by year in contract; and this has been the case for many, many years.

Its somewhat privately published fiscal statements, which a director kindly lends me, disclose the relations of the two heads, since 1865, as follows :

	Legal Claims.	Gratuities Voted.
1865 and 1866.....	\$1,463.38.....	\$6,660.00
1867.....	200.00.....	2,205.00
1868.....	1,566.96.....	4,100.00
1869.....	1,223.72.....	4,400.00
1870.....	360.00.....	8,625.00
1871.....	2,198.88.....	6,150.00
1872.....	1,542.50.....	6,425.00
1873.....	360.00.....	7,625.00
1874.....	360.00.....	8,075.00
1875.....	662.57.....	9,225.00
1876.....	5,522.52.....	8,925.00
1877.....	2,635.24.....	8,975.00
	<hr/> \$18,095.77	<hr/> \$81,390.00

I have not yet seen any report of payments for the year 1878.

The assets of this company by the Report of May, 1878, were thus :

	Par.	Market Value.
Ground Rents	\$69,480.49	\$82,124.28
State of Penna. 6% Loan.....	57,000.00	64,020.00
do. 5% Loan.....	35,600.00	39,338.00
City of Philada. Loans.....	46,000.00	51,980.00
United States 6% Loans.....	38,600.00	41,919.00
do. new 5% Loan.....	10,000.00	10,400.00
Bonds and Mortgages.....	117,366.67	117,366.67
City of Philada. Warrants.....	9,670.79	9,670.79
Cash	1,295.56	1,295.56
	<hr/> \$385,013.51	<hr/> \$418,114.30

Nominal Amount of all Outstanding Engagements—

Policies of Annuitants in expectancy.....	\$2,666.67
Policies of Endowments.....	179,618.91
Deposits on Interest.....	2,351.64
Value of Annuities now payable.....	1,154.91
	<hr/> \$185,792.13
	<hr/> \$232,322.17

Here is a company of unparalleled beneficence, of extraordinary strength ! It was *bound* to pay \$18,095.77. It *has* paid \$99,485.77. It has all its investments in a form convertible in a day—almost in an hour—into cash ; and if all its outstanding engagements—in expectancy and others—came upon it at once, it could pay them

all and have a balance of nearly twice as much as they all amounted to.

To the founders of no institution have the clergy of Pennsylvania greater cause to be thankful. Of no institution may our city and State be more justly proud.

The late Hon. Horace Binney was long a principal manager of the company, and for many years its president. Resigning the office in his ninety-third or ninety-fourth year—though still remaining a member—he was succeeded by the Hon. Peter McCall, its present worthy head.

The directors of this company are citizens of Philadelphia. The well-known names of most of them testify to its vital energy and action to-day: The Rev. H. J. Morton, D. D., Peter Williamson, James M. Aertsen, Richard R. Montgomery, Thomas Robins, Charles Willing, M. D., John Wm. Wallace, LL. D., John Welsh, Ellis Yarnall, the Rev. D. R. Godwin, D. D., George W. Hunter, George H. Kirkham, the Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D. D., Edwin M. Lewis, the Rev. Eugene A. Hoffman, D. D., P. Pemberton Morris, Robert M. Lewis, Henry S. Lowber, W. Heyward Drayton.

One century in the history of this company—which was founded A. D. 1769—has been written by one of its members, Mr. John William Wallace, A. D. 1869. He entitled the narrative "A Century of Beneficence." After giving, with particularity, the annals of the corporation from its foundation up to the date when he was writing, with a list of all the directors, the dead and the living, he says:

I forbear to set out ostentatiously the many names eminent in the social history of the Colonies and the Republic. The list of our earlier members discloses them all; and shows that there were few persons eminent in such history, in either of the three Provinces or States, who were not members of this Society, if members of the Church at all. Some of them were "leaders of the people by their counsels;" and some of them "rich men, furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations." Some have left a name behind them, "that their praises might be reported;" and some have now "no memorial," and are "perished, as though they had never been"—but all alike were "honored in their generation, and the glory of their times."

In the hundred years which have passed since the original Society was incorporated, the roll presents the names of near 250 members. Many

of them have performed, for years, great, laborious, and responsible service. *But not one, that I have heard of, has ever asked or has ever been willing to receive one cent of compensation; and, by a rule of the Society, reciting this honorable fact, it is now ordained that no member, for any service rendered, ever shall.*

The Society has proved of signal benefit in the cases of numerous families of the clergy departed this life. They have invariably received all that their fathers or husbands contracted for. In the earlier history of the body its contracts were based upon a scheme so much more for the interests of the clergy who should first come upon the fund than of the fund itself, that nothing but accidental facts and the fact that the Society was continually asking and continually receiving donations, saved it from disaster. But even then the families of the clergy subscribing received great additions from the surplus; as *ex. gr.*, in one case where the Society paid to one family, for thirteen years, \$400 a year, where the sum contracted for was but \$80. Since 1835, when the Society was placed on a safer basis, the same liberal administration has prevailed, and the family of one clergyman, who recently insured his life for \$100, by making a single payment of \$49.52, which compounded at the rate of five per cent. to the date of his death, amounted to but \$68.14, has received an annual payment of \$500. In the same way the child of a deceased clergyman, who had paid for two years \$8 a year, receives lately over and above all that she was lawfully entitled to claim, an annual sum of \$200 by way of bounty. These are but three instances of many. In no instance through the whole century, as we learn from a recorded statement given us by the oldest member of the body, has the corporation enforced a forfeiture against any person whatever. It has allowed the contributors to change from one form of contract to another, where the by-laws permitted, and it has cancelled contracts where the pecuniary interests of the corporation opposed it. The whole administration of the concerns of the corporation has been, for the entire century, as much distinguished by liberality as by prudence and by justice. What higher praise can be given to the administration of any corporation intrusted with interests like those of this!

And now we ask—since the foundations of the Society were laid one hundred years ago, and since it has been thus honorable and thus useful—who was its founder? by whom was it brought into being? who watched over all its earlier years, and assisted in primitive days to give to it the basis of that wonderful strength which it now confessedly enjoys and has long enjoyed? “The members of the corporation,” said Mr. Binney in 1851, “do not administer their own bounty, but the very moderate bounty of a former age, successfully accumulated through a course of years

by the fidelity and gratuitous care of the successive managers of the trust."

Who were the actors in this "former age?" What hand had any of *them* in "successfully accumulating through a course of years, by fidelity and gratuitous care," the capital of the solidly opulent society of this day?

The historian of the corporation, whom I have already quoted, and whose language I use where I am able to do so, tells us:

Although efforts at the elucidation of what mortal men call "chances," engaged, towards the end of the 17th century, the attention of Huygens, Pascal, Bernouillé, and others, the actual subject of insuring lives, and granting annuities upon them, is a thing of modern institution. In France, until the time of De Moivre, several of whose brilliant results were left to us without a knowledge of the steps by which he attained them,* the thing was forbidden by law as against the principles of morality and nature. The oldest English company goes back, I believe, no further than to 1706: in which year the Amicable Society was established at Sergeants' Inn, London, and notwithstanding the "Table of Mortality," as it was then called, prepared thirteen years before by the great astronomer and mathematician, Dr. Halley, it was not until the time of Dr. Richard Price, a non-conforming minister of eminence, in the middle of the last century, that even in England the subject was much considered on true principles, if even then it was fully so. Dr. Price's essays on the subjects of "Reversionary Payments," of "Schemes for Providing Annuities for Widows and Persons in Old Age," and on "The Method of Calculating the Values of Assurances on Lives," mark, I think, the date when the thing began to be understood in England. In our own country, no general essay towards it was made, even theoretically, till 1772, when William Gordon, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, printed a pamphlet of 35 pages, entitled, "*The Plan of a Society for making Provision for Widows by Annuities for the Remainder of Life; with the Proper Tables for calculating what must be paid by the several Members in order to secure the said Advantages.*" In the preface to this tract, Gordon states that one of the motives to his publication was the fact "that there were no general societies of this nature in America." I am not aware that his tract caused the establishment of any one anywhere, or even that it attracted any public notice. Indeed, the statement made by Dr. Price—esteemed perhaps as a writer on the subject of life insurance, and who, more than any man of his day, was familiar with the history and management of these institutions—that of all those established in England, but one, the Amicable, already

* See "The Quarterly Review," vol. 64, p. 285.

mentioned, had, up to his day, "stood any considerable trial from time and experience," and who records it as the result of his observations, derived from the showings of "melancholy experience," "that *none but mathematicians* were qualified for forming and conducting schemes of this sort"—would have been quite enough to have deterred most prudent men in Philadelphia, in 1769, for wishing to participate in such schemes, either as managers or as parties contracting.

That such an institution as the one which we are describing—a Clerical Life Annuity Company—did not in 1769 originate from suggestion or providence of the clergy in the Middle Provinces generally, is, I apprehend, quite certain.

Who then was the individual, equally humane and intelligent, so far in advance of the country, and we may even say of the day also, in which he lived, that first conceived as practicable in this new region, and for the benefit of a small and special class, this sort of beneficent scheme; a scheme originating in an idea, which it is only in our days and under the vicissitudes of commercial life in times when these vicissitudes have been greatly multiplied, that even the secular classes have carried into effect among themselves; a scheme "which although founded on self-interest, is yet the most enlightened and benevolent form which the projects of self-interest ever took," and which among the clergy, as among all others who have resorted to its more solid administrations, has proved of vast advantage to families thus solaced in their afflictions, and but for such solace dependent and destitute alike? Was the idea in the case of our own corporation original in the Colonial Church itself, or did we derive it from some other religious body among us, or did it come from the mother Church in England? . . .

Nothing which I have had leisure to look into just now enables me to say with confidence where the idea of our own Society originated, or by whom it was originally inspired. Indications, I think, rather point to Dr. WILLIAM SMITH, already named, as the first mover among the Episcopal clergy in this scheme of beneficence for the families of his reverend brethren; a man of a bold and original cast of thought, of active usefulness, and of great powers of giving effect to all that he undertook; highly admired both at home and abroad for his eloquence, and whom, as I suppose, nothing but some of those infirmities which often attend superior genius, though happily, as splendid proofs in the Church attest, not inseparable from it, prevented from arriving at the honors of the Episcopate itself.*

* The Right Rev. William Stevens Perry, now Bishop of Iowa, in his invaluable "Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church," referring to Mr. Wallace's monograph, says that the letter of Dr. Smith, *supra*, on page 416, and which I take from his Collections, "fully confirms the inference made by that gentleman, unaided by direct proof, that this celebrated clergyman was the moving spirit in this work of

The Society, in its origin, was an institution of the three Provinces of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, and had charters from all three. The first meeting which began to give it form was at Elizabethtown, in the last-named State. The first meeting under the charter was by adjournment from Burlington, N. J., to Philadelphia. Arriving in the last-named city, the first action of the Society seems to have been attendance on divine worship in Christ Church, in which venerable temple, historic in the annals of the Church and State alike, Dr. Smith, whose name stood first in order among those of the clergy in the charter, and who had been appointed preacher for the occasion, proceeded to deliver his discourse. It was taken from three texts,* all relating to the fatherless and the widows; selected in such number, the preacher says, to show how rich are the sacred oracles of God, as in exalted lessons of benevolence in general, so particularly in that amiable branch thereof which he is to recommend to the regard of those present. "Through the whole inspired books of the Old Testament, as of the New, we shall scarcely find," he declares, "a writer who hath not made the cause of the fatherless and widows peculiarly his own."

His discourse has been more than once printed, and was widely circulated at the time. It is an eloquent tribute to the "charity" of the gospel; and were any preacher of this day seeking to recommend to hearers before him a society like the corporation whose objects we have described, perhaps the eloquence of no day would furnish better language than that which the first Provost and first preacher used, one hundred and ten years ago. Thus he speaks:

You well know the situation and circumstances of the clergy in these Northern Colonies. Except in a few places, their chief support depends on the bounty of our fellow-members of the church in Great Britain. The additional support which our clergy receive from their congregations is small and exceedingly precarious; decreasing sometimes, in

beneficence." Indeed, Dr. Smith himself, in a Sermon found in his works (vol. ii., p. 417), says, by way of quieting some fears of persons "long accustomed to view every transaction of our Church with a jealous eye," and who might therefore "conceive more to be intended by the undertaking than was expressed," "if it may have any weight with them—that everything relative to the design, from the beginning, has passed through his *own hands*," "assisted by a few others appointed for that purpose."

* Job xxix. 11-13; Jeremiah xix. 2; and St. James i. 27.

nominal, often in real value; while the expense of every necessary in life is proportionately increasing. Decency, a regard to character, to their own usefulness, to the credit of religion, and even to *your* credit among whom they minister, require them to maintain some sort of figure in their families above those in common professions and business; while certain it is, on the other hand, that any sober, reputable tradesman can turn his industry to more account than they. I am far from mentioning these things as complaints. I know they are of necessity in many places, and I trust none of my brethren among the clergy will ever make their calculation in this way, but keep their eye on their Master's service, looking forward to "the recompense of reward." Yet what I mention is so far necessary, as it shows, incontestably, the great propriety of the design before us.

It certainly requires little attention to what passes around us, to see that the families of our deceased clergy are often left among the most distressed in their vicinity. The father, by strict economy and good example, may be able to support them in some degree of reputation during his own life, although not to flatter them with the hopes of any patrimony at his death. By his own care, and some conveniency of schools, he may give the sons the rudiments of an education for his own profession, or some other useful one in the world. The mother, with the like anxious care, and fond hopes of rendering the daughters respectable among their sex, may employ her late and early toil to train their minds to those virtues, and their hands to that diligence and industry, which might one day make them the sweet accomplished companions of worthy men in domestic life.

But alas! amidst all these flattering dreams and fond presages of the heart, the father, perhaps, in his prime of years and usefulness, is called from this world. The prop and stay of all this promising family is now no more! His life was their whole dependence, under God, even for daily bread! His death leaves them destitute—destitute, alas! not of bread only, but even of counsel and protection upon earth!

Fatal reverse—Ah! little do the world in general, and especially they who bask in the easy sunshine of affluence and prosperity—little do they know the various complicated scenes of private anguish and distress. Here they are various and complicated indeed!

The bereaved and disconsolate mother, as soon as Christian reflection begins to dry up her tears a little, finds them wrung from her afresh by the melancholy task that remains to her. She is now, alas, to reduce the once flattering hopes of her tender family, to the standard of their present sad and humbled condition! Hard task, indeed! The son is to be told that he must no more aspire to reach the station which his father filled; and the daughter is to learn that, in this hard and selfish world, she must no longer expect to become the wife of him, to whom she once might have looked on terms of equality. The son, perhaps,

must descend to some manual employ, while even the poor pittance necessary to settle him in that, is not to be found; and the daughter must serve strangers, or be yoked, perhaps, in marriage for mere bread; while the mournful mother without the slow-procured help of friends, can scarce furnish out the decent wedding-garment!

What did I say? the decent wedding-garment and a marriage for mere bread? This were an issue of troubles devoutly to be wished for! But, ah me! The snares of poverty in a mind once bred up above it—shall every unguarded, unprotected female be able to escape them? Alas! no. . . . The picture here drawn is no exaggerated one; and when the children of clergy, in low circumstances, are in an early age deprived of both parents—then are they orphans indeed! and every distress, every temptation falls upon them with aggravated weight!

To be fathers then, to such fatherless children; to take them by the hand and lead them out, through the snares of the world into some public usefulness in life, that the name and memorial of our dear brethren and faithful pastors, deceased, may not be wholly lost upon earth—I say, to do this, and give some gleam of comfort to the afflicted widows and mothers that survive—must surely be one of the most delightful actions of a benevolent mind; and this, my brethren, is the glorious object of the charity for which we are incorporated, and which we have undertaken to solicit and conduct.

At the conclusion of the sermon, a collection, called in the printed account of the day, “a very generous one,” and amounting to £40 10s. Pennsylvania money,—equivalent, I believe, to about \$140,—was made, we are told, “at the church doors for the benefit of the charity.” And the members of the corporation having continued in church till the congregation was dispersed, went then in a body to wait on the Hon. Governor Penn, with an address of thanks for his having granted them a charter of incorporation; an address similar to that, which, when in New Jersey, they had presented to Governor Franklin, when he had done the same thing.

In view alike of his superior years, his high social position in the Province, his distinguished official place as Rector of Christ Church, his most amiable character and his liberality to the fund, to which in its origin and in a single sum he gave £200 of our Pennsylvania currency, Dr. Peters was properly elected the first President. But Dr. Smith seems to have been the animating spirit of the Society everywhere; and though the Society owed much in New York to the excellent Samuel Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, and in New Jersey to the Rev. Samuel Bradbury

Chandler, D.D.—and in all three Provinces to many besides these three—Dr. Smith appears to have been the man who was most looked to for *work*; the man who, having planned the general scheme of things, carried them, through all their details, into effect; the man who, most of all, all looked to for the collection of funds. The Historical Tract to which I have referred gives a list of the early contributors to the corporation; and shows that, through Dr. Smith's agency more than through that of any other person, its treasury was kept full, and the foundation laid of that noble wealth which still continues to diffuse its blessings to the widows and children of our clergy; and which, though he be dead, makes him yet to speak.

He interested his powerful friends in it, and also his youthful ones; several of these, graduates of the College. Among the first Directors I find the names of John Penn, James Hamilton, Benjamin Chew, James Tilghman, Alexander Stedman, Samuel Powel, Francis Hopkinson, Thomas Barton, Thomas Duché, Samuel Magaw and John Andrews. He made all his friends everywhere and of all kinds useful; and the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg, not a minister of the Church of England at all, was brought in by him as a Director. Thomas Hopkinson, one of the early graduates, was Treasurer of the Corporation. In the same way as to contributions: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel contributes £30. The Lord Bishop of London contributes £20. John Dickinson, Esquire, £13 10s. Sir William Johnson, Bart., £9 7s. 6d. These were all in particular Dr. Smith's friends; and we find the corporation's printed accounts for 1772, in which year Dr. Smith collected and caused to be printed the literary remains of the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, of whom we have already spoken, the following entry, showing how much he preferred the Society's interest to his own.

To Rev^d Dr. Smith, for the consideration paid to him by Mr.

John Dunlap, for the privilege of printing the Poems of the

Rev^d Nathaniel Evans, late Missionary for Gloucester county,

New Jersey £20

Dr. Peters died on the 10th of July, 1776, and during the revolution the Society was prostrated. On the re-establishment of peace, "Dr. Smith," says Mr. Wallace, "now venerable for his years and deserving such honor from his long and great service to

the Society, was appointed President."* The first thing to be done was to raise up the Society from the prostration in which the war of the Revolution had left it. The names of two-thirds of the ancient members had disappeared from the records during the revolutionary term. And though younger men—William White and Robert Blackwell and others—in after times most efficient actors in the body—had now come above the horizon, and were truly interested in the reorganization of the corporation, Dr. Smith entered into the subject with the ardor and energy of youth; ready to spend and to be spent in what promoted the welfare of the church and the welfare of the widows and children of its faithful ministers. The Society still was one throughout the three States. The first formal meeting after the peace was on the 10th of October, 1784, in New York. Dr. Smith, after the adjournment of the meeting, remained behind in that city to preach there on the following Sunday, both forenoon and afternoon—at St. Paul's in the morning, and in the afternoon at St. George's—"which," says Mr. Wallace, "he did with so good effect as to have added £112 19s. 10d.† to the corporate moneys. From 1783 to 1789 Dr. Smith was indefatigable in his efforts to place the Society upon a wide, strong and enduring basis. He had excellent coadjutors, in such men as the two I have named, Dr. White and Dr. Blackwell—one of whom had been chaplain to the American Congress and the other a chaplain and surgeon at the Valley Forge—and among the laity in men like Jasper Yates, Richard Willing, John Wilcocks, Samuel Powel, Edward Tilghman and Alexander Wilcocks. The Society was at last firmly re-established. Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris and Robert Morris—then residents of Philadelphia—were all among its Directors, giving to this ancient institution of the clergy—most of them, at the outbreak of the Revolution, loyalists—the countenance of names which secured it and its possessions from political disturbance. He had founded the Society. He had given twenty years of his life to its service. He saw it vigorous and flourishing. The narrative of Mr. Wallace continues:

The year 1789 is to be signalized by the retirement of Dr. Smith from the presidency of the corporation. He had been, as I suppose, more

* *Century of Beneficence*, page 41.

† The money was currency of New York, I suppose.

than any one else, its author; he had certainly been for twenty years one of its most active and efficient friends; alike in labors of the pen, of the pulpit, of his providence, and his personal agency. The minutes now record that he informed the corporation that he wished, on account of his advanced age, to decline the honor of being continued their president. The thanks of the corporation were given to him for his long and faithful services as president; and the Rev. Dr. White, who had been a member of the Society since 1772, and had now recently been consecrated to the episcopate, was elected to the place.

Although Dr. Smith was at this time sixty-two years old, and his years—in the case of a man of less vigorous general health—would have been a sufficient reason for his asking a dismission, I rather think that in putting his resignation on the ground of “advanced age,” the *full* reason, as was decorous, was hardly assigned. He had an exquisite sense of “place, priority, degree,” and I suppose that he thought that it did not well become a Presbyter to preside, in a body so largely composed of the clergy, where a Bishop was constantly present. It is certain that, in the place of a director merely, his efforts to assist the Society were hardly less vigorous than ever. Bishop White now became President.

The corporation of which we speak grows year by year in importance. If its usefulness increases, as it has been increasing for the last twenty years, its beneficence will be great indeed! Let all honor be paid to the many men who have assisted to build, to protect and to serve it! But let the name of its chief founder, William Smith, never be forgotten.

The death of Mr. Nathaniel Evans left vacant the “Gloucester Mission”—one which embraced Coles’s Church, at Waterford—an ancient and important church, in Waterford Township, near Morestown, New Jersey. Dr. Smith always interested himself much in it.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADA, Augst 10th, 1769

REV^d AND WORTHY SIR: M^r. Lyon has come to see Gloucester Mission. M^r. Peters & I—as it lies directly over against this city on the Jersey side of Delaware—went over to introduce him, but he does not seem wholly satisfied to settle there as that part of the Mission which makes the Gloucester Congregation having been hastily gathered by D^r. *Wrangeli*, of many *Presbyterians* & Quakers, has fallen considerably off by the

Settlement of a Presbyterian Preacher among them & we did not find that they could engage to raise more than £15 in lieu of £45 they at first engaged to me in behalf of Mr. *Evans*. The *Waterford* Congregation, which is the other part, is more zealous and steady & have increased their subscription £8 or £10 more than at first, being now about £56. Mr. *Andrews* being at Philad^a last week at the same time with Mr. *Lyon* gave so favorable account of the good disposition, liberal contributions, large numbers of people & great importance of the Lewes Mission, with his reluctance to leave it unprovided, that he persuaded Mr. *Lyon* to go down with him to visit it; not doubting if he should find it more to his advantage, have a prospect of doing more good & prove acceptable to the people but the Society would indulge him with that place instead of Gloucester where the people cannot suffer so much by a delay as being within reach of the Philadelphia Churches. Mr. *Lyon* seems hardly fit to bear the climate & fatigues of the Lewes Mission. What his determination will be I cannot tell, till he returns up; and then I do not expect to be in Town as our College vacation begins next Monday and I cannot deny myself my annual ramble towards the frontiers of this Province.

Believe me to be, dear & worthy Sir,

W^m. SMITH.

On the 14th of August, 1769, Dr. Smith went, at the request of Mr. Penn, to assist at an Indian Conference, which was to be held at Fort Augusta. On the 20th he preached to the Indians, Isaac Hill acting as his interpreter.

Coming back to the College, the chief feature of Commencement Days—June 28th and 29th—this year is the Medical Department.

The Degree of Bachelor of Medicine was conferred on James Armstrong, Josias Carroll Hall, John Hodge, John Houston, Thomas Pratt, Alexander Skinner, Myndert Veeder, and John Winder.

The Medical Exercises were the following:

An oration in honor of Medicine, by Mr. Hall.

A Forensic Dispute, whether Medicine had done most good or harm in the world, by Messrs. Alexander Skinner and John Hodge.

An oration on the most probable method of obtaining a good old age, by Mr. John Winder.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of July 6th, 1769, speaking of these discussions, says:

In the composition of these exercises the young gentlemen gave full proofs of learning, as well as a thorough acquaintance with their subjects

and the History of Physic, and they were honored with the close attention and warm approbation of the audience. Mr. Skinner's part of the Forensic Dispute, in particular, seemed to afford singular entertainment, from the candid freedom which he took with his own Profession, and the very humorous manner in which he attempted to prove that Medicine had done more harm than good in the world; which Position of his was, however, very seriously and fully replied to by Mr. Hodge. To this succeeded a very solemn and interesting charge, in which the Provost addressed himself chiefly to the graduates in the arts, adding, with respect to the graduates in Physic, that he had prevailed on a gentleman of their own Profession, whose precepts would receive Dignity from his years and experience, to lay before them what he thought requisite as well for the honour of the College, as for promoting their own future honour and usefulness in life. This part was accordingly performed by Dr. Thomas Bond, in a manner so truly feeling and affectionate that it could not fail to make a serious impression on those for whom it was designed.

In the Department of Arts we find, among the graduates, John D. Coxe, born in Philadelphia, in 1752; died in 1824; President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas at Philadelphia; an upright and learned magistrate, whose name is still remembered with honor by the bar; Joseph Swift, born A. D. 1752, in Philadelphia; died in 1826; a Lieutenant in the British Army.

CHAPTER XXX.

TRANSIT OF VENUS—FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY—ITS CHARTER AND FUNDAMENTAL RULES DRAWN BY DR. SMITH—HE AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF IT—HIS OBSERVATIONS AT NORRITON WITH DAVID RITTENHOUSE OF THE TRANSIT—HIS ACCOUNTS OF IT—CORRESPONDENCE WITH RITTENHOUSE; WITH NEVIL MASKELYNE, THE ASTRONOMER ROYAL; WITH LORD STIRLING, ON THE TRANSIT—CORRESPONDENCE WITH RITTENHOUSE ABOUT A COMET—THE SILK SOCIETY—DR. SMITH A MANAGER AND SUBSCRIBER TO IT.

THE year 1769 was one memorable in the history of the celestial bodies. The attention of astronomers and learned men had been for some time directed to an expected Transit of Venus over the sun's disc, which, it was predicted, would occur in this year. It was an event which no human being then living on our earth could ever live long enough to behold a second time. It could not occur again for one hundred and five years; that is to say,

not till the year 1874. An intense anxiety prevailed throughout Europe for the results of observations throughout the world—so beneficial to science—if the weather and the sky should prove favorable. And the preparations were not bad. The Assembly voted £100 sterling; Thomas Penn sent one telescope;* another was procured by Franklin, who was now in England.

In America the body most looked to for obtaining true results of the great phenomenon was the American Philosophical Society. This Society, which soon became eminent over our own country and Europe, was formed in 1769. There had been two societies called scientific before this in Philadelphia—the American Society and the Philosophical Society. Both were in a state of decline. The expected Transit animated every man of science; and it was resolved to consolidate the two associations, and to give new activity to the united body. Dr. Franklin, to whom, had he been in Philadelphia, all would naturally have looked for guidance, was, as we have said, now in England—our Provincial Agent. He had left us in 1764, and did not return till 1775. But Dr. Smith never failed to see and to profit of opportunities—"opportunities which are the help of wise men's fortunes and the tests of the incapacity of fools." Transits of Venus were not affairs of every day. If *rightly improved*, it would make Philadelphia, in the eyes of Europe and America, a centre of sciences; her College the cynosure of eyes. He did improve it. And the American Philosophical Society rose into fame. Philadelphia was looked upon with reverence by men of learning, and the College of Philadelphia was ranked with universities which numbered the students by thousands. "Of this great Society," Dr. Smith, as their Provost, Stillé tells us, "was a founder. *He* drew its charter and fundamental laws, carried on its chief correspondence with various parts of the world, and superintended the publication of the first volume of its transactions."

As early as the 7th of January, 1769, the Society met at the College and appointed a Committee to observe the great phenomenon which calculations led to believe would be seen on the 3d of June following. The Committee was composed of the following

* Mr. Penn directed that, after its use for the purpose of observing the Transit, it should be given to the College. It was so given, and is still preserved among the astronomical apparatus of the Institution.

persons: the *Rev. John Ewing, Joseph Shippen, Jr., Esq., Rev. Dr. William Smith, Mr. John Lukens, Esq., Owen Biddle,* John Sellers, William Poole, Mr. Thomas Prior, Hugh Williamson, M.D., Mr. David Rittenhouse, James Alexander, James Pearson, and Charles Thomson.*

"The gentlemen thus nominated," says Mr. William Barton,† the nephew and biographer of Mr. Rittenhouse, "were distributed into three committees, for the purpose of making separate observations at three places. These were the city of Philadelphia, Mr. Rittenhouse's residence in Norriton, and the Light-House at Cape Henlopen, on Delaware Bay. Dr. Ewing, an able mathematician and very respectable astronomer, had the principal direction of the observatory in the city, which was erected on this occasion in the State-house garden; and Mr. Owen Biddle, a person of much ingenuity, had charge of superintending the observations at Cape Henlopen. Associated with Mr. Rittenhouse, on the Norriton Committee, were the Rev. Dr. Smith, well known as an astronomer and eminently skilled in mathematics; Mr. Lukens, then Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, who possessed considerable abilities in the same department of science; and Mr. Sellers, a respectable member of the Provincial Legislature for the county of Chester. The Rev. Mr. Thomas Barton voluntarily attended at Norriton on this occasion, and rendered such assistance as they could to the Committee."

It will, perhaps, surprise the reader to find Dr. Smith, whom he has considered chiefly as a pulpit orator, a scholar, a college professor, a military historian and military critic, a statesman, or possibly a courtier, named by one of the first scientific societies of Europe or America as one among a number of men of pure

* Owen Biddle died March 10th, 1799, aged sixty-one years. He was born in Philadelphia, and engaged in commercial business, in partnership with his brother, Clement Biddle. He signed the non-importation resolutions of October 25th, 1765. He was a member of the Committee of the City, Northern Liberties, and Southwark, in 1774, and of the Committee of Safety of 1775, the Council of Safety of 1776, and of the Constitutional Convention of 1776. During the Revolution he was one of the eighty Philadelphia merchants who became bound for certain provisions of the army, amounting to more than two hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. He was an active member and officer of the American Philosophical Society, and one of the members of the Committee of that Society which observed the Transit of Venus, June 3d, 1769. Mr. Biddle's station, at that time, was at Cape Henlopen. He was a member of the Board of War in 1777.

† Life of Rittenhouse, page 102.

science, to give to the world the results of a great celestial phenomenon. Yet he was properly so named; and he will appear as able and ready in Astronomical Science as he was in any other situation or business whatsoever.

On the 1st of June, 1769, Dr. Smith and Mr. Lukens were at Mr. Rittenhouse's dwelling in Norriton, about twenty miles from Philadelphia; not reached then as easily as now. In a letter to the Society, dated July 20th, he says:

As Mr. Rittenhouse's dwelling is so far off, our other engagements did not permit Mr. Lukens or myself to pay much attention to the necessary preparations; but we knew that we had entrusted them to a gentleman on the spot, who had joined to a compleat skill in Mechanics, so extensive an astronomical and mathematical knowledge, that the use, management, and even the construction of the necessary apparatus, were perfectly familiar to him. Mr. Lukens and myself could not set out for his house till Thursday, June 1st; but, on our arrival there, we found every preparation so forward, that we had little to do but to examine and adjust our respective telescopes to distinct vision. Mr. Rittenhouse had fitted up the different instruments, and made a great number of observations, to ascertain the going of his Time-Piece, and to determine the latitude and longitude of his observatory. The laudable pains he hath taken in these material articles, will best appear from the work itself, which he hath committed into my hands, with a modest introduction; giving me a liberty, which his own accuracy, care and abilities, leave no room to exercise.

Dr. Smith describes the telescope used by himself on this occasion as "a Gregorian Reflector, about 2 f. focal length, with a Dollond's Micrometer, made by Nairne, having four different magnifying powers, viz., 55, 95, 130, and 200 times; by means of two Tubes containing eye-glasses that magnify differently, and two small Speculums of different focal distances."

He continues:

"It hath been mentioned before, that it was on Thursday afternoon, "June 1st, that Mr. Lukens and myself arrived at Norriton, with a "design to continue with Mr. Rittenhouse 'till the transit should be "over. The prospect before us was very discouraging. That day, "and several preceding, had been generally overcast with clouds, and "frequent heavy rains; a thing not very common for so long a period "at that season of the year, in this part of America. But, by one of "those sudden transitions, which we often experience here, on Thurs- "day evening the weather became perfectly clear, and continued the

“day following, as well as the day of the Transit, in such a state of
“serenity, splendor of sunshine, and purity of atmosphere, that not the
“least appearance of a cloud was to be seen.

“June 2d, and the forenoon of June 3d, were spent in making the
“necessary preparations, such as examining and marking the foci of our
“several telescopes, particularly the reflector, with and without the
“micrometer. The reflector was also placed on a polar axis, and such
“supports contrived for resting the ends of the refractors, as might give
“them a motion as nearly parallel to the equator as such hasty prepa-
“rations would admit. Several diameters of the Sun were taken, and
“the micrometer examined by such other methods as the shortness of
“the time would allow.”

The sun was so intensely bright on the Day of the Transit, that, instead of using the coloured glasses sent from England with the Reflector, I put on a deeply-smoked glass prepared by Mr. Lukens, which gave a much more beautiful, natural, and well-defined appearance of the Sun's Disk. The smoked glass was fastened on the Eye Tube with a little bees-wax, and there was no occasion to change it during the whole day, as there was not the least cloud, or intermission of the Sun's splendour.

That each of us might the better exercise our own judgment, without being influenced, or thrown into any agitation by the others, it was agreed to transact everything by signals, and that one should not know what another was doing. The Situation of the Telescopes, the two Refractors being at some distance without the Observatory, and the Reflector within, favoured this design.

Two persons—Mr. Sellers, one of our Committee, and Mr. Archibald McClean, both well accustomed to matters of this kind—were placed at one window of the Observatory, to count the clock and take the signal from Mr. Lukens. Two of Mr. Rittenhouse's family, whom he hath often employed to count the clock for him in his observations, were placed at another window to take his signal.* My Telescope was placed close by the clock, and I was to count its beats, and set down my own time.

Preliminaries being settled, we prepared at two o'clock to sit down to our respective Telescopes; or (I should rather say) lie down to the Refractors, on account of the Sun's great height.

As there was a large concourse of the inhabitants of the county, and many from the city, we were apprehensive that our scheme for silence might be defeated by some of them speaking, when they should see any of the signals for the Contacts; and therefore we found it necessary to

* I believe that this clock is the same one that now stands in the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and known as “Mr. Rittenhouse's Clock;” obviously an astronomical one.

tell them that the success of our observation would depend on their keeping a profound silence 'till the Contacts were over. And to do them justice, during the 12' that ensued, there could not have been a more solemn pause of silence and expectation, if each individual had been waiting for the sentence that was to take his life.

The contact was now coming on. Dr. Smith thus proceeds:

The power kept on the Gregorian Reflector, for observing the contacts, was the same which we had been using, and were again to use, with the Micrometer, magnifying 95 times. I had therefore a large field, taking in about half the Sun's Disk; and the instrument was so firmly supported, with its axis in a polar direction, that it could not be shaken by any motion on the earthen floor of the observatory, and required only an easy movement of one part of the rack-work to manage it. With these advantages, any part of the Sun's limb could be readily kept in the middle of the field, without neglecting, every 4" or 5", to cast my eye on all other parts of the limb on both sides, where there was any possibility of the contact to happen.

Within half a minute of the time calculated for the 1st contact by Mr. Rittenhouse, I spoke to the counters at the windows to be very attentive to those who were to give them the signals from the Telescopes out of doors; and turning my eye closely to the part of the Sun's limb where Venus was expected, I had viewed it stedfastly for several seconds, without having occasion to change my field, when I was suddenly surprized with something striking into it, like a watery pointed shadow, appearing to give a tremulous motion to all that part of the limb, although the Telescope stood quite firm, and not the least disturbance or undulation were perceptible about any other part.

The idea I had formed of the contact was, That Venus would instantaneously make a well-defined black and small impression or dent on the Sun. But this appearance was so different, the disturbance on the limb so ill-defined, undulatory, pointed, waterish, and occupying a larger space than I expected, that I was held in a suspense of 5" or 6" to examine whether it might not be some skirt of a watery flying cloud.

Perceiving this shadow (atmosphere, or whatever else it was) to press still forward on the limb, with the same tremulous pointed appearance, the longest points towards the middle, I began to count the beats of the clock for either 15" or 16", when a well-defined black dent, apparently occupying a less space on the Sun's limb, became distinctly visible. I then quitted the Telescope and turning to the clock, noted the time it then showed, which was 2^h. 12' 5".

About 22" sooner than this (*viz.* the 16" I counted, and the 5" or 6" in which I remained in doubt at the beginning) was the first visible impression on the limb which my Telescope would shew; and I also marked that time down; *viz.*, 2^h. 11' 40" to 43". If this first impres-

sion is to be taken for the external contact, I think it may be judged of almost to a single second by persons having equally good eyes and Telescopes ; which cannot be done, as I apprehend, to several seconds, either with respect to the internal contact, or even with respect to the moment of the first distinct black dent, commonly marked for the external contact. In both these, some differences may well happen among the best observers, from their different manner of judging, in respect to a circumstance of such exquisite nicety.

Whether a Telescope of larger powers than what I made use of, might not have sooner shewn this first shadowy impression (that preceded the distinct black contact) I will not take upon me to determine ; though, from the time given by Mr. Rittenhouse, I think it would. But this I can be sure of, that I saw the first stroke of it perceptible through my Telescope, having that part of the Sun's limb in full and steady view ; and I might have noted the time to a single second, if I had expected it in that way.

As to the internal contact, the thread or crescent of light, coming round from both sides of the Sun's limb, did not close instantaneously about the dark body of the planet, but with an uncertainty of several seconds ; the points of the threads darting backwards and forwards into each other, in a quivering manner, for some space of time, before they finally adhered. The instant of this adhesion I determined to wait for, with all the attention in my power, and to note it down for the internal contact ; which I did, at 2^h. 29' 5" by the clock ; a few seconds later than Mr. Lukens, who judged in the same way. And even then, though the points of the thread of light seemed to close, yet the light itself did not appear perfect on that part of the limb till about 12" afterwards ; and I apprehend that a person who had waited for the perfection of this small thread of light, would have given the contact that number of seconds later than I did, although I was later than the others.

After the first contact, having quitted the Telescope to note down my time, the gentlemen who counted for us, and several others now in the observatory, were impatient to see Venus before she had wholly entered on the Sun ; an indulgence not to be denied them, as the Reflector was most convenient for them. For this reason I did not sit down to it again till within 5' or 6' of the internal contact, and consequently saw none of those curious appearances on that part of the planet off the Sun, mentioned by my associates. But their account may be fully depended on, as both of them are well accustomed to celestial observations, and are accurate in judgment as well as sight. The small differences in the times of our contacts, it is presumed, may be easily reconciled, from the different powers of our Telescopes, and other circumstances mentioned in the manner of judging. At any rate, we have set them down faithfully.

As to the first disturbance in the Sun's limb, it may be worthy of consideration, whether it was really from the interposition of the limb of Venus, or of her atmosphere. One cannot easily imagine it to be the former without supposing her limb and body much more ragged and uneven than they appear when seen on the Sun. An atmosphere is a much more probable supposition, not only from the faint and waterish color at first, but the undulatory motion above mentioned, which might arise from the growing density of the atmosphere, pushing forward on the Sun, and varying the refraction of his rays, as they pass in succession through it.

If such an atmosphere be granted, it will probably account for the tremulous motion in the thread of light creeping round Venus at the internal contact; which may be thus prevented from closing and adhering quietly till this atmosphere (or at least its densest part) has entered wholly on the Sun, and consequently the coincidence of the limbs be past. For, though the atmosphere of Venus (as far as we could possibly judge) be not visible on the Sun; yet that part of it which is surrounding, or just entering, his limb, may be visible; having, if I may so express it, a darker ground behind it.

But these are only hasty conjectures, submitted to others; although, if they have any foundation, it would make some difference in the time estimated between the contacts. And, therefore, those astronomers who may happen to be in the world at another transit, will perhaps think it best to fix on some general mode of pronouncing with respect to the contacts; either by neglecting this atmosphere altogether, or taking their time from the appearance and disappearance of its effects on the Sun's limb. In either case, it is presumed the times of different observers having nearly the same altitude of the Sun, and equal advantages of weather and instruments, would not differ so much as has been the case hitherto, even among eminent astronomers at the same place.

When Venus was fully entered on the Sun's limb, and we had compared the different papers on which our contacts were written down, and entered them in our book, we prepared for the Micrometer and other observations.

Of the Micrometer measures, the 2d, 5th, and 18th distance of the nearest limbs of the Sun and Venus; the 1st in a chord parallel to the equator, the 1st and 6th of the diameters of Venus; and the 1st and 4th of the diameters of the Sun, were taken by Mr. Rittenhouse. The 3d and 16th distance of the nearest limbs, the 3d diameter of Venus, and the 2d of the Sun, were taken by Mr. Lukens. All the other Micrometer measures were taken by myself, while Mr. Rittenhouse applied himself to take the appulses of the limbs of the Sun and center of Venus to the cross hairs of his equal altitude instrument, Mr. Lukens writing down the observations and their exact time.

The Micrometer measures were all separately reduced to their value

in minutes and seconds by Mr. Rittenhouse, and by myself, making the proper allowance for the error of adjustment of the instrument. Many more Micrometer measures might have been taken; but had we made the intervals between them much shorter than 8 or 10 minutes, they would have been of little use in the projection, and would have crowded it too much. Nor could we have bestowed the same care in setting the instrument, reading off the vernier, etc., if a much larger number had been taken.

In order to judge of the error of the Micrometer (if any) Jupiter's diameter was not only taken with it both ways, viz.: to the right and to the left, but Mr. Rittenhouse likewise took a *mean* to the right of 10 diameters of a white painted circle about 330 yards distant, and also a *mean* of as many to the left. This work was performed early in the morning before sunrise; when the air was free from all tremulous motion; and the result gave an error of adjustment of 1", 12 to be subtracted from all the Micrometer measures.

It was once intended still further to confirm the work of the following delineation, by applying the observations of the appulses of the limbs of the Sun and center of Venus, mentioned to have been taken above. But the lines necessary for this would have confused the figure; and the Micrometer observations being found so exact, any further use of the others than to try how well they would agree, was thought to be needless, especially as the fractions of seconds in them could not be estimated, so as to come up to the accuracy of the Micrometer. For this reason, they are not set down.

We proceed to give some interesting correspondence on the subject of the Transit and of the observations on it, and on another astronomical phenomenon.

Dr. Smith to Mr. William Barton.

PHILADELPHIA, July 8th, 1769.

DEAR SIR: Mr. Jesse Lukens left my house on Tuesday evening at half an hour past 6, where he waited till I scrawled out a pretty long letter to Mr. Rittenhouse, for whom my esteem increases the more I see him; and I long for an opportunity of doing him justice for his elegant preparations to observe the Transit, which left Mr. Lukens and me nothing to do but to sit down to our telescopes. This justice I have already in part done him, in a long letter to the proprietor (Thomas Penn, Esq.,) yesterday, and I hope Mr. Rittenhouse will not deprive us of the opportunity of doing it in a more public manner, in the account we are to draw up next week. "I did not chuse to send Mr. Rittenhouse's original projection of the Transit, as it is a Society paper, to be inserted in our minutes, but I have enclosed an exact copy.

Pray desire him to take the sun's diameter again carefully, and examine the Micrometer by it."

With my Compliments to Mr. Rittenhouse and family,

I am, in great haste, Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

TO WILLIAM BARTON, NORRITON, Penn^a.

From Mr. Rittenhouse to Dr. Smith.

NORRITON, July 18th, 1769.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed is the best account I can give of the contacts, as I observed them, and of what I saw during the interval between them. I should be glad you would contract them, and also the other papers, into a smaller compass, as I would have done myself, if I had known how. I beg you would not copy anything merely because I have written it, but leave out what you think superfluous.

I am, with great esteem and affection,

Yours, &c.,

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

TO REV. DR. SMITH.

On the 20th of July, 1769, Dr. Smith, by direction, and in behalf, of his Committee—the Committee, I mean, which were to observe at Norriton—communicated to the Philosophical Society an account of the Transit, as observed at the place just named. It is thus:

PHILADELPHIA, July 19th, 1769.

GENTLEMEN: Among the various public-spirited designs that have engaged the attention of this Society since its first institution, none does them more honor than their early resolution to appoint committees, of their own members, to take as many observations, in different places, of that rare phenomenon, the Transit of Venus over the sun's disc, as they had any probability of being able to defray the expense of, either from their own funds or the public assistance they expected.

As the members of the Norriton Committee live at some distance from each other, I am, therefore, at their request, now to digest and lay before you in one view the whole of our observations in that place, distinguishing, however, the part of each observer, and going back to the first preparations. For I am persuaded that the dependence which the learned world may place on any particular Transit account will be in proportion to the previous and subsequent care, which is found to have been taken in a series of accurate and well-conducted observations, for ascertaining the *going* of the time-pieces, and fixing the latitude and longitude of the places of observation, &c.

And I am the more desirous to be particular in these points, in order to do justice to Mr. Rittenhouse, one of our Committee, to whose

extraordinary skill and diligence is owing whatever advantage may be derived in these respects to our observation of the Transit itself. It is further presumed that astronomers, in distant countries, will be desirous to have not only the work and results belonging to each particular Transit Observation, but the materials also, that they may examine and conclude for themselves. And this may be more particularly requisite in a new observatory, such as Norriton, the name of which hath perhaps never before been heard of by distant astronomers; and therefore, its latitude and longitude are to be once fixed, from principles that may be satisfactory on the present as well as on any future occasion.

Our great discouragement, at our first appointment, was the want of proper apparatus, especially good Telescopes, with Micrometers. The generosity of our Provincial Assembly soon removed a great part of this discouragement, not only by their vote to purchase one of the best Reflecting Telescopes, with a Dollond's Micrometer, but likewise by their subsequent donation of £100, for erecting observatories, and defraying other incidental expenses. It was foreseen that on the arrival of this telescope, added to such private ones as might be procured in the city, together with fitting up the instruments belonging to the Honorable the Proprietaries of the Province, viz.: the equal Altitude and Transit instrument, and the large astronomical Sector, nothing would be wanting for the City Observatory in the State-House Square but a good time-piece, which was easily to be procured.

We remained however still at a loss how to furnish the Norriton Observatory. But even this difficulty gradually vanished. Early in September, 1768, soon after the nomination of our Committees, I received a letter from that worthy and honorable gentleman, Thomas Penn, Esq., one of the Proprietaries of this Province, which he wrote at the desire of the Rev. Mr. Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal, expressing their desire, "That we would exert ourselves in observing the Transit, for which our situation would be so favorable;" and enclosing some copies of Mr. Maskelyne's printed directions for that purpose.

This gave me an opportunity, which I immediately embraced, of acquainting Mr. Penn what preparations we had already made, and what encouragement the Assembly had given in voting £100 Sterling for the purchase of one Reflecting Telescope and Micrometer, for the City Observatory; but that we should be at a great loss for a telescope of the like construction for the Norriton Observatory, and requesting him to order a reflector of two, or two and a half feet, with Dollond's Micrometer, to be got ready as soon as possible in London. It was not long before I had the pleasure to hear that Mr. Penn had ordered such a telescope, which came to hand about the middle of May, with a most obliging letter, expressing the satisfaction he had in hearing of the spirit shown at Philadelphia for observing this curious phenomenon when it should happen; and concluding as follows:

I have sent, by Captain Sparks, a Reflecting Telescope, with Dollond's Micrometer, exact to your request, which I hope will come safe to hand. After making your observation with it, I desire you will present it, in my name, to the College—Messrs. Mason and Dixon tell me they never used a better than that which I formerly sent to the Library Company of Philadelphia, with which a good observation may be made, though it has no micrometer.

After giving all the calculations,* Dr. Smith thus concludes :

Thus, gentlemen, you have a faithful account of our whole work, which we could have wished to have reduced to less compass. Had our latitude and longitude been previously fixed, as they had been at Philadelphia by able mathematicians, a great part of our work might have been saved. But we thought it necessary (as hath been before hinted) to show that such pains were taken in these material articles that they may be depended on. And as we were happily favored at the transit with advantages of weather and other circumstances, which cannot have happened to the generality of observers in many parts of the world, it was thought we should be more readily excused by men of science for the insertion of things that might be superfluous, than the omission of the least article material in the account of a phenomenon that will never be observed again by any of the present generation of men.

I am,

Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

P. S.—As it is hoped that not only this Province in general, but likewise the Society who set on foot, and the honorable House of Assembly, who so liberally encouraged the design for observing the transit here, may derive some credit from the laudable spirit shown on that occasion, I shall add an extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, to show how well our labors have been received at home.

"At home"—We still and long after, so spoke of England. The extract just above referred to and addressed to Dr. Franklin, who, as we have said, was at this time in London as our Provincial Agent, was as follows:

GREENWICH, December 11, 1769.

Mr. Maskelyne presents his compliments to Dr. Franklin, and shall be obliged to him when he writes to Philadelphia for enquiring of Mr. Owen Biddle what is the bearing and what the absolute distance of Lewestown from the Stone on Fenwick's Isle in English miles; or else what is the difference of latitude and departure in English miles? He may also, if he pleases, acquaint Mr. Biddle that the latitude of the

* See them in the First Volume of the "Transactions of the Philosophical Society."

Middle Point between Fenwick's Isle and Chesapeake Bay, as found by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, is $38^{\circ}, 27', 34''$; and the length of a degree of latitude, as measured by them, is 68,886 statute miles.

Mr. Maskelyne would also recommend it to Dr. Smith, and the other Norriton observers, to settle the bearing and distance in English miles between Norriton and the southernmost point of the city of Philadelphia, or else the State House square; as this will still further confirm the situation of the Norriton Observatory, by connecting it with Messrs. Mason and Dixon's Meridian line.

Mr. Maskelyne hopes the Pennsylvania observers will be so kind as to send us their observations of the transit of Mercury, which happened November 9th, if they were fortunate enough to see it; and any other observations they have made, which have not yet been sent here, tending to establish the difference of longitudes.

From Mr. Rittenhouse to Mr. William Barton.

(EXTRACT.)

NORRITON, July 26th, 1769.

I have done with astronomical observations and calculations for the present, and have sent copies of all my papers to Dr. Smith, who, I presume, has drawn up a complete account of our observations on the transit of Venus. This I hope you will see when you come to Philadelphia. I have delineated the transit, according to our observations, on a very large scale, made many calculations, and drawn all the conclusions I thought proper to attempt until some foreign observations came to hand to compare with ours; all of which have been or will be laid before the Philosophical Society. The Doctor has constantly seemed so desirous of doing me justice in the whole affair, that I suppose I must not think of transmitting any separate account to England.

At a meeting of the Philosophical Society, on the 18th of May, 1770, the following letter from the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, B. D., F. R. S., Astronomer Royal, to Dr. Smith, acknowledging the receipt of the Norriton observations, and giving some account of the Hudson's Bay and other Northern observations of the same, was read:

GREENWICH, Dec. 26, 1769.

REV. SIR: I return you many thanks for the account of the valuable observations of the late transit of Venus, made at Norriton by yourself and two other gentlemen, which I have communicated to the Royal Society. It is ordered to be printed in the volume of their transactions for this year, and I will take care to see that it is printed correctly.

I sent to the Honorable Mr. Penn, a good while ago, my observations of the eclipses of Jupiter's first satellite made this year, desiring

that he would communicate them to you, and I hope you have received them.*

Your measures of the nearest distances of the limbs of the Sun and Venus determine very well the nearest approach of Venus to the Sun's center, which was a very important observation, and could not be made here. If the appulses of the limbs of the Sun and Venus's center to the hairs of the equal altitude instrument should arrive in time, I will take care that they be inserted in the place left for them.

I see Mr. Rittenhouse, in making his projection, assumed $8''.65$ for the Sun's horizontal parallax at the mean distance; but, by the observations of the transit in 1761, Mr. Short and myself both found that to be the parallax on the day of the transit; whence the Sun's mean horizontal parallax should be $8''.84$. But what it will be as resulting from the observations of the late transit, cannot be known without a number of laborious calculations, which I have undertaken.

I could wish that difference of meridians of Norriton and Philadelphia, could be determined by some measures and bearings, within one-fiftieth or one-hundredth part of the whole; in order to connect your observations with those made at Philadelphia and the Capes of Delaware, as also to connect your observations of the longitude of Norriton with those made by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, in the course of measuring the degree of latitude. I hope to be favored with an account of your observations of the late transit of Mercury, if you made any, and of the late eclipse of the moon. I shall be obliged to you for the continuance of your correspondence, and am, Sir, yours, &c.,

NEVIL MASKELYNE.

TO REV. DR. SMITH.

William Alexander (Lord Stirling)† to Dr. Smith.

BASKENRIDGE, June 29th, 1770.

DEAR SIR: You have reason to think me negligent in not communicating (according to my promises to you) my Observations of the last Transit of Venus. I now send them, and you should have had them before, but I have been so much engaged in business the last twelve months, that I have had but little time to think of any thing else.

Last night, about ten o'clock, I discovered a New Star, about 78° distant from the pole. It would pass the meridian, I imagine, about

* "Here followed the observations." See "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," Vol. I.

† William Alexander, son of James Alexander, a native of Scotland, who had taken part with the Pretender, and had come to America in 1716, was born in the city of New York in 1726. His father was quite a noted man in the Colonies, being Secretary of New York, Surveyor of New York and New Jersey, a lawyer, a man of science, and, with others, a founder of the American Philosophical Society. The father was presumptive heir to the Earldom of Stirling when he quitted Scotland. The son claimed the title, but did not succeed, although perhaps entitled to it.

midnight, and a little before Lyra. Its appearance was larger than a Star of the first magnitude, of a dull light, with a bright speck or nucleus, in the center. I take it to be a Comet, and that its tail is from us. But whether it be a Comet or not, will be determined in a few days; for as it changes its place, and the Earth moves on in its orbit, the position of the tail, with regard to the Earth, must be altered, and will then appear to encrease in length.

June 30th. Last night I again observed the new discovered Star. Its appearance was much as it was the night before, but I think rather larger. Its situation was about 70° from the pole, and it passed the meridian with Lyra almost half after eleven. I think I have its place so well marked, that in two or three evenings I shall be able to determine its course. What further observations I make before I have an opportunity of sending this, I will add hereto.

July 1st. The New Star, which, I no longer doubt, is a Comet, on his way to the Sun, passed the meridian last night about twelve o'clock, and nearly half an hour after Lyra, and was advanced to within 48° of the pole, being a little to the Northward of our Zenith. It seemed to me to be encreased in size, the shape rather more oval than circular, the nucleus no longer in the center, but advanced towards the northern part of the whole appearance.

July 2d. Last night at twelve o'clock, the Comet was nearly East from the pole Star, and about 8° distant from the pole.

July 4th. The night before last, being cloudy, the Comet was not visible; and last night (July 3d) although the sky was clear, the Stars bright, and myself on the watch for it till day light began to appear in the East, I could not discover any appearance of the Comet. It must now be gone to the region of light, and we shall not see it more until its return from the Sun.

The apparent velocity of this Comet, for the last three days of its appearance, has been prodigiously great, which, together with its apparent size, induces me to think that its real size is but small; and that its path lay at no very great distance from the Earth. But these matters may be better determined, if we have an opportunity of seeing the Comet again, in its return from the Sun.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

STIRLING.

On July 23d, 1770, at a meeting of the Philosophical Society, Owen Biddle, Esq., in his account to the Society, gave the following letter received by him from Dr. Smith. He says that it gives him "pleasure to find so little difference between the result of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon's measurement and our own."

PHILAD., 23d July, 1770.

DEAR SIR: Since you finished your measurement from Newcastle Court-house to the Philadelphia Observatory in the State-house Square, the 58th vol. of Philos. Transactions has come to hand, containing the whole work of Messrs. Mason and Dixon in measuring a degree of latitude; and it is with great pleasure I find, that the longitude of the middle point of the peninsula (and consequently of your Observatory at Lewes) in respect to Philadelphia, will come out almost entirely the same from their work as from yours, altho' obtained by different* routs.

Longitude of the Middle Point, and of the Lewes Observatory West of the Philadelphia Observatory, agreeable to the Lines of Messrs. Mason and Dixon.

	Miles.	Chains.	Lin.
Observatory in the Forks of Brandywine West of the	31.	00.	00
South point of the city of Philadelphia.....			
Middle point of Peninsula East of Observatory in the	2.	5.	49
Forks			
The diff. gives the middle point of Penins. W. of S.	28.	74.	51
point of Philad.....			
But S. point of Philad. is E. of Observatory in State-	0.	28.	75
house Square.....			
The difference gives the <i>middle point</i> of Peninsula West	28.	45.	76
of State-house Observatory.....			
But by your work the middle point is West of the	29.	1.	57
Lewes Observatory 9286,3 perches.....			
The difference gives Lewes Observatory East of the State-	0.	35.	81
house Observatory, from Mason and Dixon's Lines...			
But by your measure to Newcastle the Lewes Obs. was	0.	15.	65
East of the State-house Observatory 62,6 perches.....			
So that Mason and Dixon's lines give your Observatory	0.	20.	16
more East that your own work, only.....			

Thus, by their work, we get your Observatory not quite 2", and by your own not quite 1" East of the Observatory in the State-house Square.

* The result by Mr. Biddle's book is got, by going from the State-house Observatory to New-Castle Court-House, agreeable to his measurement; thence by the 12 m. radius and tangent line to the middle point. The result by Messrs. Mason and Dixon's work is got, by beginning at the south point of the city of Philadelphia (or the place of their Observatory,) on the north side of Cedar Street, between Front-Street and Delaware; thence to their Observatory in the Forks of Brandywine, which is 31 miles West, and 10'', 5 South of the southernmost point of the city; thence by the other lines of latitude and departure, wherewith they connect the Observatory in the Forks of Brandywine, with the middle point of the Peninsula. See their work in the volume of Transactions, quoted above.

Wherefore 1" being taken as a mean, and applied to 5^h. 0'. 55", the longitude of the State-house Observatory West of Greenwich; the longitude of the Lewes Observatory may be well depended on as stated from your own work, to be in time West of Greenwich 5^h. 0'. 34"

As British mariners generally take their departure from the land's end of England, and as by Mr. Bradley's observation of the late Transit of Venus the long. of the Lizard Point is now determined to be 5°. 15' W. of Greenwich, if that be subtracted from 75°. 5'. 13", 2, it will give:

The longitude of the Provincial Light-house near the }
Capes West of Lizard Point..... } 69°. 50'. 13", 2

If you think the above can be of any use, you may add it to the end of your account. I think there is no mistake in bringing out the different results; but if I can find leisure I will re-examine the work before the sheet is struck off.

I am, with great regard, yours, &c.

WILLIAM SMITH.

TO MR. OWEN BIDDLE.

David Rittenhouse to Dr. Smith.

(EXTRACT.)

NORRITON, July 24th, 1770.

REV^d SIR: Herewith I send you the fruit of three or four days labour, during which I have covered many sheets, and literally drained my ink-stand several times. It is an account, &c., of the Comet, which lately appeared, and I have no objection to its being made public. I might indeed have been a little more careful to have the precise time of my observations, as the near approach of this Comet required ten times the accuracy, that is necessary for computing the place of any planet. I am, however, quite satisfied that the situation I have given its orbit will be found very near the truth.

The circumstances most remarkable in this Comet were, its prodigious apparent velocity, the smallness of its size, and the shortness of the time it continued visible. Its velocity was at first surprisingly accelerated, and before it disappeared again retarded, from which its near approach to the earth may be inferred.

I did not see it till Monday the 25th of June; and, from its situation at that time, I expected it would have been visible for many weeks, if not months; and therefore did not prepare, with such expedition as I might have done, for observing its place with accuracy. But from the 27th to the 30th, the weather continuing fair, every evening about nine, I took the distance of the Comet from *Lucida Lyrae* and *Lucida Aquilæ*, with a common Hadley's Quadrant.

July the 1st, it was cloudy in the evening. At 10, however, I saw both *Lucida Lyrae* and the Comet through the clouds, and observed their distance; but the Comet was again hid before I could take its dis-

tance from the Pole star, which seemed to be about 5 or 6 degrees. This evening it was distant from *Lucida Lyrae* $40^{\circ} 17'$, whereas the evening before it had been but $5^{\circ} 42'$ from the same star at 9h. It had therefore moved above 45° in the last 25 hours, and now appeared much brighter than it had been before; there being also some appearance of a tail on the side opposite to the Sun. July the 2d it was cloudy with rain in the evening; but in the morning of the 3d about 3h. I observed its distance from the Pole star, from *Capella*, and from a star of the second magnitude in *Cassiopeia*, which was the last time I saw it.*

Ever yours,

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

On the 17th of August, 1770, Dr. Smith communicated to the Philosophical Society the following account of the Terrestrial Measurement of the difference of Longitude and Latitude between the Observatories of Norriton and Philadelphia:

PHILADELPHIA, August 17th, 1770.

GENTLEMEN: Agreeable to the appointment you made (at the request of the Astronomer Royal) Mr. Lukens, Mr. Rittenhouse and myself, furnished with proper instruments, met at Norriton early on Monday, July 2d, for the above service; and took to our assistance two able and experienced Surveyors, viz.: Mr. Archibald M'Clean and Mr. Jesse Lukens. The first thing we did was accurately to ascertain the variation of our Compass, which we found $3^{\circ} 8'$, by Mr. Rittenhouse's Meridian Line. We then carefully measured our chain, and adjusted it to the exact standard of 66 feet. In the execution of the work, whenever the instrument was duly set, each course was taken off, and entered down separately, by three different persons, who likewise kept separate accounts of all the distances, and superintended the stretching of every chain, and the levelling and plumbing it, whenever there was any ascent or descent in the road.

July 4th. We finished the survey; and Mr. M'Clean, Mr. Jesse Lukens and myself, then agreed to bring out the difference of latitude and departure separately on each course and distance to four or five decimal places; and there was so great an agreement in this part of the work, when executed, that we had all the same results to a few links, and the whole was at last brought to agree in every figure, by comparing the few places where there was any difference, which scarce ever went farther than the last decimal place. Mr. M'Clean and Mr. Lukens took the trouble to bring out their work by multiplying each distance by the natural Sine of the Course, to the Radius Unity, for the departure; and

* Here follow the calculations, &c., which will be found in the 1st volume of the transactions of the Philosophical Society.

by the Cosine for the latitude. Mine was done by Robertson's Tables. The whole follows, and we think it may be depended on for correctness.*

In bringing out the 52" of time diff. of long. a degree of the equator was taken in proportion to Messrs. Mason and Dixon's deg. of the merid. in lat. 39", 12, in the ratio of 60 to 59,7866 (agreeable to Mr. Simpson's table), which gave 365070 for a degree of the equator. By taking a degree of longitude as fixed at the middle point by Mr. Maskelyne in lat. 38° 27' 35", and saying as the cosine of that lat. is to cosine of mean latitude between Philadelphia and Norriton, so is the length of a degree of long. at the middle point (viz. 284869,5 feet) to the length of a deg. in mean lat. between Norriton and Philadelphia, the result was got 52" 13; being only Thirteen hundredth parts of a second of time more.

The above account of the work was thought proper, that those who will take the trouble may examine and correct it, if in any part necessary.

WILLIAM SMITH.

Dr. Smith and others to the Philosophical Society.

To the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge.

November 16th, 1770.

GENTLEMEN: Agreeable to the order of the last Meeting, we have collected into one general and short view (from the last, or 59th volume of the Philosophical Transactions) the following Account of the different Observations of the late Transit of Venus made in Europe and other distant places; containing the Apparent Times of the contacts; the latitude and longitude of the places of observation, so far as known to us, with such other circumstances, as we judged proper for answering the end you had in view; namely the affording materials to persons of a curious and mathematical turn, who might be desirous of inquiring what Parallax of the Sun, may be deduced from a comparison of these distant Observations, with those made in this Province, by your appointment.

We are, &c.

WILLIAM SMITH,
JOHN EWING,
OWEN BIDDLE,

HUGH WILLIAMSON,
THOMAS COMBE,
D. RITTENHOUSE.

David Rittenhouse to Dr. Smith.

(EXTRACT.)

NORRITON, December 2d, 1770.

DEAR SIR: I was much pleased with a paragraph in the Gentleman's Magazine for *July*, 1770, by which it appears, that M. Messier discov-

* Here follow the calculations.

ered the last Comet in France 10 or 12 days sooner than we did here; because it affords another opportunity of comparing this Comet's motion with my theory.

According to M. Messier's observation, on the night between the 15th and 16th of June, the Comet's right ascension was $272^{\circ} 57' 37''$ with $15^{\circ} 55' 24''$ South declination. The hour of the night is not mentioned, but the place of the Comet was no doubt determined by its passing the meridian, which he says was about midnight, that is at Philadelphia June 15th, 7h.

It is remarkable of this Comet, that in any future returns, whilst it continues to move in the same orbit, it can never approach the earth higher than it did this time. On the first of July, it was about one sixtieth part of the Sun's distance from us.

Ever yours,

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

Dr. Smith to David Rittenhouse.

DEAR SIR: Though we were not lucky enough in America to discover the late Comet in its ascent from the Sun, yet I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that it was seen in England. I find, in the Gentleman's Magazine for *August*, that Mr. Six says, he had the unexpected pleasure (to you it would not have been unexpected) of seeing the Comet on its ascent from the sun towards its aphelion, and tho' not visible to the naked eye, yet with a Telescope magnifying 25 times, it appeared much like the Nebula in *Andromeda's* Girdle. Aug. 22d, half past two, *manè*, it had $106^{\circ} 20'$ right ascension, and 21° N. declin. The two succeeding days its longitude increased daily $1^{\circ} 15'$, but its latitude both days not more than $5'$. Its apparent motion, he says, was nearly parallel to the ecliptic. If these subsequent observations agree as well, as Mr. Messier's previous observations, with your theory of this Comet, I think it will thereby be established past doubt.

I am yours, &c.

WILLIAM SMITH.

David Rittenhouse to Dr. Smith.

(EXTRACT.)

NORRITON, Dec. 26th, 1770.

REV^d SIR: I was favoured with your extract from the Gentleman's Magazine, for August, by which I find Mr. Six was lucky enough to discover the comet with his Telescope, after it had past its perihelion, though it was not visible to the naked eye. I have computed the comet's place to August 22^d, half-past two in the morning, and make its right ascension $108^{\circ} 46'$, with $21^{\circ} 0'$ north declination; agreeing with Mr. Six's observation entirely on declination; but differing from

it about 2° in right ascension, which I cannot think material, unless I knew what method he took to determine the right ascension of a heavenly body, in our meridian.

Ever Yours,

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

One would naturally suppose that such high topics as we have just shown that Dr. Smith much devoted himself to—taken in connexion with establishing a Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of his clerical brethren; with the affairs of a college, the whole crowned by a sort of Episcopal supervision of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Province—were enough to engage his various powers, however various they were. He was not, however, himself of that opinion.

On the 2d of February, 1770, a letter was read before the Philosophical Society, from the Rev. Jonathan Odell, the well-known Rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, and for some time a Secretary of the Society, the purpose of which was to show the practicalness of making silk in America. A Society for the encouragement of the matter was formed; and Dr. Smith along with several other gentlemen elected managers. I am not able to see, however, that he, himself, ever deemed the thing very practicable. Nevertheless, he subscribed £3 to the enterprise; as much, perhaps, as an act of friendship to his reverend brother, Mr. Odell, for whom he entertained much esteem, as from any prospects of a gainful return. The Silk Society expired with the approaching war, and in 1782, the Philosophical Society succeeded to its properties and moneys, upon a pledge to re-deliver the same whenever called upon by a majority of its members.

CHAPTER XXXI.

COMMENCEMENT-DAY, 1770—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO DR. SMITH—DRS. PETERS AND SMITH AND MR. DUCHÉ RECOMMENDING MR. WILLIAM WHITE TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON FOR DEACON'S ORDERS—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—SAME TO SAME—DR. PETERS TO MR. BARTON—DR. SMITH TO MR. BARTON—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—DR. SMITH TO MR. BARTON—CADWALADER COLDEN TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH TO MR. BARTON—DR. FRANKLIN TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—DR. SMITH BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE HAND-IN-HAND FIRE COMPANY—VISITS SOUTH CAROLINA—DR. SMITH TO DR. PETERS—COMMENCEMENT-DAY, 1771.

WE now come back to matters when the reader will feel, perhaps, more at home: the College and Dr. Smith's letters on subjects connected with the Church and the Clergy.

The College Commencement took place on the 5th of June. Dr. Smith wrote and published *An Exercise containing A Dialogue and two Odes*, there performed. They were printed by Cruikshank & Collins.

A more complete organization of the Medical Faculty having been effected at the close of 1769, the session of 1769-70 may be regarded as the commencement of greater vigor in the School. The Faculty stood as follows:

Theory and Practice of Medicine,	JOHN MORGAN, M. D.
Anatomy, Surgery, and Midwifery,	WM. SHIPPEN, JR., M. D.
Materia Medica and Botany,	ADAM KUHN, M. D.
Chemistry,	BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D.
Clinical Medicine,	THOMAS BOND, M. D.

Additionally to the strictly medical courses, Dr. Smith delivered lectures on Natural Philosophy to the Class.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADA., April 24th, 1770.

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR,

Mr. Ayres came in a very forward manner to solicit the Mission from the people, but he had no encouragement from more than one or two

that I could hear of. The Vestry will have nothing to do with him; & indeed he would not suit that place. We thought considering his low parts and little education we did him a great favor to get him a place among some people in the Jerseys who have not themselves much knowledge & whom we thought he might suit. But he soon thought he deserved something higher & complained of his people to the last Meeting of our Clergy, but they did not approve his complaint as none of his people were present to answer; & we appointed M^r. Cook to enquire among the people and it seems they have given no cause for it, but perform their contract with M^r. Ayres to the utmost of their abilities.

With great affection and regard,

Worthy Sir, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

The Bishop of Oxford (Lowth) to Dr. Smith.

ARGYLE STREET, May 15th, 1770.

REV^d SIR: I have the honor of your letter, with your excellent Sermon before the Corporation for the Relief of Clergymen's Widows and Children, for which I beg of you to accept my best Thanks.* I hope this very good design will meet with all the success that can be wished. I should have been glad to have seen Mr. Coombe; but was unluckily from home when your Packett was delivered, and do not know where to enquire for him. You may be assured I shall, at all times, be extremely glad of the favour of hearing from you; and God grant that for the future the situation of affairs on both sides of the Atlantic may afford more agreeable advices than I am afraid can be furnished from either at present. I am, with the greatest regard, Rev^d Sir,

Your most Obedient and Humble Servant,

R. OXFORD.

We have now a letter of peculiar interest.† It is one given by Dr. Peters, Dr. Smith and Mr. Duché, to the Bishop of London, recommending for orders two young gentlemen, the education of both of whom Dr. Smith had superintended. One of them was Mr. William White, afterwards so eminent in the Church.

PHIL^a, September 24th, 1770.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

We return you our sincere Thanks for the kind regard your Lordship has always shown toward Persons recommended to you for Holy Orders. We hope we shall never write in favor of any but such as upon a

* See an extract from the Sermon, *supra*, p. 429-431.

† From the original draft in the MS. of Dr. Peters, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

thorough examination will be found to be well qualified. It is upon this principle that we now beg Leave to introduce to your Lordship Mr. William White and Mr. Thomas Hopkinson, two young gentlemen who have gone through their studies in our College with Diligence and Applause, and in consequence have obtained the Degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. From their earliest years they have been under Religious Impressions. These have directed their studies, and we hope, as they have heretofore preserved unblemished Characters, they will, when admitted to the Profession they have so anxiously desired, they will prove usefull to Religion and be ornaments of the Church of England, with whose Doctrine and Discipline they are well acquainted, and which we trust they will be good Servants.

Your Lordship may remember that the names of these two young gentlemen were among those whom Dr. Smith mentioned to you some time since as then preparing themselves for the ministry. As they are not yet of sufficient age for Priests' orders, they are desirous of obtaining Deacons' orders, as soon as your Lordship may think convenient; and we do assure your Lordship that they cannot fail from their connections and the Esteem they have justly acquired of being provided for immediately upon their return to America in full orders.

We are now setting off to New York to the annual meeting of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Deceased Clergymen, where your Lordship's letter will be read and an answer returned. Your Lordship's present of Twenty Guineas to this fund has been long since paid to the Treasurer, and his receipt will be sent with the letter.

We are, &c.,

RICHARD PETERS,
WILLIAM SMITH,
JACOB DUCHÉ.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILAD^a, 15th Oct^r, 1770.

REV^d AND WORTHY SIR:

The great bane of the Oxford Mission & the cause of the divisions I found among them was a lottery erected in M^r. Neill's time, which, instead of some hundred pounds which it ought to have cleared, never cleared thirty pounds that I can find any account of, & that part of the Congregation which were not in the management of the lottery accused the others of mismanagement, which laid the foundation of quarrels scarcely yet healed up, tho' I have endeavored to bring them to forget the Lottery & all that is past, as if it had never been.

Since Easter last the Congregation has been happy and flourishing, and I think will continue so. Its peace had been chiefly disturbed by one * * * * *, a sort of Practitioner in Physic, who was bred

an anabaptist, & who being turned out of that Society for seizing the elements at the sacrament by force, when the Minister had refused to admit him to the Communion, on account of some misconduct, he then turned to the Church, & was received by M^r. Neill, and came at last to be Churchwarden & wanted to govern everything in the same arbitrary way as he had attempted among the Baptists. For a year or two I kept him in the Oxford Vestry, hoping to reconcile all sides; but finding it could not be done, I let the people take their way last Easter & they turned him wholly out of all power, and then he left the Church, for which we have cause to rejoice, since they are now a *happy* and united people, & increasing in numbers daily, nor do I ever wish to see him in any office in that Church again while I have any care of it. I am told he and some of his family now join a strolling follower of Wesley's.

Thus I have given you the true and genuine state of the Oxford Church & the difficulties I had in it, which you will see are of such a nature that they are only fit to be mentioned in private, & are not for public view, lest they should widen those differences which I have been striving to close, & which, I thank God, I think I can now say are in a manner wholly closed. * * *

I am, Rev^d and worthy Sir, &c.,

WM. SMITH.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILAD^a, 14 Jan^y, 1771.

REV^d & WORTHY SIR:

* * * M^r. Griffith, who was appointed for Gloster Mission, New Jersey, has deserted it after staying about a month with them. He consulted none of us in this hasty step, but took his leave of the people last Sunday but one. D^r. Peters, M^r. Duché and myself endeavoured to persuade him to stay and wait the Society's pleasure for a removal. But he insisted on returning to New York, saying he only accepted of Gloster Mission by way of title to get ordained by, but not to stay with them. He complained that the People would do nothing for him, but in this he does them great injustice. They had subscribed £48 Pennsylvania money, about £30 Ster. They offered to give Bond for the payment of it, and also to hire a house and small Glebe. This was not only as much as they promised M^r. Griffith before he went to England, but likewise as much as they are really able to give, & more than is given by any Mission in this Province except one or two. It is true the Waterford Congregation did this without the Town of Gloster, as in the latter there never were more than 5 or 6 Church families, so that M^r. Griffith may have to say that one of his congregations would do nothing. The truth is, he did not stay to try whether they would do anything, and I have reason to think that the cause of his not settling

there was his intending to practice Physic and his not finding that it would answer any valuable purpose in the Gloster Mission.

Most obed^t and obliged humble Serv^t,

WILLIAM SMITH.

In the midst of his *Episcopal* offices, as we may call them, Dr. Smith was still turning to the account of the College the transit of Venus, an operation the more agreeable to him as he was bringing Mr. Rittenhouse into closer connexion with himself and with it. He had induced that gentleman, whose reputation was now established, to leave Norriton, a country village, and come into the metropolis to reside. We have letters from both Dr. Peters and Dr. Smith on this topic. Dr. Peters, on the 22d of March, 1771, thus writes to Mr. Barton:

Dr. Smith has done wonders in favour of our friend Rittenhouse. His zeal has been very active; he has got enough to pay him for a second orrery, and the Assembly has given him £300. The Doctor, in his introductory lecture, was honoured with the principal men of all denominations, who swallowed every word he said with the pleasure that attends eating the choicest viands; and in the close, when he came to mention the orrery, he over-excelled his very self. . . . Your son will acquaint you with all the particulars respecting it. The lectures are crowded by such as think they can thereby be made capable of understanding that wonderful machine; whereas, after all, their eyes only give them the truth, from the figures, and motions, and places, and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies.

Dr. Smith to Mr. Barton.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, 23d March, 1771.

DEAR SIR: I have been so busy these two months past that I could not find a moment's leisure to write. A good deal of time was to be given to the public lectures, the orrery, and the getting our dear friend Rittenhouse brought into as advantageous a light as possible, on his first entrance into this town as an inhabitant, all which has succeeded to our utmost wishes; and the notice taken of him by the Province is equally to his honor and theirs. The loss of his wife has greatly disconcerted him; but we will try to keep up his spirits under it.

Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADA, May 3, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR: I have great pleasure in going to preach among them and in Summer particularly. My Country House where my Family resides is nearer Oxford Church than to Philadelphia, being about 2 miles from where M^r. Neill, the last Missionary, resided. The Congregation increases much since we got rid of one or two quarrelsome people. All the Swedish Families that are in that Neighborhood and were formerly a separate Congregation under the Swedish Missionaries, have joined Oxford Church and many of them are Communicants. We are this Summer about erecting a New Church about 5 miles from Oxford Church* for the better accommodating part of the Mission, & after preaching in the forenoon at Oxford, I go once a month in the afternoon to that place, and the Swedish Missionary from Philadelphia also goes once a month.

The people seem more desirous than ever of my continuance to officiate among them, & as it is at present a pleasure to me independent of some benefit it is of to my large family, I must rely on your goodness that there be no alteration made without the concurrence of the people & myself, a request which, from my long services to the Church in America, I hope the Society will think me entitled to make. Some of the people had heard that M^r. Thomas Hopkinson, one of the young Gentlemen I recommended to you in my last, and distantly related to the Bishop of Worcester, would apply for it, & there are several considerations that would make him very unfit for it, tho' he is a very valuable young man & only unhappy in his hesitation and manner of Speech. But I am well persuaded neither he nor his Friends would be so indelicate or ungrateful to me his old Master as to apply without my privacy or knowledge for anything possessed by me; nor would the Society serve the meanest person in their service in that way, who did his duty with reputation and fidelity as I have done to that people amid all my other engagements.

I have written to the B^p of London to be on his guard against one Aiken, who was of the Presbyterian Preachers in this City & is forced out among them on acc^t of scandalous charges against him in respect to the Woman he is now said to have married. He applied to D^r. Peters and myself to be admitted among us but we refused him. However we hear that he has got some sort of papers signed in Maryland and is about taking a passage to England, on which D^r. Peters, M^r. Duché & myself wrote to him yesterday as follows:

SIR: As we understand you are about taking a Passage to England, we think it a piece of justice to inform you that if you continue your resolution of applying for holy

* White Marsh.

orders in our Church we must be obliged in duty to send such objections to the Bishop of London against receiving you as we are fully persuaded will render your application fruitless.

The man has so much assurance that I believe this will not stop him ; & therefore lest the letter I have sent to the Bishop of London (which goes by another Ship with our Governor) should not come to hand so soon as this, please to communicate to the Bishop as soon as possible what I have written about this M^r. Aiken or Aitken, for I know not exactly how he spells his name.

I am, Dear and Worthy Sir, &c.,
WM. SMITH.

Dr. Smith to Mr. Barton.

PHILADELPHIA, May 13th, 1771.

DEAR SIR: I never met with greater mortification than to find M^r. Rittenhouse had, in my absence, made a sort of agreement to let his orrery go to the Jersey College. I had constantly told him that, if the Assembly did not take it, I would take it for our College, and would have paid the full sum should I have had to beg the money. I thought I could depend, as much as upon any thing under the sun, that after M^r. Rittenhouse knew my intentions about it, he would not have listened to any proposal for disposing of it without advising me and giving our College the first opportunity to purchase. I am surprised that M^r. Rittenhouse thinks so little of himself, as to suffer himself to be taken off his guard on this occasion. This province is willing to honour him as her *own*; and, believe me, many of his friends wondered at the newspaper article; and regretted that he should think so little of his noble invention as to consent to let it go to a village; unless he had first found on trial that his friends in this city had not the spirit to take it; For if he would wish to be known by *this work*—and introduced to the best business and commissions for instruments, from all parts of the Continent—his orrery being placed in our College, where so many strangers would have an opportunity of seeing it, was the sure way to be serviceable to himself. You will think by all this that I am offended with him, and that our friendship may hereby be interrupted. Far from it. I went to see him the day the newspapers announced the affair. I soon found that I had little occasion to say any thing; he was convinced before I saw him that he had gone too far. But still, as no time was fixed for delivering the orrery, I was glad to find he had concluded that it should not be delivered till next winter; against which time he said he could have a *second* one made, if this one staid by him for his hands to work by. As I love M^r. Rittenhouse, and would not give a man of such delicate feelings a moment's uneasiness, I agreed to waive the *honour* of having the first orrery, and to take the second.

Yours, &c., in haste,
WILLIAM SMITH.

TO REV. THOS. BARTON.

Cadwalader Colden to Dr. Smith.

NEW YORK, June 6th, 1771.

SIR: I did not know that you had done me the honour of choosing me a member of your Philosophical Society, till I saw my name in your printed Transactions.

Tho' I have spent many hours of my life in Physical enquiries, I now feel so many infirmities of age, that I can have little hope of being of use.

However, to shew that I am desirous, as far as in my power, to promote the useful purposes of your society, I enclose a paper for your inspection.

If the performance deserve examination, and meet with your approbation, perhaps I may be enabled to send you some other uncommon inferences from obvious phenomena. It is of no use to know the Author's name in examining the truth of his inferences, and he likes to be concealed.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CADWALADER COLDEN.

Dr. Smith, it would seem, succeeded after all in the matter of the orrery. On the 7th of June, 1771, he thus writes to his friend, Mr. Barton:

Your and my friend, Mr. Rittenhouse, will be with you on Saturday. The Governor says the Orrery shall not go; he would rather pay for it himself. He has ordered a meeting of the Trustees on Tuesday next; and declares it as his opinion, that we ought to have the first orrery, and not the second—even if the second should be the best.

On the formation of the American Philosophical Society, Dr. Franklin was elected its president. Dr. Smith, who at the same time was elected one of its secretaries, now sends through him, as our Provincial Agent, copies of its works to Maskelyne and other men of science abroad. Franklin acknowledges them with a note, whose concluding words, if not its general tone, would indicate that no great cordiality towards Dr. Smith had yet arrived to him. Smith had not been brought up in a printing-office, nor served an apprenticeship at bookbinding.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin to Dr. Smith.

LONDON, July 4th, 1771.

REV^d SIR: I received the box containing eleven Copies of the Transactions sent me by order of the Society, and have already delivered

most of them as directed. There should be more care taken by the Binder in collating the sheets, particularly of Books sent so far. The Book for the Society of Arts had one sheet twice over, and the Duplicate was return'd to me on a supposition that it might be wanting in some other volume. This I did not find. But the Book for Dr. Fothergill wanted a sheet in the Appendix to the Astronomical Papers, from p. 33 to 40 inclusive, and the other sheet would not supply the Defect. When the other Box arrives I shall take care to deliver and dispose of the Books agreeable to the Intentions of the Society.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

REV'D DR. SMITH,
at Phil^a.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, July 6th, 1771.

REV^d AND WORTHY SIR: * * There is indeed a good prospect opening for a large addition to the Mission where we are about to build the new church. They were a people that were like to fall in with the Methodists; and I think I can say without vanity that I have been a considerable means of shewing them how much better it is to join in a regular Congregation. Yet so it is that tho' I had been thus successful in preventing the Methodist Preachers from gaining any Settlement there, yet it had been said at New York that I had admitted some of their preachers to the pulpit of Oxford Church, but this was so far from being true that I never exchanged a word with one of their preachers nor was there ever one of them within Oxford Church, nor so much as asked by any of the people of that Church, who are far from having any inclination to follow such men.

The Box with the abstracts & some Prayer Books is come to hand, and I have delivered to M^r. Thomson, the library for Trenton, & have wrote to M^r. Magaw, as you directed me, informing him of the continuance of his £10. * * *

I am, Rev^d & worthy Sir, &c.,

W^m. SMITH.

One of the remarkable institutions of *old* Philadelphia was its HAND-IN-HAND FIRE COMPANY, "for better preserving their own and their fellow-citizens' houses, goods and effects from fire." It was formed on the 1st day of March, 1741-2. Each member bound himself to provide four leathern buckets, one bag, and one convenient basket, which said bag, marked with the member's name and that of the company, should be kept ready at hand and

applied to no other use "than for preserving our own and our fellow-citizens' houses, goods and effects in case of fire." The articles further provided that, upon hearing of fire breaking out, each member would immediately repair to the same with his buckets, bag and basket, and there employ his best endeavors to preserve the goods and effects of such members of the company as should be in danger. "And to prevent as much as in us lies," said the articles, "suspicious persons from coming into or carrying away goods out of such houses as may be in danger, two of our members shall constantly attend at the doors, until all the goods and effects that can be saved are packed up and carried to some safe place, to be appointed by the owner or such of our company as shall be present, where one or more of us shall attend them till they can be conveniently delivered to or secured for the owner. And upon our first hearing the cry of fire in the night time, we will immediately cause two or more lights to be set up in our windows when it shall appear necessary, and such of the company whose houses may be thought in danger shall likewise place candles in every room to prevent confusion and that their friends may be the more able to give them the more speedy and effectual assistance."

There were no fire-engines in those days. No Fairmount, no fire-plugs, no hose, no hydrants. Pumps and leathern buckets were the apparatus. On arriving at the fire the members instantly formed themselves into two lines, one end of each line communicating with the nearest pumps, and the other end of each coming to the blazing or endangered house. Relays of members pumped water into the buckets, which, filled with water, were passed *up* one line with incredible celerity to the scene of danger and being emptied on the fire, were sent down with like rapidity to be refilled. The institution was a truly benevolent institution, and none in Philadelphia or out of it ever had a membership of more distinguished men.* On the 4th of October, 1771, Dr. Smith, now

* Between the years 1770 and 1805 the following eminent citizens were members of this company: Andrew Hamilton, Chief Justice Chew, Dr. John Morgan, Dr. Shippen, Dr. Thomas Bond, Thomas Willing, Joseph Sims, Samuel Rhoads, Alexander Stedman, Alexander Willcocks, John Lawrence, John Swift, Joseph Stamper, John Cadwalader, Samuel Powell, Robert Hare, William Bingham, George Mead, Samuel Meredith, John Swanwick, James Biddle, Tench Coxe, James Cramond, William Cramond, William Bradford, Esq., Francis Hopkinson, James Wilson, Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, Bishop White, Rev. Dr. Peters, Rev. J. Duché, Dr. Blackwell, Dr.

aged forty-four years, and in the vigor of manhood, became a contributing member; and on all occasions where his services were needed—and they were not unfrequent in a city where wooden buildings were numerous—was ever active with his fellow-firemen in the work of beneficence. With the increase of fire companies, brought about by the introduction of fire-engines and of hose, the “Hand-in-Hand,” which was very strictly limited to forty members, became in a large degree a Gentleman’s Club; a club too of a high order. I have understood that its clerical members—including of course Dr. Smith, who was among the oldest of them and whose social talents were pre-eminent—were ever welcomed guests.

In the winter of 1771 Dr. Smith went to Charleston, whose inhabitants were distinguished alike by wealth and liberality, to ask contributions to the College. No other letter than this one, that I know of, tells us of his journey.

Dr. Smith to Dr. Peters.

CHARLESTOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA,

December 2d, 1771.

DEAR SIR: As I have nothing to communicate to the President and Trustees, but my own private Disasters, I must take the Benefit of Clergy and do it through your Hands.

We were unfortunately detained six days at Reedy Island by cross winds. I spent all the time in looking over and copying some scraps and fragments of Evans’s Poems to send by the Pilot boat to Mr. Duché, and in copying a sermon or two of my own to send back to my wife, & which my vanity made me wish to save—but I only got thro’ two out of six. Rising up from this copying-work after candles were brought in the Evening before we sailed, viz.: Thursday, Nov. 14th, I was going forward to the ship’s Bow & perceived Rev^d M^r. Hart sitting where I intended to go. “So, Brother Hart,” said I, “you have got the Lee-side. Well, I must turn over to the windward.” Then crossing the ship backwards and talking to him, I did not perceive the fore-scuttle was open, till I fell down it with my whole weight and received a most

John Andrews, Dr. Samuel Magaw, Dr. J. Abercrombie, Dr. Pilmore, of the Episcopal Church; Dr. Ashbel Green, Jared Ingersoll, Dr. Phineas Bond, Drs. John and Joseph Redman, Dr. Adam Kuhn, Major William Jackson, Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, Chief Justice Shippen, Chief Justice Tilghman, Horace Binney, Charles Chauncey, John B. Wallace, William Meredith, Edward Burd, Nathaniel Chapman, M. D., Thomas Mayne Willing, George Willing, Daniel W. Coxe, Richard Peters, Jr., Charles Willing Hare, Joseph Hopkinson, Hartman Kuhn, Thomas Cadwalader, Thomas W. Francis, and other eminent persons in social and professional life.

violent Blow on my left Thigh. . . . I found that next day I could walk tolerably well, tho' I could not bear to lie in Bed on that side. I entirely neglected even to rub it with a little vinegar or spirit. But to my great surprise the ninth day after my Fall, just as we made the Land off Charlestown, the Pain became intense, I fell totally Lame in the space of two Hours, and upon examining the part found it swelled up to a great Hight and my whole Thigh, inside and outside, of a deep Purple color. This was alarming, especially as the weather was so rainy that the Pilot was doubtful whether he could carry us in that day, and standing out to sea, we might be beat off for a week. Had that been the case, the Doctor tells me I might have lost my Thigh altogether. But thanks to Providence, who ordered it otherwise, I got that night (Nov. 23^d) into the Hands of my worthy Friend and Physician, Dr. Garden, and tho' I have been obliged to bear the Surgeon's Knife & to have my Thigh laid open, yet I hope in a week more to be able to go about my Business. . . . D^r. Garden has given D^r. Phineas Bond an acc^t of my situation, so I need add no more on that head.

My great fear is that my Business here may suffer by my confinement. Gentlemen have Leisure to confirm each other in a Resolution they formerly made of suffering no more of their money to the support of foreign seminaries of Learning. They have a Bill before the Council for establishing a College on a grand Footing; the money for the Buildings to be raised by subscription chiefly, the salaries for Professors to be established by Law and raised by public Tax. The Disputes between the Governor and Assembly they say cannot subsist long, and the College-Bill will be one of the first passed. They profess to love Phil^a as a place they have the chief connexion with on this continent. Had any misfortune happened to it by Fire or water; had the college been *burnt* or *blown* down, we should find them, they say, some of the most benevolent of neighbours, but they do not see the propriety of giving away the money to another place which they want to apply for the same Purposes among themselves. I have not been out of my room—but these are the arguments which some few of my friends have hinted to me as tenderly as they could without distressing a sick man. How to answer these arguments or make a People *give* something against their own private Resolution I scarcely as yet know, yet I flatter myself I shall not return quite empty. I never saw a more polite People nor seemingly more humane. The Families of the first note, many to whom I had no Letters, and even Ladies, not a few have kindly visited me under my confinement—I hope to get a little of their money. I am sure of receiving their most respectful notice as soon as I can get out.

Lieu^t Gov^r Bull has been in the country ever since my arrival till yesterday, that he came to town to bury a Sister-in-law, so he has not yet had your Letter. There is one Circumstance w^{ch} will be unfavorable, and which we did not foresee, it being the Reverse of what happens in

all other Places. The greatest part of the gentlemen spend from 1st of Nov^r to about 1st of May at their country Plantations, some 40, 50 to 100 miles Distance, the winter being their healthy & frolicking season. From July to October they all crowd into Charlestown or escape to the Northern Colonies. This will make it very difficult for me to meet with half the Gentlemen I could wish to see. However, I shall do my best.

Pray take care that our Engagements to the People at Oxford be complied with. I hope M^r. Duché and you will receive M^r. Coombe on his arrival with all that cordiality which his merit and his generous Partiality to his native place entitle him.

I have sent a large Packet to Dr. Alison and Mr. Kinnersley, relative to Beresford & Oliphant, two Carolineans, from whom we shall incur much Disgrace. They spend at the rate of between 2 and £300 sterling per annum, and can scarce be got to attend three Lectures in a week. I beg the Trustees may interpose their Authority. You will see by the Packet to Dr. Alison and Mr. Kinnersley what are Mr. Beresford's injunctions respecting his son, and surely you will not suffer yourselves to be trifled with by a Boy, but for the credit of our Discipline see them complied with. Dr. Oliphant has sailed to Jamaica, and his orders respecting his son sent to me by Capt. Blewer since I left Phila., but will find the letters in Mrs. Smith's hands, and Mr. Mayland has also some Directions about them—I mean young Oliphant. I am quite weak with the Loss of Blood, and my Head very giddy, so that I can neither add more nor read over what I have written. And now, my dear friend, you have my best Prayers, as I know I have yours, notwithstanding your infirm state and my present Distance. I have hopes we may yet see one another in the land of the Living. •

I am truly and affectionately yours,

WM. SMITH.

The Commencement Day of 1771 showed that Venus had not made her transit in vain. The Commencement Day of 1769 numbered few graduates. The Commencement Day of the present year more than doubled them. Among them was Samuel Armor. This gentleman was a native of Pennsylvania. He was ordained in the Episcopal Church by Bishop Seabury, in 1785. In 1783 he had become Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in Washington College, and took charge of St. Luke's Church, Queen Anne County, Maryland. In 1790 he had charge of Chester Parish, Kent County, Maryland. In 1792 he returned to Pennsylvania, and died here, though I am unable to state in what year. John McDowell, who was also one of the graduates, became Provost and Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University in A. D. 1806; posts which he held till 1810. He died in 1820.

We have already referred to the increased dignity of the medical faculty made at the session of 1769-70.

The Medical Commencement, on the 28th, was, on account of this, more than usually impressive. The Degree of Bachelor of Physic was conferred on Benjamin Alison, Jonathan Easton, John Kuhn, Frederick Kuhn, Bodo Otto, Robert Pottinger, and William Smith.

Messrs. Jonathan Elmer, of N. J.; Jonathan Potts, of Pottsgrove, Pa.; James Tilton, of Dover; and Nicholas Way, of Wilmington, then presented themselves, agreeably to the Rules of the College, to defend, in Latin, the Dissertations printed for the Degree of Doctor in Physic.

Mr. Elmer's Piece, "*De Causis et Remediis sitis in Febris*," was impugned by Dr. Kuhn, Professor of Botany and Materia Medica.

Mr. Potts', "*De Febris intermittentibus, potissimum tertianis*," was impugned by Dr. Morgan, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic.

Mr. Tilton's, "*De Hydrope*" was impugned by Dr. Shippen, Professor of Anatomy.

Mr. Way's, "*De Variolarum Insitione*" was impugned by Dr. Rush, Professor of Chemistry.

Each of the candidates having judiciously answered the objections made to some parts of their Dissertations, "the Provost conferred upon them the Degree of Doctor of Physic, with particular solemnity, as the highest mark of literary honor which they could receive in the profession."

Dr. Morgan then entered into a particular account of those branches of study which the medical gentlemen ought still to prosecute with unremitting diligence, if they wished to be eminent in their profession, laying down some useful rules for an honorable practice in the discharge of it. He observed that the "oath" which was prescribed by Hippocrates to his disciples had been generally adopted in universities and schools of physic on like occasions, and that laying aside the form of oaths, the College, which is of a free spirit, wished only to bind its sons and graduates by the ties of honor and gratitude; and that therefore he begged leave to impress upon those who had received the distinguished Degree of Doctor, that, as they were among the foremost sons of the institu-

tion, and as the birth-day of medical honors had arisen upon them with auspicious lustre, they would, in their practice, consult the safety of their patients, the good of the community, and the dignity of their profession, so that the seminary from which they derived their titles, might never have cause to be ashamed of them.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BIRTH OF A DAUGHTER. AFTERWARDS MRS. BLODGET—LETTER FROM DR. FRANKLIN TO DR. SMITH—DEATH OF THE REV. DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, OF CONNECTICUT—DEATH OF THOMAS GRÆME, M. D.—DR. SMITH PREACHES HIS FUNERAL SERMON—DR. SMITH AND OTHERS TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—NATHANIEL EVANS—DR. SMITH MAKES A DISCOURSE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY—COMMENCEMENT DAY, 1773—IMPROVES HIS MANSION HOUSE AT THE FALLS OF SCHUYLKILL—DR. SMITH TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—HE AND DR. PETERS TO THE SAME—MR. OLIVER TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH TO COLONEL JAMES BURD—WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON TO DR. SMITH—REV. THOMAS BARTON TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—HE AND DR. PETERS TO THE SAME.

ON the 11th of April, 1772, a second daughter was born to Dr. Smith. The good Doctor seems to have been observant of that hard old rubric of the English Church—one easily enough observed in the climates of Rome, from whose ritual I suppose it came, or in a church where baptism by midwives was encouraged, but not so practicable in the winters of the northern parts of northern America—that the baptism of the *nouveau-ne* should not be deferred longer than the first or second Sunday after the child's birth; so that if the little innocent came into being on Saturday night before 12 o'clock, he or she was to be taken to church, and at its door, in form, admitted on the following Sunday. The rubric which we speak of was retained in the "Proposed Book" of Dr. Smith, and, though largely disregarded, in the Book of Common Prayer as finally adopted. It was pretty strictly observed, however, in the case of this newly-arrived daughter. For, born on the 11th of April, she was carried on the 24th to Christ Church, where, under the name of Rebecca, she was duly made a member of the Christian fold by Dr. Peters, the sponsors being Miss Nancy Bond and Miss Nancy Harrison.

This daughter, of whom a lovely portrait by Gilbert Stuart attests the justice of the social judgment, was one of the most admired beauties that ever adorned the drawing-rooms of Philadelphia, and as much distinguished by sprightliness and wit as by personal comeliness. The portrait of her by Stuart has been universally acknowledged, I think, to be the finest female head that Stuart produced. Boston has some good heads of this sort, I know; but they are in Stuart's later style. That of this lady has a purity, an ethereal charm, which his pencil lost with the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a general thing Stuart's women were not successful. It seemed as if he required a male head, and one, moreover, of a high intellectual order, like that of the father, Dr. Smith, whom he painted; or Bishop White, or Robert Morris, or William Lewis, or Chief-Justice Shippen, or Thomas McKean—all of whom he painted—to bring out the full power of his wonderful pencil. He had to become *interested* in what he did, in order to do it well; but when the interest that he felt was that which beauty inspires, then, too, his pencil became inspired. It seemed as if the very angels guided it. This was the case in regard to the portrait of Mrs. Bingham, and of her sister—by some persons thought the handsomer person—Mrs. Major Jackson. It was as much so, or more, in regard to this beautiful daughter of Dr. Smith. Stuart's portrait was copied as a study of improvement by Sully, and was some years ago tastefully engraved by Cheney for an annual called "The Gift." It is a mere head: costume, or dress—"dry-goods," as Stuart used to call it—he left to "Tommy Lawrence." Sully's copy I own. This daughter of Dr. Smith became the wife of Mr. Samuel Blodget.

The College Commencement of this year gave to the bar of Philadelphia Mr. Moses Levy, for many years an active practitioner at it, and from 1802 to 1808 the recorder of the city, and afterwards, if I remember, president of its District Court.

We gave, a few pages back, a letter from Dr. Franklin, in which the great philosopher showed that he could sometimes be what is commonly in regard of manners called "dry." We are happy to give another which indicates a little more effusiveness.

LONDON, August 22d, 1772.

SIR: I received yours of May 16, with the Box of Books, and have already delivered and forwarded most of them as directed. I supply'd

Dr. Fothergill with the wanting sheet. I approve much of the Letter's being in English. I forwarded your Letter to Mr. White, son of *Taylor White, Esq'*, late Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital (now deceas'd), but he has not call'd for the Book. I am glad to hear of your success at South Carolina, and that the College flourishes. I send enclos'd a Pamphlet on a new discovery that makes some noise here. With my best wishes of Prosperity to the Society, and thanks of the number of Books they have sent me, which I shall endeavor to dispose of to their Credit, I am, Sir,

Your most obed^t hum^l Servant,

TO REV. WILLIAM SMITH.

B. FRANKLIN.

The loss of early friends "by sudden blast, or slow decline," is that which happens to all men who live to see long years. Before Dr. Smith tasted of death he had not a little to lament in this way. But he began to have some evidences in this way even now.

On the 6th of January, 1772, he received intelligence of the death of a long honored and much loved early friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson, the first President of King's College (now Columbia), New York; one his superior much in years, to whose accurate learning he greatly deferred, and to whom he looked for sound judgment in all things relating to the Church. Dr. Johnson died at Stratford, Connecticut, and is buried in the chancel of Christ Church in that place. I find in the handwriting of Dr. Smith a copy of the inscription on his tomb; whether written by Dr. Smith, or only copied as a memento of a friend, equally worth giving to my reader.

M. S.

SAMUELIS JOHNSON, D. D.,
COLLEGII REGALIS NOVI EBORACI
PRÆSIDIS PRIMI
ET HUIUS ECCLESIAE NUPER RECTORIS
NATUS DIE 14TO OCTOB., 1696,
OBIIT 6TO JAN., 1772.

A loss which affected him more sensibly happened soon afterwards. On the 4th of September, 1772, died his fellow-countryman and intimate personal friend, of Philadelphia, Thomas Græme, of Græme Park. "I was acquainted with him," says Dr. Smith, "almost twenty years; that is from the first day of my coming to Philadelphia, until the day of his death; and by a standing invita-

tion spent every Sunday evening with him and his family, excepting in the Summer season, when they were at Græme Park, his family seat, about twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. At our meetings in the Winter season, I found him generally with five or six friends, besides the family, of congenial sentiments, and among others, the Rev. Dr. Peters, Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia."

This respectable man was of an ancient family, the GRÆMES of Bulgowan, where he was born, near Perth, in Scotland, the eldest branch of the noble family of Montrose. He was educated in the line of Physic, and came early into Pennsylvania, during the government of Sir William Keith, whose relation he married, and continued for many years a successful and highly respected Practitioner, in the line of his profession. As he advanced in years, a deafness to which he had been in part subject for many years, increased so much that it induced him to decline the practice of Physic, and to keep only a few medicines to be given away to such poor persons as, after examining their cases and circumstances, he thought wanted them. His understanding and mental faculties still remaining sound, the Penn family (with which he lived in great intimacy, when any of them visited or governed in person the Province) bestowed upon him a lucrative office in the customs, in which he conducted himself with such integrity and good manners as gave great satisfaction to the merchants, without any sacrifice of his duty to the government.

Dr. Græme had passed his 80th year when he died. At his funeral, on the 6th of September, Dr. Smith preached a sermon appropriate to the occasion; the text being that one, well-known, from the Proverbs, "*The hoary head is a Crown of Glory, if it be found in the way of Righteousness;*" to the choice of which he says that he was led by "the old age and venerable character of the man whose corpse now lies before us." How to render old age honorable in the eyes of others, and to render our hoary hairs a crown of glory to ourselves, is the subject of his sermon.

He says:

Old Age generally comes accompanied with many Infirmities both of body and mind; for the world hath no new hopes to flatter it with, and hath many fears to present to it, through its near approaches to the confines of another world. . . . But he who hath taken care to

provide for all the former stages of a man's life, will surely not leave the last and most ripened stage of it, void of its share of Comforts; especially if it be found in the way he hath appointed—that is, in the Way of Righteousness.

If a proper foundation hath been laid in our early years—the fruits thereof will be our comfort in age. The irregularities of youth are the chief cause of an infirm and painful old age; loading our declining years with perplexities and distress, which a timely care and foresight might have prevented. . . . The reflection that we have long forgotten Him who can alone shew us any good, instead of comforting, will deprive us of all those calm and heartfelt joys, that ought to revive and warm our drooping frame, and will add to all our other growing pains, the terrible apprehensions of wrath and punishment to come.

Oh then! that those who are busy and employing all their cares to lay up some worldly provision, (as is indeed fit and proper) for the bodily support of their old age, would consider farther that all this care will avail them nothing, unless they lay up also some *spiritual* provision, a treasure of righteousness, in a life well spent; that they would provide, as more proper, a store of those home-felt, sweet and virtuous reflections, which will still grow upon enjoyment, and will never satiate or disgust us!

After speaking of the fault of Penuriousness and Avarice which so often creeps on old age, he says:

The golden rule for making the hoary head a Crown of Glory, is to preserve our place and rank in life, and in riper age with dignity; not shewing ourselves vainly attached to more of the world than our years and station require; and bestowing to *our own* where they need it, and to *others* where we can afford it, with a free, open and benevolent heart; shewing that it is our delight to make our nearest relatives and the whole world, as far as in our power, happy around us.

“Another fault of *old age*,” he adds, “is too often a morose, suspicious and censorious temper, declining free converse with the world, and forbidding all approach, as it were, to its presence.”

He proceeds:

Pain, sickness and infirmity lay some foundation, for this; but how gloriously would all these pains and infirmities be alleviated, how much more venerable would old age appear; if cheerfulness sat on its brow, if a glow of love and affection was shed over its whole countenance; if it were ready to make allowances for the frailties of mankind, and especially of youth; if it was ever ready to admonish with tenderness, and impart advice with a candid sincerity and complacency of heart?

Another way by which old age may render itself less respectable, is

by quitting its rank, affecting to call back years that are flown, and mixing with the young in amusements which, though proper for one age, may be considered as levities in another. A decent joining in the diversions of the young, if we suffer not our years and *gray hairs* to be thereby despised, is, on proper occasions, a mark of a candid and loving temper, and may give us an opportunity of doing them much good. But to make this an excuse, to call off our thoughts from those nobler purposes of *being* to which the pursuits of the aged should be more particularly directed—this is not only contrary to Religion and Reason, but highly inconsistent with that seriousness and dignity of character, which become the hoary head, and render it a Crown of Glory. Gray hairs at least, if nothing else, should warn a man, like the venerable Barzillai,* at a proper period of life, to withdraw himself from the follies, the vanities, and even the innocent and lawful amusements of the young and gay.

And having thus withdrawn ourselves, at a proper period of our age, from the strifes and vanities of the World, it is our duty to inquire what conduct will render our gray hairs a Crown of Glory?

And surely a more venerable spectacle cannot be beheld under the sun, than a man stricken in years, the father of a family, deserving and obtaining the love and esteem of all around him!

I am ravished with the thought, and my imagination presents to me the *good Old Man*, finishing his walk of life in the fear of God, and in good offices to Men. No morning or evening passes over his head, without due praises and thanksgivings to his Almighty Maker, for all the benefits and mercies bestowed on him. I behold him, like some ancient patriarch, (in the midst of his loving and beloved family) at once their Prophet, their Priest and their King—as their Prophet, counselling them with all the experience of years, and inspiration of Wisdom; as their Priest, offering up their prayers and pleading for their failings, at the throne of Grace; and as their King, ruling them with affection, and swaying them by the powerful example of his own goodness!

At one time, methinks I behold him tenderly interested in all their domestic concerns, and temporal happiness; at another time I see him retired from hurry and noise, resting his venerable limbs under some friendly shade; composing his soul to the exercises of private Devotion; reviewing in the field of calmer reason and religion, all the transactions of his former more busy and active years; bewailing the faults he hath committed, and taking sanctuary from their sting in the bosom of his Saviour, and his God! And although rejoicing in the remembrance of his moments that were well spent, yet not even resting on his best works for salvation; but seeking it through the merits of Jesus Christ;

* 2 Samuel, ch. xix. ver. 32-37.

striving to humble and purify himself more and more, even as his Master, Christ, was humble and pure!

Methinks I behold him, at other times, comforting the afflicted, relieving where he can relieve; or, where that is not in his power, dropping at least the sympathetic tear, and wishing that the means of his bounty, were as enlarged as his heart to give. I hear him likewise giving ready counsel to all that ask; I behold him saving, or striving to save, some thoughtless youth from the snares of the world, pouring his balm into the wounded character and conscience, composing the strifes and contentions of jarring neighbours, and ever exerting himself to make a whole world happy; concealing and bearing with patience his own infirmities, and promoting religion, justice, peace and joy, to the farthest extent in his power.

None ever can approach such a man but with reverence! His gray hairs are indeed a crown of Glory! They strike even the giddy and profligate with awe.

Should a man who has acted such a dignified part as this, come at last to bear the greatest marks of decay, and even outlive all the active powers both of body and mind; yet still he will continue to be respected by all! Like some grand structure, tottering and crumbling beneath the hand of time, he will appear beautiful and majestic, although in ruins; and be still looked upon with reverence and awe! even by the giddy and the dissolute.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the common complaint, that old age is a thing not desirable; yet if it be such an old age as we have been describing, and which is in part copied from the life of the good man, whose breathless clay lies before us, it hath satisfactions more substantial than all the giddy and fantastic joys of former years. The autumn, and even the very winter of such a life, yield a calm sunshine of comfort, which the splendid spring and summer of life cannot yield to many who think themselves the most happy!

The following letter bears no more than a just tribute of praise to a gentleman long honored both in Bristol and in the neighboring city of Burlington; but whose name, though not a century has passed since he died, has largely faded from the remembrance of men.

Dr. Smith and others to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

PHILAD^a, Oct^r 14, 1772.

REV^d AND WORTHY SIR: This will be delivered to you by D^r. De Normandie, a worthy Member of the Church of England, as well as a Gentleman of Fortune, character & great public usefulness in this Province. Enclosed is an engagement for the support of a Missionary for the County of Bucks in this Province, a County in which there is not a

single Clergyman of our Church, tho' there was formerly a Missionary there, and it is one of our interior Counties & a very great disposition in it, even among the Quakers, who are the most numerous body, to encourage the Church in preference to all other religious denominations except their own.

As D^r. DeNormandie will wait upon you in person, and can so fully give you an account of this County, & you may perfectly depend upon the truth of whatever he shall say to you on Church affairs, we have the less occasion to be particular. This is not properly opening a new Mission, but the restoring an old one which was discontinued on the ill conduct of one M^r. Lindsay, the last Missionary, & was occasionally supplied by M^r. Campbell, of Burlington, during his life, but his successor, M^r. Odell, has been excused from taking any charge of it. There is a prospect of a very flourishing Mission in this County. The People of Bristol, chiefly excited by D^r. DeNormandie's zeal, have enlarged their Church, which we have this Summer alternatively supplied for them, as there is in the Summer season a great resort of strangers of Distinction to that Town, on account of a mineral Spring & Bath there, and one or two more churches are soon intended to be built in the County, at such a distance as to be supplied by the same person who supplies Bristol.

If you will look into your list you will see how few Missionaries we have in this great & populous Province, which has more people in it than New York & New Jersey both. We hope then the Society will make such allowance as they are able for a Missionary in Bucks, & there is not the least doubt but the people, many of whom have both zeal & ability sufficient, will even do more than their present engagement & make the living for their Minister very respectable.

The Gentleman they have applied for is M^r. Hopkinson, who is known to them & has connexions among sundry of the most respectable members of the Church in that County, & we believe will be of great service among them. M^r. Hopkinson is also known to you, & has been recommended to the Bishop of London some years ago in conjunction with his class-mates, Mess^{rs}. Montgomery, Coombe & White, so that nothing need be added on that head. He is also in full orders, & wants nothing but the nomination of the Society, which we pray they may give him, agreeable to the request of the people, as Missionary for Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

We are, Rev^d & worthy Sir, &c.,

RICHARD PETERS,
WILLIAM SMITH,
JACOB DUCHÉ.

Nothing is more striking in the character of Dr. Smith than the devotion with which he cherished literary merit and sought, within

the whole region where his influence extended, to do justice to its possessor, whether that possessor was among the living or the dead. When it concerned his own pupils, it seems to have been considered by him a sacred duty to cherish and perpetuate a knowledge of it.

I have already spoken of the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, and in a note made some reference to his history. He died at an early age, constrained by the love of Christ to devote all his powers to preaching the gospel of salvation. He was a favorite pupil of Dr. Smith, who regarded him with great interest as likely to be useful in the Church, an ornament to American letters, and a pride to his family and friends. But too soon for the interest of all these, and for the pride and happiness of all with whom he was connected, death took him from the world. My father, Richard Penn Smith, has left an account of him, whose insertion here by me I trust that my readers will pardon to filial love and duty. My father says:

If the rigid canons of criticism will not allow the name of Evans to be inscribed among those of the inspired children of poesy and song, yet the cause of virtue requires that there be some memorial of one, who embodied in harmonious verse, the chaste conceptions and moral excellencies of a sound and well-regulated mind! Apart from the merit which might be claimed for him by his admirers, on account of the supposed beauties which can be found in his writings, the demand of justice is interposed, that there be rendered to his amiable character and pure life the deserved tribute of esteem and honour. Especially is this called for, since circumstances, distinctly unfavourable at the time of his brief career in life, have heretofore prevented an exhibition of the claims which rest upon his countrymen for their admiration and respect.

The subject of this memoir was born in Philadelphia, on June 8th, 1742. His father, who was a respectable merchant of the city, designed him for the same pursuit, but, having ample means, determined to afford his son the advantages of an education beyond the mere requisites for commercial business. He was accordingly entered in the College of Philadelphia, and soon exhibited his fondness for classical learning, and the wide range of polite literature. He, in a brief time, endeared himself to the faculty of that venerable institution by his close application and amiable temper; and the regard was reciprocated by our young student in full measure.

Having continued in the college for six years, he was removed to the counting-house of a merchant, with the view, on the part of his parent, of qualifying him for a business which the former designed should be pursued by his son. The taste for literature, however, which he had

cherished in his academical course with so much delight and profit, made him regret that the duties of the counting-house interfered with pursuits so congenial with his mind's best wishes and inclination. On completing the term for which he was engaged at the desk, he immediately returned to the college, and resumed his studies with renewed vigour and devotion.

Perhaps there are few instances on record of greater progress in the pursuit of knowledge, or of a more ardent engagement in the occupations of the scholar, than that furnished by young Evans. Such was his great diligence in study that at the commencement, held on May 30th, 1765, a short time after his second matriculation, he was, by special mandate of the Trustees, upon the unanimous recommendation of the Board of Faculty, honoured with a diploma for the degree of Master of Arts; although he had not received the previous degree of Bachelor, on account of the interruption in his studies during the season which was spent in the counting-house.

Immediately subsequent to the commencement he embarked for England, favoured with the most honourable testimonials of respect and esteem for his great talents and virtues. The object of his visit to the mother country was the important one of receiving ordination in the Church of England, and the appointment of Missionary for Gloucester county, New Jersey, from the venerable "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." If his acknowledged abilities were a qualification, in a literary point of view, for this sacred calling, his piety and the excellent virtues of his heart and life yielded the assurance of future usefulness. Upon the Society's nomination, he was admitted to orders by Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, exercising provisional authority over the colonial churches. His examination gave the greatest satisfaction to the above prelate, particularly from the perusal of an elegant composition, which had been prepared in a few minutes, upon a theological subject, and upon which his views had been required.

On his return to Philadelphia, in 1765, he proceeded to his responsible charge in the neighbourhood, and settled himself in Haddonfield, N. J. With all that activity and great zeal, which were shown by him in every work to which his mind was directed, he entered upon the sacred duties of a Christian minister, and soon beheld the gratifying evidences of his acceptableness as a teacher in divine things. But he just lived long enough to show, by the excellent and amiable dispositions of his heart, the purity of his morals, the sublimity and soundness of his faith, and the warmth of his pulpit compositions, how well he was qualified for the sacred office to which he had wholly devoted himself. He died of consumption, October 29th, 1767, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, lamented by all who were favoured with his acquaintance, and none more deeply and affectionately mourned over a bereavement than the beloved people whom he had not yet served two years!

Not long before his death he committed his papers, which he had begun to prepare for the press, to the care of Dr. Smith and of a young lady in whom he felt an interest. The persons who were to encourage the publication of a volume of youthful poetry in that day were small. But the indefatigable Provost announced his purpose to publish them, and before very long procured no fewer than seven hundred and fifty-nine subscribers for the volume, among whom will be found the name of *Oliver Goldsmith*. Great at that time of day must have been the effort requisite to obtain so many patrons. But "he was my pupil," writes Dr. Smith, "and truly dear and affectionate to me in his whole demeanor." This was incentive enough for every effort. Having done this considerable work, Dr. Smith passed the list to a publisher in Philadelphia, Mr. John Dunlap, for £20, which sum, as we have already mentioned, Dr. Smith paid into the treasury of the then recently established corporation for the relief of the Widows and Children of the Clergy of the Church of England. The volume appeared in handsome style in the summer of 1772, with a preface by the editor. In an introduction he gives a piece by Mr. Evans himself in a short interval between a dangerous illness, which he had undergone, and a relapse which put an end to his life. The piece seems to have been intended as a *preface* to a contemplative volume of his own poems.

"Poetry has been accounted the most peculiar of all the liberal arts; and it is the only One in the circle of literature, which a man of common capacity cannot, by mere dint of constant application, become master of. The most exalted prose writers that ever graced the learned world, have rendered themselves liable to ridicule in their addresses to the Muses."

"The great Cicero, not less famous for the elegance of his style, than for his universal knowledge, was a remarkable instance of the truth of this observation. And the wonder ceases, if what a celebrated Critic* says, be true, to wit: That to constitute a Poet, is required 'an elevation of soul, that depends not only on art and study, but must also be the Gift of Heaven.' I say, if this be the case, the riddle is immediately expounded, and we are at no loss to assign a reason, why some (comparatively speaking) illiterate men have been the sublimest poets of the age they lived in."

* Rapin.

"It is not strange, therefore, that those whom nature has thus distinguished, should be looked on as a kind of prodigies in the world. For, according to Horace, it is not a trifling power the man is endued with—

—————meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut MAGUS————— LIB. II. EPIST. I.

"There is a pleasing *Je ne scay quoi* in the productions of poetic genius, which is easier felt than described. It is the voice of nature in the Poet, operating like a charm on the soul of the reader. It is the marvellous conception, the noble wildness, the lofty sentiment, the fire and enthusiasm of spirit, the living imagery, the exquisite choice of words, the variety, the sweetness, the majesty of numbers, and the irresistible magic of expression.

The prose writer may indeed warm his Reader with a serene and steady fire; he may keep up his attention with the energetic, the flowing period. But the Poet's it is, to wrap him in a flame—to dissolve him, as it were, in his own rapturous blaze! The Poet's it is, to hurry him out of himself, with the same velocity, as though he were really mounted on a winged Pegasus—It is his to lift him up to Heaven, or plunge him into the gloom of Tartarus—It is his, to unveil to him the secrets of the deep, or to exhibit to his mind, all the novelty of this varied world—to carry him back into the darkness of antiquity, or waft him forwards into the vast sea of futurity—and finally, to inspire him with the patriot glow, or fire his soul with the heavenly ideas of Moral Beauty, and all the varied passions of Love, Fear, Terror, Compassion, &c., &c."

"Such is the genuine Poet, when improved by the Precepts of Art; and the works of such have been the continual delight of mankind, as they afford the sublimest intellectual enjoyment. With such, to tread the flowery fields of imagination, and gather the rich fruits of knowledge, is Happiness indeed!"

The preface concludes with this sentence unfinished, and "prophetic," says Dr. Smith, "of the author's own fate."

"But it is rare, that such Natural Geniuses are seen to arrive at this envied height. Some black obstacle still clogs their wings, and retards their progress.—Frequently those to whom Nature has been thus bountiful, have not leisure to attend to the cultivation of their talents—frequently, like the rose in the wilderness, they just bloom, and wither away in obscurity; and sometimes, alas! the iron-hand of death cuts them suddenly off, as their beauties are just budding forth into existence, and leaves but the fair promises of future excellencies." . . .

"How far," continues Dr. Smith, "his Poems will answer the idea he had formed of poetic eminence, must be left for his readers to

judge. Many of them are fragments, and unfinished; and but few of them were revised by himself, with a view of being published. Some corrections have therefore been made, where there appeared anything materially faulty in respect to Grammar, the exactness of the rhymes, &c. But in these the Publisher has been sparing, and has taken care that the Author's sense should in no case be deviated from. The task he left to be performed was a mournful one; but it has been executed with that fidelity, which the writer of this would wish might be extended to any performance of his own, that may be thought worthy of the public eye, by that true friend into whose hands it may fall, when he himself shall be no more!"

On the 22d January, 1773, Dr. Smith delivered an Oration before the American Philosophical Society. The Governor of the Province, the Speaker of the Assembly and other dignified persons were present. The oration was subsequently printed by order of the Society.

The Commencement at the College took place this year, as usual, in June. There were six graduates.

During the year, Dr. Smith built or greatly improved the Mansion-House at the Falls of Schuylkill, and removed his family thither. It was then a place eminent for the wild and picturesque character of its scenery. The hand of man has since sadly, in the artist's sense, though not in that of the banker, changed its aspect. Faint flashes only—caught here and there at points—remain of those ancient charms which attracted the poetic eye of Dr. Smith. Railways run at its very skirts. The steam-whistles of every sort of factory are heard in the early morning, at noon and at the curfew's toll.

We now resume our correspondence. It would be surprising to see by it, what numbers of disreputable people in colonial times sought to take holy orders, if we did not remember that for the most part they expected to come back with a fixed stipend as Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Dr. Smith to the Lord Bishop of London.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, October 13th, 1773.

MY LORD,

* * * It is with sorrow we are obliged humbly to represent to your Lordship that our Church has lately suffered greatly by several unworthy

men who, by the recommendations of those who were not deserving the credit they have received, have found means to impose on your Lordship's goodness and have got into Holy Orders, some of whom have come to this place and some have gone to Maryland and Virginia.

M^r. *Illing*, whom your Lordship sent out, is as D^r. Peters represents him, a worthy man, but M^r. *Page* is every way the reverse. The people in general, who subscribed and whose subscriptions he laid before your Lordship, believed him to be a Presbyterian and are chiefly of that persuasion. He never meant to settle among them but only to get into Orders. He knew none of us would recommend him. Nay, he knew that we would write to your Lordship against him, if we had known of his intentions. Despairing ever to obtain recommendations from any of the clergy here, as his conduct has been very exceptionable the short time he was in America, he applied, just before he embarked, for Letters from Father Harding, a worthy Jesuit in this Town, to the Bishop of Canada with a view to get ordained by him, and as he pretended he meant afterwards to recant his Errors and commence Preaching in our church. Harding, who was always on good terms with us, discovered his Duplicity and want of Principle, & refused to have anything to do with him. He then went among those People on our Frontiers, whom I have mentioned. What other recommendations he produced to your Lordship we have not heard. He never went near the people on Susquehannah, but on his arrival immediately set up as a separate Preacher in New York, without any Regard to Order or the Establishment there.

My Lord, your most dutiful Son and Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

Messrs. Smith and Peters to the Bishop of London.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, October 29th, 1773.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

* * * But the principal thing we want to now inform your Lordship of is, that by a Letter received by D^r. Smith from M^r. Martin, Governor of North Carolina, we are made acquainted with the designs of a certain John Beard, who was educated in the College of that city and has taken orders among the Dissenters. He has, as we are well informed, given offence and been called to account for want of Sobriety for his own people, and now wants to come over to the church. Governor Martin is good enough to let it be known how M^r. Beard came to have his letters and countenance, & his Letter is enclosed, and we desire that if M^r. Beard attempts to make use of Governor Martin's or any other recommendations in order to gain admittance into Orders, that this, our letter, may be received as a caveat against such admission.

We always have been and ever shall be careful how we give any

Recommendations to people who offer themselves for Holy orders, and indeed in nothing are we, who are ever upon the spot, liable to be more imposed upon than those who apply on these occasions for our Recommendations. We are,

Your Lordship's most dutiful and
Obedient humble Servants,

WILLIAM SMITH,
RICHARD PETERS.

The letter from Massachusetts which follows and is signed "A. Oliver," might naturally be supposed to be from the Andrew Oliver, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, A. D. 1770-74, of whom mention is often made in our history, and whose name has so unenviable a notoriety in connection with Governor Hutchinson in the famous "Boston Letters," got, as is supposed, from Sir John Temple by Dr. Franklin in 1774 or thereabouts, and which were the subject of Mr. Wedderburne's celebrated but indecent invective. This, however, as we learn by the invaluable "Dictionary of Authors" of Dr. Austin Allibone, is not the case. The "A. Oliver"—Dr. Smith's correspondent—was a different person, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Essex, and an amateur of science. Dr. Allibone makes mention of his scientific papers, not numerous, but apparently somewhat esteemed.*

A. Oliver to Dr. Smith.

SALEM, 6th December, 1773.

REV^d, HON^d, & D^a. SIR:

I received your very agreeable Per Mr. Mifflin, which he forwarded to me from Boston, but was not honoured with a visit from that gentleman at Salem, which your letter flattered me with the hopes of. Soon after his arrival at Boston, I made several journies myself into the country,

* It was objected by some critics, at the time when this truly great work of Dr. Allibone's appeared, that he made mention of far too many unimportant authors; men who had written little, or not with great ability. In nothing, in my opinion, is Dr. Allibone's work more truly useful or more to be commended than in exactly what it thus does. We have no difficulty in learning in a score of volumes everything concerning great authors—Dryden, Johnson, Burke, Webster, and others. We know not *where else* to look for many humble ones. I had looked in vain in several biographical dictionaries for mention of this "A. Oliver," as also of "Edward Antill," mentioned *infra*, on page 498, as a correspondent of Dr. Smith. But in vain. I open the volumes of this industrious and incomparable laborer, and I find about them both all that any one need desire to know.

whereby I missed of the pleasure of seeing, tho' I just heard of him at Providence and Newport. I am very sorry that I had not an opportunity of shewing that respect which not only your recommendation entitled him to, but the united testimony of my friends at Boston, who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him, assured me was due to his merit.

I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of three copies of your oration, delivered before the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; one of which I sent to the Lieut.-Governor, as you desired, who returns you his respectful compliments, with thanks for the same. He again enquired of me respecting his having been elected a member of the Society; I shewed him, as I had done before, your favor to me by Mr. Budd, wherein you informed me that I was "a member of the Society by a *late* election, as the Lieut.-Governor is by a former "one." But as he has received no certificate of such election, which he understands is customary, he is in doubt whether a correspondence as a member is expected from him, and of the propriety of it.

As you informed me that the Society had appointed a committee to examine the communications, and select the papers proper to be published in a Second Vol. of Transactions, I wrote some time since to Mr. Thos. Smith, desiring him to acquaint me what forwardness that Vol. was in, as I designed to expose myself by communicating to the committee some philosophical papers for their inspection. In those papers I have endeavoured to frame a new theory, in order to account for the phenomena of lightning and thunder-storms, upon electrical principles; which, tho' different from any foregoing theories which have been erected for that purpose, is, I am persuaded, nearer the truth than any of them, and at least as well supported by experiments, not of my own, but which lie scattered throughout Dr. Priestley's History of Electricity, which I have been at no small pains to collect and compare together with that view. I would send it herewith, but as I have just finished what I intended upon the Subject, I have put the papers into the hands of a philosophical friend for his examination, inspection, and correction, after which I purpose to transmit you a fair copy of them.

An ingenious clergyman in Boston, who is very curious in disquisitions of this kind, and to whom I communicated the first rough draught of the theory aforesaid, has promised me the sight of a theory of his own, respecting the *primary* and *immediate* causes of the ascent of vapors, upon which he thinks he can offer something that is new. As this subject is nearly connected with that of lightning and thunder-storms, if I can be favoured with it in season, and can obtain liberty from the Author, I will communicate it with my own.

I sincerely wish success to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; that under its auspices useful knowledge may be accumulated and propagated among mankind far and near; and shall esteem

myself happy if ever it may be in my power to contribute towards that beneficent design. I am,

Rev^d, Hon^d, and Dear Sir,
Your obliged and most obed^t humble serv^t,

A. OLIVER.

Dr. Smith to Col. James Burd, near Middletown.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 22nd, 1773.

DEAR SIR: Give me Leave to introduce to your Encouragement and Protection the Rev^d Mr. Illing*, ordained by the Bishop of London, and recommended to us by the Queen's German Chaplains. He can preach both in German and English; and I hope the Lutherans, among whom he was bred, will allow him the occasional use of their Churches, as he will be strongly recommended by Mr. Muhlenberg. He may be useful in your Parts. He will shew you his Subscription List, and I beg you would give him your best advice, which will much oblige

Your Obedient Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

Favoured by the REV^d. MR. ILLING.

The next letter refers to a question which long agitated the two States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. It was the question of title to a large part of Northern Pennsylvania, about where Susquehanna County now is; one portion of the people claiming under grants from Connecticut, and the other by grants from the Penns. The matter led to great excitement, and after much litigation was, I believe, finally settled in the great case of *Van Horne's Lessee v. Dorance*, reported in one volume of Dallas's Reports. Dr. Smith wrote an octavo pamphlet of about a hundred pages on it, in 1774, entitled, "An Examination of the Connecticut Claim to Lands in Pennsylvania; with an Appendix, containing Extracts of Original Papers."

William Saml. Johnson† to Dr. Smith.

STRATFORD, January 29th, 1774.

D^r S^r: I am extremely obliged to you for y^r favor of the 18th of Jan'y, and the Pamphlet that accompanied it. I rec'd it at Hartford, but so eager were those who are the most eager in the affair of the controverted Lands (of which I am not one) to see its contents, that I was

* Rev. Frangott. Fred. Illing was licensed to preach in 1772.

† Son of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, spoken of by us, *supra*, p. 473; born October 11th, 1727; died November 14th, 1819; aged 92 years.

not allowed to keep it in my hands an hour, and I have never been able to get a sight of it since. From the very cursory reading I gave it, I think it is well done, and states the proprietary arguments in support of their title, or rather those in derogation of the Connecticut Title, in a very advantageous point of light. I hope with you, if any answer is given to it, the like temper and candor will be observed, for to what purpose is chicanery, scurrillity and abuse, but to dishonour those who make use of such infamous weapons. I shall not, I assure you, take up the Gauntlet, unless it should be enjoined upon me. I have an infinity of affairs of much more importance to me to attend to, which I cannot neglect. And of what use are these Appeals to the People? the appeal must finally be to Cæsar, or to a greater than Cæsar. On the part of the Proprietary, they may indeed be of some use to engage the People and Assembly of Pennsylvania to support the Cause, and I fancy the examination has had no small share in producing the resolves of y^r Assembly; something like which you told us they would come into, tho' others were clearly of opinion they would not meddle with the Controversy. Our Assembly (which I was obliged to leave before it had ended its deliberations upon this subject) have directed every preparation to be made for the Trial, and in the meantime desired the Governor to issue a Proclamation, prohibiting all Persons from entering upon any part of the contested Country. Among other things, they have directed the Latitudes to be taken, that we may not claim beyond our proper Limits, for which reason I wish I knew the price of Mr. Richenhous's Instrument, which you mentioned to us, for taking Latitudes, and how we could obtain one. They have also had in contemplation to erect a County there, and exercise Jurisdiction, at least over those settled under the Connecticut Claim. This, however, was not determined when I came from Hartford. Two reasons were urged for this measure, the one that the People there might have it in their power to exclude from among them, or bring to punishment, those who have escaped from justice in other Colonies, or may commit crimes there; the other to secure their possessions upon legal grounds. The last is founded upon a suspicion that you will endeavour to remove the settlers before the controversy is decided. But why should you do this? since if the controversy is determined in favor of the Prop^s, they must submit to them, and will become useful settlers under them, or at least, if they should then chuse to turn them off, will have cultivated a Country which they may sell at an advanced price to others. Why may you not let us know your intentions in this respect? The idea you mentioned to us at Frankfort, that there is good land enough for us beyond Pennsylvania, which we might take without offence to any body, I own made a strong impression upon me, as it has done upon several others to whom I have mentioned it. If so, why should we, at great expense and trouble, contest with you for this?

But will not the Crown give us as much trouble there as you will here, at least, it deserves to be considered of; but I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Geography, Quality, &c., of that country, to determine it, nor have I leisure to attend enough to it at present, but am, with compliments to all friends, and the most sincere esteem and respect,

Dear Sir,

Your Most Obedient humble Servant,

WM. SAML. JOHNSON.

P. S.—Some People, I find, are extremely wroth with our friend Ingersoll, for the assistance they imagine he has given to the proprietary Cause.

Rev. Thomas Barton to Dr. Smith.

LANCASTER, February 12th, 1774.

DEAR SIR: It has always been the wish of my family that Dr. Smith might be the Priest of Hymen; who should solemnize the first marriage in it. But when we consider the unfavourableness of the weather, the distance between this place and Philadelphia, your many avocations, and the constant duties of your office, we find that we must either resign the pleasure which such an event would afford us, or infringe too far upon the rights of friendship by soliciting you, under the circumstances, to give us your company on Thursday the 3d of March next, which is fixed for my daughter's wedding-day. Such is the Alternative before us. How to act we know not. Will you be kind enough to determine for us and to favor us with answer as soon as possible. That in case you cannot indulge us, we might turn our eyes to some other gentleman whose attendance may not be interrupted by so many inconveniences. Let the result of your determination be what it will, I could not have concealed from *you* a matter of so much consequence to me. You have often expressed and shown yourself interested in my happiness. I should therefore wrong my heart, which will ever retain a pleasing remembrance of the confidence & friendly intimacy which have so long subsisted between us, if I did not drop you this intimation, which, you will however observe, is a la mode des Jesuites "*tibi soli.*"

I am, my dear Sir,

Most cordially yours,

THOMAS BARTON.

REV. DR. SMITH.

P. S. Hetty, from her particular desire of receiving your benediction, begs me to add this *Nota Bene* to you. If you set off on Wednesday, you may be back in Philadelphia on Saturday, so as to lose but *four* days in the whole. But should you deny her this honor, be so good as to let us know whether Brother Thompson is at Charlestown, as he must come next in view. I expect my son and two others from Philadelphia, who would be proud of your company. Adieu.

A. Oliver to Dr. Smith.

SALEM, April 25th, 1774.

REV^d & HON^d SIR: I sent you by Capt. Goodhue an essay towards a new Theory of lightning and thunder storms, which I hope you have received. Without waiting to know the fate of that, I venture to expose myself further to your joint candor and criticism by sending you a few thoughts upon waterspouts, assuring you that I have not therein endeavoured to force the phenomena of nature into the service of a preconceived hypothesis, but to deduce a theory from the best accounts I could obtain of those phenomena. If they should not merit a place in the next volume of Transactions, they may possibly, by being on file, afford some hints to future speculators upon the subject.

I am, Rev^d & Hon^d Sir,

Your obliged & most

Humble Servant,

A. OLIVER.

To the REV^d. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.,
Provost of the College at Philadelphia.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, May 2d, 1774.

REV^d AND WORTHY SIR: * * * I shall be more particular on the whole state of this Mission, as well as several other Missions in my next. We are still plagued and the Church hurt by irregular preachers that come out. One Rowland has just arrived here, of a very bad character, to whom we had refused recommendations & therefore he went to Wales, got recommended as a Curate, and was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of S^t. Asaph, & Priest by the Bishop of Hereford; and then immediately embarked for this Place. For God's sake, let him have no appointment; for no Mission in this Province will receive him, and we must even write to our Brethren in other Provinces to make known his character. How long shall we groan under this hardship of bad people going from America and imposing on our Bishops, all of which might in a great measure be prevented if we had a Bishop here!

Worthy Sir, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

The Same and Others to the Same.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, May 17th, 1774.

REV^d SIR: * * * We are not yet clear that it would be a proper measure to erect the places he now supplies into a Mission, but as a person of his qualifications, capable of preaching both in German and English, would be truly useful on our Frontiers, and be the means of

gathering many congregations, we would humbly propose to the Society to make some annual provision for Mr. Illing as an Itinerant in such parts of the Province as it may appear to the Episcopal Clergy here he can be most useful in, until we can more clearly see in what place he can be settled to the greatest advantage.

There is no Episcopal Clergyman in the whole County of Bucks. It might be made an important Mission. Mr. Hopkinson is now about to return to his native Country, & is willing to take the charge of that Mission for a time, where he will be acceptable to the people if the Society will be pleased to make a Provision for him such as the state of their Funds will admit.

Rev^d Sir, &c.,

RICHARD PETERS,
WILLIAM SMITH,
JACOB DUCHÉ.

On Thursday, the 19th of May, 1774, Mr. Paul Revere—whose name both poets and historians have made familiar to all*—arrived in Philadelphia with a letter from the town of Boston, dated on the 13th, requesting the advice of the city of Philadelphia upon the occasion of the publication of the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston. Notice was given to the public, and a meeting called to meet at the City Tavern† on the morrow.

* Paul Revere was an American patriot of Huguenot descent, a goldsmith by trade, born in Boston, January 1st, 1735, and died there May 10th, 1818. At twenty one years of age he was a lieutenant in the Colonial army stationed at Fort Edward, near Lake George. After his term of office had expired he established himself as a goldsmith, and by his own unaided efforts learned the art of copperplate engraving, and at the breaking out of the Revolution was one of the four engravers then resident in America. He engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the bills of the paper money for the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts: was sent by that body to Philadelphia to learn the art of powder-making, and on his return he set up a mill. He was engaged in the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor in 1773, and was sent to New York and Philadelphia to carry the news of that event; and he again visited those cities to invoke their sympathy and co-operation when the decree closing the port of Boston was promulgated. The event that gave rise to Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride" was his escaping from Boston with the intelligence that General Gage, the British commander, had prepared an expedition to destroy the Colonial military stores at Concord. Revere rode by way of Charlestown, rousing the people on his route, until a little after midnight he reached Lexington, and communicated the news to Hancock and Adams. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the Massachusetts line, and, after the close of the Revolution, he embarked in the business of bell and cannon founding. The rolling works of the present Revere Copper Company at Canton, Massachusetts, were built by him.

† This was a large tavern on the west side of Second street, just above Walnut, sometimes called "Daniel Smith's Tavern." After a while it ceased to be kept as a tavern, and became "The Merchants' Coffee House." Its last occupation, I believe, was for an auction store.

On Friday, the 20th, between two and three hundred very respectable citizens met as requested at the City Tavern, and agreed as follows, viz.:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1st. That John Dickinson, Esq., | William Smith, D. D., |
| Edward Penington, | Joseph Fox, |
| John Nixon, | John Maxwell Nesbit, |
| Samuel Howell, | Thomas Mifflin, |
| Joseph Reed, | Thomas Wharton, Jr., |
| Benjamin Marshall, | Joseph Moulder, |
| Thomas Barclay, | George Clymer, |
| Charles Thomson, | Jeremiah Warden, Jr., |
| John Cox, | John Gibson, |
| | Thomas Penrose, |

Compose a Committee of Correspondence, until an alteration is made by a more general meeting of the Inhabitants.

2d. That the Committee shall write to the People of Boston assuring them that we truly feel for their unhappy situation; that we consider them as suffering in the general cause. That we recommend to them Firmness, Prudence and Moderation; that we shall continue to evince our Firmness to the cause of *American Liberty*.

3d. That the Committee shall transmit the foregoing Resolution to the other Colonies.

4th. That they shall apply to the Governor to call the Assembly of this Province.

5th. That they be authorized to call a meeting of the Inhabitants when necessary.*

On Saturday, May 21st, in pursuance of the above appointment, the following members, viz.: Dr. William Smith, John Nixon, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Moulder, George Clymer, Jeremiah Warden, Jr., Edward Penington, Samuel Howell, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Thomas Barclay, Charles Thomson, John Cox, and John Gibson met at the City Tavern in the afternoon, when the following letter from the committee of the city of Philadelphia to the committee of the city of Boston, drawn up at the table by William Smith, was, after some debate and the addition of *one* sentence, unanimously agreed to by the committee:

PHILADELPHIA, May 21st, 1774.

GENTLEMEN: We have received your very interesting letter, together with a letter from the town of Boston, and the vote they have passed on

* The account here given of these two meetings of the 20th and 21st is taken from the original MS. of William Smith, D. D., in possession of John H. Brinton, M. D., of Philadelphia, endorsed "Notes and some papers on the commencement of the American Revolution."

the present alarming occasion; and such measures have been pursued thereon as the shortness of the time would allow. To collect the sense of this large city is difficult, and when their sense is obtained, they must not consider themselves as authorized to judge and act for this populous province in business so deeply interesting as the present is to all British America. A very respectable number of the inhabitants of this city, however, assembled last evening to consult as to what was proper to be done, and, after reading the sundry papers which you transmitted to us, and also a letter from the committee of correspondence in New York, the inclosed resolves were passed, in which you may be assured we are sincere, and that you are considered as suffering in the general cause. But what further advice to offer you on this sad occasion is a matter of the greatest difficulty, which not only requires more mature deliberation, but also that we should take the necessary steps to obtain the general sentiment of our fellow-inhabitants of this province, as well as of the sister colonies. If satisfying the East India Company for the damage they have sustained would put an end to this unhappy controversy and leave us on the footing of constitutional liberty for the future, it is presumed that neither you nor we could continue a moment in doubt what part to act; for it is not the value of the tax, *but the indefeasible right of giving and granting our own money* (A RIGHT FROM WHICH WE CAN NEVER RECEDE), that is now the matter in consideration. By what means the truly desirable circumstance of a reconciliation and future harmony with our mother country on constitutional grounds may be obtained is indeed a weighty question. Whether by the methods you propose, of a general *non-importation and non-exportation* agreement, or by a *general congress* of deputies from the different colonies, clearly to state what we conceive to be our rights, and to make a claim or petition of them to his Majesty in firm but decent and dutiful terms (so as that we may know by what line to conduct ourselves in future), are now the great points to be determined. The latter method we have reason to think would be most agreeable to the people of this province, and is the first step that ought to be taken. The former may be reserved as our last resource, should the other fail, which we trust will not be the case, as many wise and good men in the mother country begin to see the necessity of a good understanding with the colonies upon the general plan of liberty as well as commerce.

We shall endeavor as soon as possible to collect the sentiment of the people of this province and of the neighboring colonies on these grand questions, and we should also be glad to know your sentiments thereon. In the mean time, with sincere fellow-feeling for your sufferings and great regard for your person, we are, &c.*

* This letter was only signed by the persons present at the meeting of the committee on the 21st. In regard to the rest—Dickinson, Fox, Nesbit, Reed, Marshall and Penrose—it was said that "their business and avocations prevented them from attending." (2 Hazard Register, p. 34.)

This letter being signed by the committee, Mr. Revere was despatched therewith to Boston, enclosing a copy of the above resolutions. Copies of the letter and resolutions were also forwarded to the colonies, who generally waited to know the proceedings at Philadelphia.

By the 28th of June public feeling in Philadelphia had somewhat declared itself, and "a very large and respectable meeting of the freeholders and freemen of the city and county of Philadelphia" was held on that day. Thomas Willing and John Dickinson, Esqs., were appointed chairmen.

It was resolved as follows :

I. That the act of parliament, for shutting up the port of Boston, is unconstitutional ; oppressive to the inhabitants of that town ; dangerous to the liberties of the British colonies ; and that therefore, we consider our brethren, at Boston, as suffering in the common cause of America.

II. That a congress of deputies from the several colonies in North America, is the most probable and proper mode of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of American grievances, securing our rights and liberties, and re-establishing peace and harmony between Great Britain and these colonies, on a constitutional foundation.

III. That a large and respectable committee be immediately appointed for the city and county of Philadelphia, to correspond with the sister colonies and with the several counties in this province, in order that all may unite in promoting and endeavoring to attain the great and valuable ends, mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

IV. That the committee nominated by this meeting shall consult together, and on mature deliberation determine, what is the most proper mode of collecting the sense of this province, and appointing deputies for the same, to attend a general congress ; and having determined thereupon, shall take such measures, as by them shall be judged most expedient, for procuring this province to be represented at the said congress, in the best manner that can be devised for promoting the public welfare.

V. That the committee be instructed immediately to set on foot a subscription for the relief of such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as may be deprived of the means of subsistence by the operation of the act of parliament, commonly styled the *Boston port bill*. The money arising from such subscription to be laid out as the committee shall think will best answer the ends proposed.

VI. That the committee consist of forty-three persons, viz. : John Dickinson, Edward Penington, John Nixon, Thomas Willing, George Clymer, Samuel Howell, Joseph Reed, John Roberts (miller), Thomas Wharton, jun., Charles Thompson, Jacob Barge, Thomas Barclay, Wm.

Rush, Robert Smith (carpenter), Thomas Fitzsimons, George Roberts, Samuel Ervin, Thomas Mifflin, John Cox, George Gray, Robert Morris, Samuel Miles, John M. Nesbit, Peter Chevalier, Wm. Moulder, Joseph Moulder, Anthony Morris, jun., John Allen, Jeremiah Warder, jun., Rev. Dr. William Smith, Paul Engle, Thomas Penrose, James Mease, Benjamin Marshall, Reuben Haines, John Bayard, Jonathan B. Smith, Thomas Wharton, Isaac Howell, Michael Hillegas, Adam Hubley, Geo. Schlosser and Christopher Ludwick.

After the first reading of the resolutions and before they were put up separately, Dr. Smith made the following short address:

GENTLEMEN: The occasion of this meeting is fully known to you, and sundry propositions have been read, which are now to be separately offered for your approbation or disapprobation. But before you proceed to this business, it has been thought proper to submit a few things to your good judgment, with respect to the order and decorum necessary to be observed, in the discussion of every question.

It need not be repeated to you, that matters of the highest consequence to the happiness of this province, nay of all British America, depend upon your deliberations this day—perhaps nothing less than, whether the breach with the country from which we descended shall be irreparably widened, or whether ways and means upon constitutional grounds, may not yet be devised, for closing that breach, and restoring that harmony from which, in our better days, Great Britain and her colonies derived mutual strength and glory, and were exalted into an importance that, both in peace and war, made them the envy and terror of the neighbouring nations?

While subjects such as these are agitated before us, everything that may inflame and mislead the passions should be cast far behind us. A cause of such importance and magnitude as that now under our deliberation, is not to be conducted to its true issue by any heated or hasty resolves, nor by any bitterness and animosities among ourselves, nor even perhaps by too severe a recapitulation of past grievances; but require the temperate and enlightened zeal of the *patriot*, the prudence and experience of the *aged*, the strength of mind and vigour of those, who are in their prime of life; and, in short, the united wisdom and efforts of *all*, both high and low, joining hand in hand, and setting foot to foot, upon the firm ground of reason and the constitution.

Whenever party distinctions begin to operate, we shall give cause of triumph to those, who may be watchful as well as powerful to abridge us of our native right. There ought to be no party, no contention here, but who shall be firmest and foremost in the common cause of America. Every man's sentiments should be freely heard, and without prejudice.

While we contend for liberty with others, let us not refuse liberty to each other.

Whatever *vote* is known to be now passed, upon full deliberation, and by the unanimous voice of this great city and county, will not only be *respected* through all America, but will have such a weight as the proudest Minister in England may have reason to *respect*. But if it is known to be a *divided vote*, or adopted hastily on some angry day, it will only be injurious to our own cause.

What I have in charge to request of you is this—that if, on any point, we should have a difference of sentiments, every person may be allowed to speak his mind *freely*, and to conclude what he has to offer, without any such outward marks of approbation or disapprobation, as *clapping or hissing*; and that if a division should be necessary (which it is hoped may not be the case this day), such division may be made in the manner desired by the *chairmen*, with all possible order and decorum.

The following Circular Letter was sent by the Committee for the city and county of Philadelphia to the different counties in this province. The original now before me is in the handwriting of Dr. Smith, with alterations in that of John Dickinson.*

PHILADELPHIA, June 28th, 1774.

GENTLEMEN: The committee of correspondence for this city and county, beg leave to enclose you printed copies of the resolves, passed at a very large and respectable meeting of the Freeholders and Freemen in the State-house Square, on Saturday the 18th instant. By the 4th of those resolves, you will observe that it was left for the Committee “To determine on the most proper mode of collecting the sense of this province in the present critical situation of our affairs, and appointing Deputies to attend the *proposed Congress*.” In pursuance of this trust, we have, upon the maturest deliberation, determined upon the mode contained in the two following propositions, which we hope may meet with the approbation and concurrence of your respectable county, viz.:

1. That the Speaker of the Honourable House of Representatives be desired to write to the several members of Assembly in this province, requesting them to meet in this city as soon as possible, but not later than the 1st of August next, to take into their consideration our very alarming situation.

2. That letters be written to proper persons in each county, recommending it to them to get Committees appointed for their respective counties, and that the said Committees, or such number of them as may be thought proper, may meet in Philadelphia at the time the Represent-

* See *supra*, p. 492.

atives are convened, in order to consult and advise on the most expedient mode of appointing Deputies for the general congress, and to give their weight to such as may be appointed.

The Speaker of the Assembly, in a very obliging and ready manner, had agreed to comply with the request in the former of these propositions; but we are now informed that, on account of the Indian disturbances, the Governor has found it necessary to call the Assembly to meet in their legislative capacity on Monday, July 18th, being about the same time the Speaker would probably have invited them to a conference or convention in their private capacity.

What we have therefore to request is, that if you approve of the mode expressed in the second proposition, the whole or part of the committee appointed, or to be appointed for your county, will meet the committees from the other counties at Philadelphia, on Friday the 15th of July, in order to assist in framing instructions, and preparing such matters as may be proper to recommend to our Representatives at their meeting the Monday following.

We trust no apology is necessary for the trouble we propose giving your committee, of attending at Philadelphia; as we are persuaded you are fully convinced of the necessity of the closest union among ourselves both in sentiment and action; nor can such union be obtained so well by any other method, as by a meeting of the county committees of each particular province, in one place, preparatory to a general congress.

We would not offer such an affront to the well-known public spirit of Pennsylvanians, as to question your zeal on the present occasion. Our very existence in the rank of Freemen, and the security of all that ought to be dear to us, evidently depend upon our conducting this great cause to its proper issue by firmness, wisdom and unanimity. We cannot therefore doubt your ready concurrence in every measure that may be conducive to the public good; and it is with pleasure we can assure you, that all the colonies, from South Carolina to New Hampshire, seem animated with one spirit in the common cause, and consider this as the proper crisis for having our differences with the Mother Country brought to some certain issue, and our liberties fixed upon a permanent foundation. This desirable end can only be accomplished by a free communion of sentiments, and a sincere fervent regard to the interests of our common country. We beg to be favoured with an answer to this and whether the Committee for your county can attend at Philadelphia at the time proposed.

(Signed by the Chairman.)

On the 15th of July a provincial meeting was held of the deputies chosen by the several counties in Pennsylvania to draft instructions to their representatives in assembly, Dr. Smith, John Dick-

inson, Joseph Reed, Thomas Mifflin and Charles Thomson "represented the city and county of Philadelphia." The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to bring in a draft of instructions :

John Dickinson, Joseph Reed, Elisha Price, James Smith, Daniel Brodhead, Dr. William Smith, John Kidd, William A. Atlee, James Wilson, John Okely and William Scull.

The instructions were presented to the members of the Assembly, and a resolution of thanks tendered to Mr. Dickinson for the same.

The letter which follows from Mr. Edward Antill, a winegrower of New Jersey, is interesting as showing at how early a date the conviction was entertained that the making of Wine in our country would, in time, be a great benefit to it, and, as the author of the letter says, "to the mother country." To the former it has already become a great benefit; and with our largely increasing exports to Great Britain, it may "in time" become so to her also.

Mr. Edward Antill to Dr. Smith.

October 29th, 1774.

VERY REVEREND S^r. : Yesterday I was favoured with your very obliging Letter by the Reverend Mr. Cooke,* dated at New Brunswick the 14th of the present October.

Nothing can give greater pleasure to a lover of mankind, than to see Gentlemen of the first rank in knowledge as well as in fortune forming themselves into collective Bodies for the good and happiness of the world. An undertaking truly generous and noble, every way worthy of great and benevolent minds! If the design be well and deeply laid, if it be founded upon the Rock of Wisdom; if Virtue and true Religion be the leading Principles, and the real good and Happiness of Mankind be the end proposed and steadily pursued; then if History may be depended upon, if Experience cannot deceive, and the Word of God be the Touchstone of Truth, such undertaking will prosper and succeed, and the Consequences must be greater than I can describe. But if Ostentation and Vain glory, if Party Zeal and the Spirit of opposition be at bottom or lurk within its Bowels, it must and will end in disorder and confusion, in Vanity and Smoke, and prove an inexpressible injury to the Community. What in the name of Heavens has Philosophy to do with Party, what have Arts and Sci-

* This, I suppose, was Mr. Samuel Cooke, Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at Shrewsbury, N. J.

ences to do with Politicks, or Navigation, Agriculture and Manufactures with great men in opposition? let these be the Objects of pursuit to Ambition and Self Interest, or the Tinkling sounds to amuse and captivate the Vulgar. But let Philosophy, let the Love of Mankind soar above these foot-balls of Fortune, and generously unite in the discovery of truth and of things profitable for the Ease and Happiness of Mankind. I know you can bear with the Simplicity of an Old Man. I am sure I can freely venture to unload into your bosom, a mind affected with the Errors and Follies of a mistaken world, without the danger of ridicule or of being despised; it behooves me at this time of life to be plain and sincere.

I am sensible of the Honour You in particular have done me, recommending me to so Respectable a Body of Gentlemen, and of the Obligation I am under to them for offering to receive me, in so kind and generous a manner, as a member of the Body. I blush to think of my weakness and inabilities which must always sinck me below such distinction and Partiality. It is some years since I have endeavoured to retire from the World, in order to pursue such studies as are most fit for Old Age; and as the mind is fatigued by dwelling long on one set of Ideas, I found it necessary to shift the scene, and to pursue others that were innocently pleasing and entertaining; of this kind, among others, was the Vine, the culture and Benefit of Vineyards and the making of Wine; the knowledge of which I have endeavour'd to attain in Theory and Practice, when I thought I had by a number of experiments become master of the subject; and being, as I thought, clearly of opinion, that the making of wine would in time be a great benefit to this and the Mother Country; I drew up something for the Eye and Consideration of the Publick: soon after which I writ a Letter to Dr. Sonmans upon the same subject, he shewed it to the Society of which he is a member; this drew from me one or two letters more to him and Doctor Morgan, upon which the Society was so very partial to these little performances, that they were pleased to annex me as a Corresponding Member to their Body in April last, and a Certificate of their having so done, was sent me in a very polite and most indulgent letter from Doctor Morgan, all which happened some time before I received your favour: The Honour done me by Doctor Morgan and the Worthy Society for promoting useful knowledge, on this occasion, so far exceeds any merit in me, that I have accepted of it with a suitable and grateful sense of the Obligation, and I do assure you and him that I shall, as a member of that society, do everything in my power to promote the General Good of Mankind.

I beg, S^r, you will render my most respectful salutations acceptable to the Society of which you are a member, and assure them that I retain a very grateful sense of the Honour they intended me, and altho' I am precluded the advantage of being a member of their Respectable Body,

yet I shall most heartily, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to promote the general good Design, which I make no doubt both Societies have in view.

I am, very Reverend S^r, with great Esteem and Respect,
Your most Obliged and most humble Servant,

EDWARD ANTILL.

To the VERY REVEREND DR. WM. SMITH.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT OF THIS YEAR ATTENDED BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—WILLIAM MOORE SMITH A GRADUATE—SKETCH OF HIM—LADY JULIANA PENN TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH ELECTED PRESIDENT OF ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY—DR. SMITH'S POLITICAL VIEWS STATED IN CONNEXION WITH THE TIMES—SERMON IN CHRIST CHURCH ON THE PRESENT SITUATION OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS—GREAT IMPRESSION PRODUCED BY IT—EXTRACTS FROM IT—FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS ABOUT IT—THE PHILADELPHIA CLERGY TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON—DR. SMITH TO HIM—DR. SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY—SAME TO SAME.

We are approaching to important times. The Continental Congress of 1775 had just assembled in Philadelphia. It met on Wednesday, May the 10th. The College proceeds undisturbed. We have an account of the Commencement at it, which in this year was on the 17th of May, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* of Robert Aitken.* I give an extract:

'This day the public commencement for Graduates in the Arts was held here, in the presence of the most illustrious assembly this seminary ever beheld.

About half an hour after nine o'clock, agreeable to an invitation previously given to them, the Honourable Members of the Continental Congress were pleased to proceed in a body from the State House to the College, where they were received at the gate by the Provost, and conducted to the places prepared for their reception in the Hall. As soon as they were seated, the Trustees, with the Governor as President at their head, followed by the Provost, Vice-Provost, Professors, Graduates and other Students, in their proper habits, entered the hall, and took their places; the galleries and other parts of the house being filled with as many of the respectable inhabitants of the city as could find room.

* Vol. I., p. 235.

The business then proceeded in the following order, viz.:

1. Part of the church service, and an occasional prayer, by the Provost.
2. An Anthem, accompanied by the organ, and other instrumental music.
3. Latin Salutatory Oration, *de amicitia*. By Henry Ridgley.
4. On the Education of young Ladies. By Francis Brown Sappington.
5. Latin Syllogistic dispute, *Utrum detur sensus moralis?* Respondent, William Moore Smith; Opponents, Benjamin Chew and John Mifflin.
6. On Ancient Eloquence. By Thomas Ennals.
7. On Politeness. By John Mifflin.
8. The Fall of Empires. By William Moore Smith.
9. The degrees were then conferred as follows, viz.:
Bachelors of Arts.—Benjamin Chew, Townsend Eden,* Thomas Ennals,* John Farrel, John Mifflin, Henry Ridgley,* Francis Brown Sappington,* and William Moore Smith.
Masters of Arts.—Samuel Armor, John Park, and John Thomas.
Honorary Master of Arts.—James Ross.
10. A Dialogue and two Odes set to music.
11. Valedictory Oration. By Benjamin Chew.
12. Charge to the Graduates. By the Provost.
13. Concluding Prayer. By the Vice-Provost.

The reader will observe among the graduates of this year the name of William Moore Smith, the oldest son of Dr. Smith, and whose birth we recorded in the beginning of this volume.† He was my grandfather. At his graduation he delivered a speech on the Fall of Empires. It had probably been pre-arranged that the Continental Congress should be present. The purport of the speech is to show that empires are generally ruined by luxury; the imports from foreign climes. No allusion is made to the non-importation resolutions of the Congress of 1774; but the sentiments and arguments of the oration are all in support of them. Parts of the speech—the whole of which is given in the May number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* of 1775‡—are quite eloquent. But our space forbids extracts. On leaving college, Mr. William Moore Smith studied law, and this profession was pursued by him with honor and profit, until the close of the last century, when he received an

* Those distinguished by this mark * are of Maryland, the others of Philadelphia.

† Page 214.

‡ Page 215.

agency for the settlement of British claims in America, provided for in the 6th article of Jay's Treaty. The duties of this appointment required his presence in England; and he accordingly visited that country in 1803, successfully accomplishing the purpose for which his services had been engaged. On his return to America, he retired from professional practice, to the family-seat at the Falls of Schuylkill, where he continued to reside, engaged in his favorite literary pursuits, until his death, which took place on the 12th of March, 1821. He was a ripe scholar, as well as an excellent jurist. His classical attainments were extensive, and he retained them in all their original freshness, by constant cultivation, to his death. He was remarkably studious; and his acquisitions in knowledge of every kind, aided by a retentive memory, made his mind a treasury of learning. He was a living index to what had passed, as well as what was passing before him; and his references were seldom marked by error. Notwithstanding his devotion to letters, he was not a voluminous writer. Being without ambition to be observed of the world, or to win its renown, he could not be induced to give any work, which would evidence the wealth which his mind had gained through a life dedicated to study and contemplation. However, besides some political pamphlets and essays, written for the special occasions which called them forth, he published a volume of Poems in 1785, and their merit procured a republication in London the following year. He married, on the 3d of June, 1786, at the Trappe, in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, Ann, eldest daughter of Col. Joseph Rudolph.*

We have now a letter from Lady Juliana Penn to Dr. Smith.† As all our readers know, she was the wife of Thomas Penn, son of William Penn, the Proprietor, by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, and a daughter of Thomas Germon, first Earl of Pomfret. As this letter shows, she was as much distinguished by elegance of literary accomplishment, and apparently by goodness of heart also, as she was by high descent and rank.

* The originator of the Rudolph family was a Swede, and came to America before 1682, and settled at the head of Elk, now Elktown.

† For this copy I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. R. C. Davis, of Philadelphia, in whose possession the original is.

STOKE, May 30, 1775.

SIR: I beg you to accept my thanks for the favor of y^r Packet delivered me by M^r. Hare on May 17th.* I had not before the pleasure of knowing him, but am obliged to you for procuring me that of his acquaintance. He did me the favor to dine with me just before I left London, by which I had an opportunity of Some Conversation with him. I am very glad to find you are likely to have him settled amongst you, as he must be a very agreeable acquisition to any society. I have not heard of M^r. Cox's arrival. If he does me the favor to call on me, I shall be very glad to shew him any civility in my power, and to any body from Phil^a you will mention to me, or is connected with you.

Your Packet for your Brother (in that directed to me) was delivered into his hand the same hour it came into mine. So I have the satisfaction to tell you it is safe.

I am much obliged to you for *Park's Map*, and will be careful to return it to you. I have shewn it to M^r. Baker & M^r. Wilmot. They had neither of them seen one before. When I wrote last I thought the Connecticut dispute would have been determined the first of May; it is now postponed to the 15th of June. As I spoke positively then, I am fearful of doing so now, or I should say it will then be decided. You are very obliging to have given me so exact answers to those questions I was desired to make you in mine of December last, and I hope soon to send you word they and your pamphlet have made the business very clear.

I must be obliged to M^r. Hare for conveying to you a Silver Medal, just struck, of the first Proprietor of Pennsylvania. I hope you will do me the favor to accept it; but I can send nothing from here but which some friend will take privately, which prevents me sending at the same time a print from a Painting of M^r. West's on the Subject of the Settlement of your Province, but shall take the first opportunity to send you one of them likewise. With wishing this to find you and your family in perfect health, I shall conclude, and am, Sir,

Your most obliged and very humble Servant,

JULIANA PENN.

In the year 1749 certain gentlemen—natives of Scotland—Dr. Thomas Græme, Charles Stedman, Thomas Cameron, John Wallace, Alexander Forbes, Annand Alexander, and a few others, whose names are not less ethnologically Scotch, met together in Philadelphia and established a benevolent association, known as THE ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY. Its object was the excellent one of assisting with advice and money natives of Scotland coming to

* I suppose this to have been Mr. Robert Hare, of Philadelphia.

America and needing assistance of either kind. It has now existed for one hundred and thirty years, and with great credit and usefulness. It keeps its members in social relation, chiefly by a quarterly supper and by an annual dinner. General Hugh Mercer, the Rev. John Witherspoon, and many other eminent Scotchmen, have been among its members. Dr. Smith early became a member, and was soon chosen a Vice-President. On the death of his friend, Dr. Græme, who was its first President, he was elected to the place left vacant by the melancholy event, and long filled it with dignity and effect.

But we are now approaching grave events indeed. On Thursday, June 15th, 1775, George Washington is unanimously chosen General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces. On the next day he accepts the command. A person who had been so conspicuous as a public speaker, writer, and actor, as Dr. Smith had been for many years in Philadelphia, could not now, in times of need, shrink and disappear from the scene of public events. He was accordingly a speaker, writer, and actor in them both in 1775 and 1776.

It is important to define his views and course. So far back as 1765, and on the passage of the Stamp-Act, he had expressed himself to a British Dean* with distinctness as disapproving of the measure. He speaks of it as "contrary to the faith of charters and the inherent rights of Englishmen"—"a badge of disgrace"—the enforcement of which can, *perhaps*, by superior power, be made, but only "with such alienations of the affections of a loyal people, and such a stagnation of English consumption among them, that the experiment can never be worth the risque."

His expressions and course seem to have been equally plain from the year 1774. He was strong and constant in declaring openly that the measures of the British Parliament and Ministry were unconstitutional, unjust, and unwise. And, as we now discover by his letters lately brought out of the Archives of Lambeth and other ancient cartularies of England, he was just as strong and constant on this matter when addressing English Bishops and other people of importance in England as he was when speaking to our own people at home. I see no variableness nor shadow of

* Dean Tucker. See *supra*, p. 385.

turning in his expressions or his views on these matters anywhere. What he uttered was obviously the conviction of his understanding and the feeling of his heart. It was certain, therefore, to have consistency throughout.

He acted under a sense of moral responsibility in what he did. He felt the weight of Christ's commands upon him. He knew whence wars come. He knew that war was a tremendous evil; and that "the man who for any cause save the sacred cause of public security, which made all wars defensive—the man who for any cause but that—should promote or compel this final and terrible resort, assumed a responsibility second to none—nay, transcendently deeper and higher than any—which man can assume before his fellow-man, or in the presence of God, his Creator."

Dr. Smith did not consider the *only* question to be whether Independence should be had. Assuming that sooner or later it was to be fought for and would come, the questions with him were how it was to be brought about in the shortest time after the Declaration of it was made; how with the smallest measure of the horrors of war; how with the least overthrow of "national prosperity and individual happiness;" how, as least to overcome and destroy "the frugal, industrious, and virtuous habits of our people;" how without the suffering indescribable which in the unprepared way in which Pennsylvania entered the war, soon involved both her people and the army, and how without the bankruptcy universal which, as soon, became the calamity of the nation, and in millions of unpaid and still existing, but worthless notes, remains to this day, and will forever remain, among innumerable glories indeed, the dishonor of our Revolution.

Dr. Smith had heard before of worthless paper issued in times of war being made a legal tender for the payment of honest debts. He bethought him of his College, and saw in the visions of his prophetic mind that which shortly actually happened—the College ruined by scoundrel debtors paying their mortgages and redeemable ground-rents to it in the worthless issues which the precipitation of war at once brought upon the country.

But the contest between Great Britain and the Colonists would not be war. It would be revolution. Was the case of the Colonies then a case as yet for revolution? He says:

That was a question which it was not the province of the ministers of Christ, who had given us no rule in that matter, to decide. God, however, in his own government, never violated freedom; and the Scriptures did not belie his voice speaking in the hearts of men. Nor was continued submission to violence a tenet of our church.

The views, such as I have given above, were the views of Dr. Smith. He states to English and Americans alike, that we have many and great causes of complaint and remonstrance. He says to all alike that no gospel or epistle demands a life of servitude to any one; that revolution *may* become allowable. But whether that time has arrived, each man must judge for himself. And he ends with praying that God in mercy would restore good-will and enable Great Britain and her Colonies to live in perpetual friendship.

The Congress of 1775 does the same. In its address to George III., made so late as July 8th, 1775, it says:

Attached as we are to your majesty's person and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties which can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty that we not only most ardently desire that the former happiness between her and these Colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that both attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated States from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others have added the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

But after the Declaration had been made, and after it was plain to him that America would now listen to no terms of reconciliation but in Independence, Dr. Smith acquiesced in that condition of affairs. And when Independence was achieved and peace was made, he was ready to join with our citizens everywhere, to regard it as a national blessing, and perpetually in every year, to render thanks to Almighty God for it accordingly.

Of all men in America it became William Smith least to urge forward a rupture with Great Britain. He had been educated by her charity. Much that he was he owed to her, whether in childhood, in youth, or in maturer age. From her Sovereign, from her

Premier, from her Archbishops, from her Bishops, from her Church, from her Universities, from her people of every grade—the highest and the humble—had he not been receiving continually, for many years, acts of honor, and acts of kindness—acts of high honor, acts of solid kindness? Did it become *him* to be the first to kindle the flames of revolution? No one will assert that it did.

Reading Dr. Smith's sermons, speeches and letters, and contemplating his acts in the light of the observations just made, I see nothing in any of them to censure. Least of all, in any part of them do I see anything like a time-server. Contrariwise, I think that he acted the part of a brave though self-controlled man; of a man who disregarded rather than acted in reference to popular views or demands in either country, or to his temporal interests in either. And if it be wise in any case for the clergy to enter the arena of politics, or for any of them not in army chaplaincy to address bodies of armed men preparing for war, I do not see how any of them could do it in a manner more worthy of the Christian minister and the wise patriot than it was done by my own ancestor.

We revert to our historical narrative. We shall follow it with a special reference to the sermons of Dr. Smith preached in this year, and by his letters to the English clergy.

On the 23d of June, 1775, Dr. Smith preached in Christ Church a sermon, which attracted vast notice. It was entitled, "A Sermon on the Present Situation of American Affairs." It was preached at the request of the officers of the third battalion, volunteer militia, of the city of Philadelphia, and district of Southwark; commanded by Colonel John Cadwalader, afterwards the well-known General. The members of Congress were present; as also, by the report of Silas Deane, "a vast concourse of people."

The text was from Joshua, ch. xxii., v. 22:

The Lord God of gods—the Lord God of gods—He knoweth and Israel he shall know—if it be in Rebellion or in transgression against the Lord—save us not this day!

He begins by a history of the passage.

Two and a half tribes of Israel called Gileadites had chosen their inheritance, on the eastern side of Jordan, opposite to the other tribes of Israel. And although they knew that this situation would deprive them of some privileges which remained with their brethren on the other side, and particularly that great privilege of having the place of

the Altar and Tabernacle of God among them; yet, as the land of Canaan was judged too small for all the twelve tribes, they were contented with the possession they had chosen. These tribes, then, were allowed to separate from the rest, and to dwell on the other side of Jordan. They were to assist their brethren in their necessary wars, and to continue under one government with them—erecting no separate Altar, but coming to perform their sacrifices at that one Altar of Shiloh, where the Lord had vouchsafed to promise His special presence. They supported their brethren in their wars, “till there stood not a man of “all their enemies before them.” No sooner had they entered their own country, than in the fulness of gratitude they built an high Altar, that it might remain an eternal monument of their being of one stock, and entitled to the same civil and religious privileges with their brethren of the other tribes. But this their work of piety and love was misconstrued. The zealots of that day scrupled not to declare them rebels against the living God, in setting up an altar against his holy altar; and therefore the whole congregations of the brother-tribes, that dwelt in Canaan, gathered themselves together, in a blind transport of unrighteous zeal, to go up to war against their own flesh and blood, purposing to extirpate them from the face of the earth as enemies to God and the commonwealth of Israel!

In that awful moment some men there were whose zeal did not so far transport them, but that, before they unsheathed the sword to plunge it with unhallowed hand into the bowels of their brethren, they thought it justice first to inquire into the truth of the charge against them. And, for the glory of Israel, this peaceable and prudent counsel prevailed. A solemn embassy was prepared, at the head of which was a man of sacred character, and venerable authority, breathing the dictates of religion and humanity; Phinehas the son of Eleazer the high Priest, accompanied with ten other Chiefs or Princes, one from each of the nine tribes as well as from the remaining half tribe of Manasseh. Great was the astonishment of the Gileadites on receiving this embassy, and hearing the charge against them. By a solemn appeal to Heaven for the rectitude of their intentions, unpremeditated and vehement, in the words of the text, they disarm their brethren of every suspicion.

After this astonishing appeal to the great God of Heaven and Earth, they proceed to reason with their brethren; and tell them that, so far from intending a separation either in government or religion, this altar was built with a direct contrary purpose—“that it might be a witness “between us and you, and our generations after us; that your children “may not say to our children in time to come, ye have no part in the “Lord.” We were afraid lest, in some future age, when our posterity may cross Jordan to offer sacrifices in the place appointed, your posterity may thrust them from the altar, and tell them that because they live not

in the land where the Lord's tabernacle dwelleth, they are none of his people, nor intitled to the Jewish privileges.

This noble defence wrought an immediate reconciliation among the discordant tribes. "The words pleased the children of Israel—they 'blessed God together' for preventing the effusion of kindred blood, 'and did not go up to destroy the land where their brethren dwelt.'"

The preacher now proceeds :

The whole History of the Bible cannot furnish a passage more instructive than this, to the members of a great empire whose dreadful misfortune it is to have the evil Demon of civil or religious Discord gone forth among them. And would to God, that the application I am now to make of it could be delivered in accents louder than Thunder, till they have pierced the ear of every Briton ; and especially their ears who have meditated war and destruction against their brother-tribes in this our American Gilead. And let me add—would to God too that we, who this day consider ourselves in the place of those tribes, may, like them, be still able to lay our hands on our hearts in a solemn appeal to the God of Gods, for the rectitude of our intentions towards the whole commonwealth of our British Israel. For, called to this sacred place, on this great occasion, I know it is your wish that I should stand superior to all partial motives, and be found alike unbiassed by favour or by fear. And happy it is that the parallel, now to be drawn, requires not the least sacrifice either of truth or virtue ?

Like the tribes of Reuben and Gad, we have chosen our inheritance, in a land separated from that of our fathers and brethren, not indeed by a small river, but an immense ocean. This inheritance we likewise hold by a plain original contract, entitling us to all the natural and improvable advantages of our situation, and to a community of privileges with our brethren, in every civil and religious respect ; except in this, that the throne or seat of Empire, that great altar at which the men of this world bow, was to remain among them.

Regardless of this local inconvenience, uncankered by jealousy, undepressed by fear, and cemented by mutual love and mutual benefits, we trod the path of glory with our brethren for an hundred years and more—enjoying a length of felicity scarce ever experienced by any other people. Mindful of the hands that protected us in our youth, and submitting to every just regulation for appropriating to them the benefit of our trade—our wealth was poured in upon them from ten thousand channels, widening as they flowed, and making their poor to sing, and industry to smile, through every corner of their land. And as often as dangers threatened, and the voice of the British Israel called our brethren to the field, we left them not alone, but shared their toils, and fought by their side, "till there stood not a man of all their enemies 'before them.'" Nay, they themselves testified on our behalf that in

all things we not only did our part, but more than our part, for the common Good; and they dismissed us home loaded with silver and with gold,* in recompense for our extraordinary services.

But what high altars have we built to alarm our British Israel; and why have the congregations of our brethren gathered themselves together against us? why do their embattled hosts already cover our plains? will they not examine our case, and listen to our plea?

"The Lord God of Gods—he knows," and the whole surrounding world shall yet know, that whatever American altars we have built, far from intending to dishonour, have been raised with an express view to perpetuate the name and glory of that sacred altar, and seat of empire and liberty, which we left behind us, and wish to remain eternal, among our brethren, in the parent land!

Esteeming our relation to them our greatest felicity; adoring the Providence that gave us the same progenitors; glorying in this, that when the new world was to be portioned out among the kingdoms of the old, the most important part of this continent fell to the sons of a Protestant and Free nation; desirous of worshiping forever at the same altar with them; fond of their manners, even to excess; enthusiasts to that sacred plan of civil and religious happiness, for the preservation of which they have sacrificed from age to age; maintaining, and always ready to maintain, at the risque of every thing that is dear to us, the most unshaken fidelity to our common Sovereign, as the great center of our union, and guardian of our mutual rights;—I say, with these principles and these views, we thought it our duty to build up American Altars, or Constitutions, as nearly as we could, upon the great British model.

Having never sold our birth-right, we considered ourselves intitled to the privileges of our father's house—"to enjoy peace, liberty and safety;" to be governed, like our brethren, by our own laws, in all matters properly affecting ourselves, and to offer up our own sacrifices at the altar of British empire; contending that a forced Devotion is Idolatry, and that no power on earth has a right to come in between us and a gracious Sovereign, to measure forth our loyalty, or to grant our property, without our consent. These are the principles we inherited from Britons themselves.

The altars, therefore, which we have built, are not high or rival altars to create jealousy, but humble monuments of our union and love; intended to bring millions yet unborn, from every corner of this vast continent, to bend at the great parent-altar of British liberty; venerating the country from which they sprung, and pouring their gifts into her lap when their countless thousands shall far exceed hers. * * *

* The parliamentary reimbursements for our exertions in the late war, similar to what Joshua gave the two tribes and a half on the close of his wars.

But it is said that we have of late departed from our former line of duty, and refused our homage at the great altar of British empire. And to this it has been replied that the very refusal is the strongest evidence of our veneration for the altar itself. Nay, it is contended by those charged with this breach of devotion that, when in the shape of unconstitutional exactions, violated rights and mutilated charters, they were called to worship idols, instead of the true divinity, it was in a transport of holy jealousy that they dashed them to pieces, or whelmed them to the bottom of the ocean.

This is, in brief, the state of the argument on each side. And hence, at this dreadful moment, ancient friends and brethren stand prepared for events of the most tragic nature.

The preacher now breaks forth:

Here the weight of my subject almost overcomes me; but think not that I am going to damp that noble ardor which at this instant glows in every bosom present. Nevertheless, as from an early acquaintance with many of you, I know that your principles are pure, and your humanity only equalled by your transcendent love of your country, I am sure you will indulge the passing tear, which a preacher of the Gospel of Love must now shed over the scenes that lie before us—Great and deep distress about to pervade every corner of our land! Millions to be called from their peaceful labours by “the sound of the trumpet, and the alarm of war! Garments rolled in blood,” and even Victory itself only yielding an occasion to weep over friends and relatives slain! These are melancholy prospects; and therefore you will feel with me the difficulties I now labour under—forsaken by my text, and left to lament alone that, in the Parent-land, no Phinehas has prevailed; no Embassy* of great or good men has been raised, to stay the sword of destruction, to examine into the truth of our case, and save the effusion of kindred blood. I am left to lament that, in this sad instance, Jewish tenderness has put Christian benevolence to shame.

Is there no wisdom, no great and liberal plan of policy to re-unite its members, as the sole bulwark of Liberty and Protestantism, rather than by their deadly strife to encrease the importance of those states that are foes to freedom, truth and humanity? To devise such a plan, and to behold British colonies spreading over this immense continent, rejoicing in the common rights of Freemen, and imitating the Parent State in

* It is acknowledged with gratitude that many great and exalted characters have advocated the cause of America; and, previous to all coercive measures, advised an inquiry or hearing, similar to that for which Phinehas was appointed. What is here lamented, and will be long lamented, is that this council could not take place. If brethren could come together in such a temper as this, the issue could not fail to be for their mutual glory and mutual happiness.

every excellence—is more glory than to hold lawless dominion over all the nations on the face of the earth!

But the preacher here remembers that he is addressing a body of troops, armed to vindicate their country's freedom! He says:

But I will weary you no longer with fruitless lamentations concerning things that *might* be done. The question now is—since they are not done, must we tamely surrender any part of our birthright, or of that great charter of privileges, which we not only claim by inheritance, but by the express terms of our colonization? I say, God forbid! For here, in particular, I wish to speak so plain that neither my own principles, nor those of the church to which I belong, may be misunderstood.

Although, in the beginning of this great contest, we* thought it not our duty to be forward in widening the breach, or spreading discontent, although it be our fervent desire to heal the wounds of the public, and to shew by our temper that we seek not to distress, but to give the parent state an opportunity of saving themselves and saving us before it be too late; nevertheless, as we know that our civil and religious rights are linked together in one indissoluble bond, we neither have, nor seek to have, any interest separate from that of our country; nor can we advise a desertion of its cause. Religion and liberty must flourish or fall together in America! We pray that both may be perpetual!

A continued submission to violence is no tenet of our church. When her brightest luminaries, near a century past, were called to propagate the court doctrine of a dispensing Power, above Law—did they treacherously cry—"Peace, Peace," when there was no Peace? Did they not magnanimously set their foot upon the line of the constitution, and tell Majesty to its face that "they could not betray the public liberty," and that the monarch's only safety consisted "in governing according to the laws?" Did not their example, and consequent sufferings, kindle a flame that illuminated the land and introduced that noble system of public and personal liberty, secured by the revolution? Since that period, have not the avowed principles of our greatest divines been against raising the Church above the State; jealous of the national rights, resolute for the protestant succession, favourable to the reformed religion, and desirous to maintain the faith of Toleration? If exceptions have happened, let no society of Christians stand answerable for the deviations or corruptions of individuals.

The doctrine of absolute Non resistance has been fully exploded among every virtuous people. The free-born soul revolts against it, and must have been long debased, and have drank in the last dregs of

* Meaning here the clergy and members of the Church of England generally.

corruption, before it can brook the idea "that a whole people injured "may, in no case, recognise their trampled Majesty."

Now comes a fine passage:

But to draw the line, and say where Submission ends and Resistance begins, is not the province of the ministers of Christ, who has given no rule in this matter, but left it to the feelings and consciences of the injured. For when pressures and sufferings come, when the weight of power grows intolerable, a people will fly to the constitution for shelter; and, if able, will resume that power which they never surrendered, except so far as it might be exercised for the common safety. Pulpit-casuistry is too feeble to direct or controul here. God, in his own government of the world, never violates freedom; and his scriptures themselves would be disregarded, or considered as perverted, if brought to belie his voice, speaking in the hearts of men.

The application of these principles, my brethren, is now easy and must be left to your own consciences and feelings. You are now engaged in one of the grandest struggles, to which freemen can be called. You are contending for what you conceive to be your constitutional rights, and for a final settlement of the terms upon which this country may be perpetually united to the Parent State.

Look back, therefore, with reverence look back, to the times of ancient virtue and renown. Look back to the mighty purposes which your fathers had in view, when they traversed a vast ocean, and planted this land. Recall to your minds their labours, their toils, their perseverance, and let their divine spirit animate you in all your actions.

Look forward also to distant posterity. Figure to yourselves millions and millions to spring from your loins, who may be born freemen or slaves, as Heaven shall now approve or reject your councils. Think that on you it may depend, whether this great country, in ages hence, shall be filled and adorned with a virtuous and enlightened people, enjoying Liberty and all its concomitant blessings, together with the Religion of Jesus, as it flows uncorrupted from his holy Oracles; or covered with a race of men more contemptible than the savages that roam the wilderness, because they once knew the "things which "belonged to their happiness and peace, but suffered them to be hid "from their eyes."

And while you thus look back to the past, and forward to the future, fail not, I beseech you, to look up to "the God of Gods—the Rock of your Salvation. As the clay in the potter's hands," so are the nations of the earth in the hands of Him, the everlasting JEHOVAH! He lifteth up—and he casteth down—"He resisteth the proud, and giveth grace "to the humble—He will keep the feet of his saints—the wicked shall "be silent in darkness, and by strength shall no man prevail."

The bright prospects of the Gospel; a thorough veneration of the

Saviour of the world ; a conscientious obedience to His divine laws ; faith in His promises ; and the stedfast hope of immortal life through Him—these only can support a man in all times of adversity as well as prosperity. You might more easily “strike fire out of ice,” than stability or magnanimity out of crimes. But the good man, he who is at peace with the God of all Peace, will know no fear but that of offending Him, whose hand can cover the righteous ; “so that he needs not fear “the arrow that fleeth by day, nor the destruction that wasteth at noon-day ; for a thousand shall fall beside him, and ten thousand at his “right hand, but it shall not come nigh to him ; for He shall give His “angels charge over him to keep him in all his ways.”

On the Omnipotent God, therefore, through his blessed Son, let your strong confidence be placed ; but do not vainly expect that every day will be to you a day of prosperity or triumph. The ways of Providence lie through mazes, too intricate for human penetration. Mercies may often be held forth to us in the shape of sufferings ; and the vicissitudes of our fortune in building up this American fabric of happiness and glory may be various and chequered.

But let not this discourage you. Yea rather let it animate you with a holy fervour—a divine enthusiasm—ever persuading yourselves that the cause of Virtue and Freedom is the Cause of God upon earth ; and that the whole theatre of human nature does not exhibit a more august spectacle than a number of Freemen, in dependence upon Heaven, mutually binding themselves to encounter every difficulty and danger in support of their native and constitutional rights, and for transmitting them holy and unviolated to their posterity.

It was this principle that inspired the heroes of ancient times ; that raised their names to the summit of renown, and filled all succeeding ages with their unspotted praise. It is this principle too that must animate your conduct, if you wish your names to reach future generations, conspicuous in the roll of glory ; and so far as this principle leads you, be prepared to follow—whether to life or to death.

While you profess yourselves contending for Liberty, let it be with the temper and dignity of freemen, undaunted and firm, but without wrath or vengeance, so far as grace may be obtained to assist the weakness of nature. Consider it as a happy circumstance, if such a struggle must have happened, that God hath been pleased to postpone it to a period, when our country is adorned with men of enlightened zeal ; when the arts and sciences are planted among us to secure a succession of such men ; when our morals are not far tainted by luxury, profusion or dissipation ; when the principles that withstood oppression, in the brightest æra of English history, are ours as it were by peculiar inheritance ; and when we stand upon our own ground, with all that is dear around us, animating us to every patriotic exertion. Under such circumstances, and upon such principles, what wonders, what achievements of true glory, have not been performed !

For my part, I have long been possessed with a strong and even enthusiastic persuasion, that Heaven has great and gracious purposes towards this continent, which no human power or human device shall be able finally to frustrate. Illiberal or mistaken plans of policy may distress us for a while, and perhaps sorely check our growth; but if we maintain our own virtue; if we cultivate the spirit of Liberty among our children; if we guard against the snares of luxury, venality and corruption; the Genius of America will still rise triumphant, and that with a power at last too mighty for opposition. This country will be free—nay, for ages to come, a chosen seat of Freedom, Arts, and Heavenly Knowledge; which are now either drooping or dead in most countries of the old world.

To conclude, since the strength of all public bodies, under God, consists in their Union; bear with each other's infirmities, and even varieties of sentiments, in things not essential to the main point. The tempers of men are cast in various moulds. Some are quick and feelingly alive in all their mental operations, especially those which relate to their country's weal, and are therefore ready to burst forth into flame upon every alarm. Others again, with intentions alike pure, and a clear unquenchable love of their country, too steadfast to be damped by the mists of prejudice, or worked up into conflagration by the rude blasts of passion, think it their duty to weigh consequences, and to deliberate fully upon the probable means of obtaining public ends. Both these kinds of men should bear with each other; for both are friends to their country.

One thing further let me add, that without order and just subordination there can be no union in public bodies. However much you may be equals on other occasions, yet all this must cease in an united and associated capacity; and every individual is bound to keep the place and duty assigned him, by ties far more powerful over a man of virtue and honour, than all the other ties which human policy can contrive. It had been better never to have lifted a voice in your country's cause, than to betray it by want of Union; or to leave worthy men, who have embarked their all for the common good, to suffer, or stand unassisted.

Lastly, by every method in your power, and in every possible case, support the laws of your country. In a contest for liberty, think what a crime it would be, to suffer one Freeman to be insulted, or wantonly injured in his liberty, so far as by your means it may be prevented.

Thus animated and thus acting—We may then sing with the prophet—
“Fear not, O land! be glad and rejoice, for the Lord will do great things. Be not afraid, ye beasts of the field, for the pastures of the wilderness do spring—The tree beareth her fruit—the fig-tree and the vine yield their fruit.”

Thus animated and thus acting—we may likewise pray with the prophet—

"O Lord, be gracious unto us—we have waited for thee. Be thou our arm every morning, our salvation also in time of trouble. Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God—O thou hope of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of need—thou art in the midst of us and we are called by thy name—Leave us not. Give us one heart and one way, that we may fear thee forever, for the good of ourselves and our children after us—We looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of health, but behold we are in trouble—Yet will we trust in the Lord forever; for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength—He will yet bind up the broken-hearted, and comfort those that mourn"—even so, oh our God do thou comfort and relieve them, that so the bones which thou hast broken may yet rejoice. Inspire us with a high and commanding sense of the value of our constitutional rights! may a spirit of wisdom and virtue be poured down upon us all; and may our representatives, those who are delegated to devise and appointed to execute public measures, be directed to such, as thou in thy sovereign goodness shall be pleased to render effectual for the salvation of a great empire, and re-uniting all its members in one sacred bond of harmony and public happiness! Grant this, oh Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake; to whom, with thee and the holy Spirit, one God, be Glory, Honour and Power now and forever! Amen.

An attentive and logically-headed reader would perhaps say of this sermon that it resembled the final chapter of *Raselas*: in which we have a conclusion in which nothing is concluded; and to some extent this is true. The subject treated is not one for mathematics and logic; and no greater error could the preacher have made than to apply rules of those sciences to a subject incapable of being treated by them. He lays down general moral and political rules. The application it was not for *him* to make to either the bodies before him; to either the Congress or the army.

As for what he says on page 513 about the line, "where submission ends and resistance begins,"* it is noteworthy that from just the same pulpit of Christ Church he had said just the same thing—only giving a little stronger accentuation to both parts of the case—so far back as June, 1755, when preaching against the doctrines of the Quakers, who would not allow of even defensive war in the then "present dangerous state of affairs," from the well-known text, 1 Peter ii. 17: "Love the Brotherhood, fear God, honour the King." He then said:

* Smith's Works, Vol. II., p. 36.

The doctrine of non-resistance is now sufficiently exploded. God gave us freedom as a birthright, and in his own government he never violates it. Nor can those be his vice-gerents who do. To say they are is blaspheming his Holy Name and giving the lie to his righteous government. The love of mankind and the fear of God—those very principles from which we trace the divine original of just government—would lead us to resist every tyrant to destruction, who should attempt to enslave the free-born soul and oppose the righteous will of God by defeating the happiness of mankind.

This, however, is to be a last resort, and none but the majority of a whole people, both in wisdom and force, can determine in what case resistance is necessary. In the Scriptures, therefore, obedience is rightly inculcated in general terms. For a people may sometimes imagine grievances, which they do not feel; but will never miss to feel and complain of them where they really are, unless their minds have been gradually prepared for slavery by absurd tenets.

Putting the two sermons together, we have much the same ideas presented by the great philosophic statesman, Mr. Burke, in his reflections on the revolution in France :

The speculative line of demarkation where obedience ought to end and resistance must begin is faint, obscure, and not easily definable. It is not a single act or a single event which determines it. Governments must be abused and deranged indeed before it can be thought of; and the prospect of the future must be as bad as the experience of the past. When things are in that lamentable condition, the nature of the disease is to indicate the remedy to those whom nature has qualified to administer in extremities this critical, ambiguous and bitter potion to a distempered state. Times, and occasions, and provocations will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable from sensibility to oppression; the high-minded from disdain and indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold from love of honorable danger in a generous cause; but with or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the good.

The sermon produced a great public impression. Silas Deane writes as follows :

It exceeded in style and sentiment anything I ever heard on the subject. As the Doctor has been called an high churchman, and one that had a bishopric in expectation, I hope his thus publicly sounding the pulpit alarm on the subject of liberty will be an example to the church

clergy elsewhere, and bring them off from the line of conduct which they have hitherto ingloriously pursued.

The battalion before which it was preached, in a note signed by Colonel Cadwalader, by their order, "agreed that Dr. Smith be thanked for his excellent sermon, preached at their request, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for publication."

It was soon published, with a preface, in which Dr. Smith states that it was drawn up on a few days' notice, and without any view to the press, at the request of some of the author's worthy friends, to whom he could refuse nothing of this kind; and adds that at their request it was likewise submitted to the public, as it was preached, without varying or suppressing a single sentiment or material expression; and with the addition only of a few lines, and three or four explanatory notes.

The preface proceeds:

The author considered that, although he was called to this office by a particular body, yet he was to address a great and mixed assembly of his fellow-citizens, and a number of the first characters* in America, met in consultation, at a most alarming crisis.

Animated with the purest zeal for the mutual interests of Great Britain and the colonies; ardently panting for the return of those Halcyon-days of harmony, during which both countries so long flourished together, as the glory and wonder of the world; he thought it his duty, with the utmost impartiality, to attempt a state of the unhappy controversy which [then] rent the empire in pieces; and to shew, if peradventure he might be permitted to vouch for his fellow-citizens, so far as he had been conversant among them, that the idea of an independence upon the Parent-country, or the least licentious opposition to its just interests, was utterly foreign to their thoughts; that they contended only for the sanctity of charters and laws, together with the right of granting their own money; and that our rightful Sovereign had nowhere more loyal subjects, or more zealously attached to those principles of government, under which his family inherits the throne.

These, with a few things which seemed necessary respecting the clergy and church, whereof the author is a member, are the topics handled in the following Sermon. If the principles it contains are but thoroughly felt, the reader will not regret that the limits of a single discourse would not allow a particular application of them. They will lead to their own application; or, at least, that field is left open to succeeding preachers.

* The Continental Congress.

Upon the whole, if the kind expectations of the Author's friends can be in any degree answered; if what he has delivered shall tend "to promote the cause of Liberty and Virtue;" and particularly, if it may find its way to the closets, or rather to the hearts, of the Great, and (after all the arguments they have heard from others) can in the least induce them to juster and more benevolent sentiments concerning their American brethren—he will account it among the happiest circumstances of his life.

Enough has surely been attempted, by way of experiment, to convince our British Brethren that the people of this country know their rights, and will not consent to a passive surrender of them—It is, now at least, time to pursue another method, and to listen to some plan for averting the dreadful calamities which must attend a hostile prosecution of this unnatural contest. The Author's wishes for the accomplishment of such a plan, have been so frequently expressed, as to subject him, perhaps, to suspicions which he would not wish to merit. But still, if he could see such a plan of reconciliation take place upon a just and permanent foundation, he would be content, if it were required, to sing his '*nunc dimittis*,' and to take a final leave of earthly concerns.

The fate of the sermon was rather remarkable. It became an object of notice and controversy, of praise and censure, in Great Britain as well as in America, according to the different principles of its readers, much more than from anything very marked in the sermon itself. Having in a few weeks run through several American editions, in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and some of the nearest neighboring States; Dr. Smith received a mark of displeasure from Governor Tryon, at New York, who told him that he had considered it as his duty to transmit a copy of it to the Bishop of London. Governor Tryon added that he did not doubt but that the Bishop would soon signify his highest disapprobation and severe censure of the preacher. Dr. Smith replied briskly that he had already sent a copy of the sermon, as well as of sundry other proceedings of the clergy, both in their civil and religious capacity, to the Bishop; that, as to himself (Dr. Smith), he had well weighed the principles contained in the sermon, before he submitted them to the public, either from the pulpit or the press; and that he must take his chance of the Bishop's pleasure or displeasure.

In England Dr. Priestly wrote to Dr. Franklin:

I thank you for Dr. Smith's excellent Sermon. If it be not impertinent, give him my most respectful compliments and thanks. I think to get it printed.

Dr. Price to the same person :

The chamberlain of London has just ordered ten thousand copies of Dr. Smith's Sermon to be printed at his expense, in so cheap a form as to be sold at two-pence each.

The Messrs. Dilly, besides a small edition printed at the expense of the chamberlain, published in a short time two elegant editions, in a large size, on their own account. Editions also were printed and published at Bristol and elsewhere in Great Britain and Ireland; and the polemical and political newspapers made it the subject of attention and controversy.

The authors of the *Monthly Review*, for August, 1775, gave the following favorable criticism on Dilly's second edition :

Our readers are not unacquainted with the abilities of this American orator; whose volume of discourses preached on public occasions at Philadelphia, was recommended in the 21st volume of our review; and again, on the appearance of a new edition, with additional sermons, in vol. 29th.

The reviewers then give some account of the occasion of the sermon, and proceed as follows :

It is left for us to add—what could not, with equal propriety, have come from the pen of the author—that his discourse is equally sensible and animated, and that his zeal for the cause of American Liberty, though warm enough to kindle the hearts of his hearers, never transports him beyond the bounds of that moderation, by which true Patriotism, on either side of the Atlantic, will ever be guided.

The authors of the *London Magazine*, for August, 1775, also give their judgment :

Dr. Smith, though an Episcopal Clergyman, appears to be as zealous a friend to the Liberties of America, and as warm against the measures of administration, as any person whatsoever.

Dr. Priestly, Dr. Price, and the authors of the *Monthly Review* and *London Magazine*, were Whig writers, or at least friends to the liberties of America. Another set of writers in pamphlets and newspapers spoke of the sermon in another strain.

The venerable John Wesley, now very old, said :

A sermon preached by Dr. Smith, in Philadelphia, has lately been re-printed here (in Bristol). It has been much admired, but proceeds

all along upon wrong suppositions. Dr. Smith supposes the Americans have a right of granting their own money: that is, of being exempt from taxation by the supreme power. If they contend for this right, they contend for neither more nor less than Independency. That they contend for the cause of liberty is another mistaken supposition. They have no liberty, civil or religious, but what the Congress allows. Vainly do they complain of Unconstitutional Exactions, Violated Rights, and Mutilated Charters.

Junius now came to Dr. Smith's side. He says to Mr. Wesley:

I have read your address to the Americans with much surprize and concern. That a man, after a long life devoted to the awful concerns of Religion, and of a rigidity of morals strikingly contrasted to the times, should in his old age step forth a champion in a political controversy, is a paradox only to be solved by a reflection on the general motives of such compositions. They exhibit a proof, Mr. Wesley, that the most perfect men have hopes upon earth as well as in Heaven; and indeed you have the moderation and sincerity not to forbid us to believe so. When you deliver your opinion you say you may be the better believed, because unbiassed; and then express yourself in this unguarded language—I gain nothing by the Americans, nor by the government, and *probably never shall*. This is not only an invitation to the Minister to reward your pious labours, but a thorn in his foot if he overlooks them. Had you said, *and positively never will*, I should then (as I always have) believed you to be an honest and pious man.

And now, Mr. Wesley, I take my leave of you. You have forgot the precept of your Master, that God and Mammon cannot be served together. You have one eye upon a Pension and the other upon Heaven—One hand stretched out to the King, and the other raised up to God. I pray that the first may reward you, and the last forgive you.

It is not known what reward, if any, the Ministry gave Mr. Wesley; but his pamphlet was given away gratis in London and elsewhere, as an antidote to this sermon.

A writer in *The London Chronicle*, from September 2d to 5th, 1775, signing himself "A Friend to the Constitution," said:

The modern patriot, says he, may be described as a person who despises Order, Decency, and all kind of human Authority. I have been lately tempted to add, that he also despises divine Authority. Some late publications, of a very extraordinary nature, have induced me to mention this disagreeable subject. At the very instant, in which our gracious Sovereign is attempting, by his proclamation, to extin-

guish the sparks of Sedition, our Patriots are blowing up the Coals, and our Presses are teeming with Rebellion and Treason.

Lest the venom should not be fitted to every palate, or be swallowed in sufficient potions, they have found the pious art of engaging the pulpit in their cause. The particular case I refer to is a seditious Sermon, just reprinted here. It was first preached about two months ago at Philadelphia, for the comfort and edification of the City-Volunteers—for the comfort too of the Continental Congress, which was then sitting there.

The Preacher is not satisfied with assailing the state, by proving from a very extraordinary passage of Scripture that the Americans ought to rebel; but he, with great effrontery, presses the doctrine of our Church into his service. Let us hear him speak on the subject.

Certainly this preacher would have us to understand, or else we must be void of understanding, that a continued submission to violence is now expected of the Americans, and that his present Majesty wishes the Ministers of peace should betray the public Liberty.

The author of this discourse is at the head of a College. We shall say nothing about the streams that may be expected from such a pure fountain, nor about the honour our Church derives from such a luminary. But we will venture to say that while such essays are reprinted and dispersed* with impunity, the mild voice of a Proclamation to suppress Rebellion will not be heard.

In the *Public Advertiser*, of September 14th, 1775, another writer, who signed himself "Unitas," inserted a piece against the sermon. He began thus, addressing himself to the printer of the *Public Advertiser*:

Pray, Mr. Woodfall, do you ever read sermons? A political one, or so, I suppose, now and then, *pour tuer les tems*. Well, if you have not seen Dr. Smith's on the present situation of American affairs, let me recommend it to you as a curiosity. It was preached and published at the instigation of —, so you may be sure it is a good thing.—The business of the Sermon, as the Doctor assures us, is with the utmost impartiality (dele *im*) to attempt a state of the unhappy controversy (soft words for unnatural rebellion) that now rends the empire in pieces—and to say a few things which seemed necessary respecting the Church (his zeal for which is no less conspicuous than his loyalty to the king) at this time.—Should what he has delivered tend to promote the cause of Liberty and Virtue (he says) he would account it among the happiest circumstances of his life—and he might

* Alluding to the edition printed and distributed at the expense, and by the direction, of the chamberlain of London.

account it among the most extraordinary too; for he may as well expect to gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles, as that the cause of liberty and Virtue should be promoted by preaching Rebellion. The Doctor concludes his preface by observing that enough has been done to shew that the Americans are not passive, and therefore that it is time for government to listen to some plan of accommodation, which if he could see take place, on a just and permanent foundation, he would be content, if it were required, to sing his *nunc dimittis*, and take a final leave of earthly concerns.—Here Unitas exclaims—and it is his most witty stroke—“What a heavenly Soul! It is a pity he did not sing it before, instead of deferring it till after, Sermon.”

A notion prevailing that in America the clergy of the Church of England are friends to government, and obedient subjects upon principle; the good Doctor, vexed at the heart to think their Religious Usefulness among the people should be destroyed, and the Church suffer through such an imputation, steps forth to vindicate both Church and Clergy, and demonstrate that the charge is false.

Dr. Smith now found himself—as David Hume said that by force of Bishop Warburton’s railing at his Essays, he found *himself*—“in very good company.” He was really and more than ever one of the famous men of two continents.

On Monday, June 12th, 1775, the Continental Congress made the following preamble and recommendation touching A FAST:

As the great Governor of the World, by his supreme & universal Providence, not only conducts the course of Nature, with unerring wisdom & rectitude, but frequently influences the minds of men to serve the wise & gracious purposes of his Providential Government; and it being at all times our indispensable duty devoutly to acknowledge his superintending Providence, especially in times of public calamity, to reverence and adore his immutable justice, as well as to implore his merciful interposition for our deliverance—

This Congress, therefore,—considering the present critical, alarming & calamitous state of these Colonies,—do earnestly recommend that Thursday, the 20th of July next, be observed by the inhabitants of all the English Colonies on this Continent as a day of Public Humiliation, Fasting & Prayer; that we may, with united hearts & voices, unfeignedly confess & deplore our many sins, and offer up our joint supplications to the All-wise, Omnipotent & Merciful Disposer of all events, humbly beseeching him to forgive our iniquities, to remove our present calamities, to avert those desolating judgments, with which we are threatened, & to bless our rightful Sovereign, King George the Third, & inspire him with wisdom to discern & pursue the true interest of his subjects, that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great Britain and the American Colonies, without further effusion of

blood: And that the British nation may be influenced to regard the things that belong to her peace, before they are hid from her eyes: That these Colonies may ever be under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests: That the divine blessing may descend and rest upon all our civil rulers, and upon the representatives of the people in their several Assemblies and Conventions, that they be directed to wise and effectual measures for preserving the union and securing the just rights and privileges of the Colonies: That virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land: And that all America may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honorable to both: And that her civil and religious privileges may be secured to the latest posterity.

And it is recommended to Christians of all denominations to assemble for public worship, and to abstain from servile labour and recreation on said day.

We now proceed to give different letters bearing on these troubled times; and especially to this Fast, "earnestly recommended," but not enjoined by the Congress.

The Philadelphia Clergy to the Bishop of London.

PHILADELPHIA, June 30th, 1775.

MY LORD:—We now sit down under deep affliction of mind to address your Lordship upon a subject, in which the very existence of our Church in America seems to be interested. It has long been our fervent prayer to Almighty God, that the unhappy controversy between the Parent Country and these Colonies might be terminated upon Principles honourable and advantageous to both, without proceeding to the extremities of civil war and the horrors of Bloodshed. We have long lamented that such a spirit of Wisdom and Love could not mutually prevail, as might devise some liberal Plan for this benevolent Purpose; and we have spared no means in our power for advancing such a spirit so far as our private Influence and advice could extend. But as to public advice we have hitherto thought it our duty to keep our Pulpits wholly clear from every thing bordering on this contest, and to pursue that line of Reason and Moderation which became our Characters; equally avoiding whatever might irritate the Tempers of the people, or create a suspicion that we were opposed to the Interest of the Country in which we live.

But the Time is now come, my Lord, when even our silence would be misconstrued, and when we are called upon to take a more public part. The Continental Congress have recommended the 20th of next month as a day of Fasting, Prayer & Humiliation thro' all the Colonies. Our Congregations too of all Ranks have associated themselves, deter-

mined never to submit to the Parliamentary claim of taxing them at pleasure; and the Blood already spilt in maintaining this claim is unhappily alienating the affections of many from the Parent Country, and cementing them closer in the most fixed purpose of a Resistance, dreadful even in Contemplation.

Under these Circumstances our People call upon us, and think they have a right to our advice in the most public manner from the Pulpit. Should we refuse, our Principles would be misrepresented, and even our religious usefulness destroyed among our People. And our complying may perhaps be interpreted to our disadvantage in the Parent Country. Under these difficulties (which have been increased by the necessity some of our Brethren have apprehended themselves under of quitting their Charges), and being at a great distance from the advice of our Superiors, we had only our own Consciences and each other to consult, and have accordingly determined on that part, which the general good seem to require. We were the more willing to comply with the request of our Fellow Citizens, as we were sure their Respect for us was so great, that they did not even wish any thing from us inconsistent with our characters as Ministers of the Gospel of Peace.

Military Associations are no new Things in this Province where we never had any regular Militia Law. They subsisted during the different Alarms in the last War, and they now subsist under the special countenance of our own Assemblies, professing the most steady Loyalty to His Majesty, together with an earnest Desire of re-establishing our former harmony with the Mother Country, and submitting in all things agreeable to the ancient modes of Government among us.

Viewing matters in this Light, and considering not only that they were members of our own Congregations who called upon us, but that Sermons have heretofore been preached to such Bodies, we thought it advisable to take our Turn with the Ministers of other Denominations; and a Sermon was accordingly preached by D^r. Smith the 17th Instant, in which he thought it necessary to obviate any misrepresentations that might be made of the Principles of our Church.

M^r. Duché is likewise to preach on the 7th July, upon a similar Invitation; and all our Clergy throughout the Colonies, we believe, will preach on the Day recommended by the Continental Congress for a Fast. And God knows, that exclusive of such a Recommendation, there never was a Time when Prayer and Humiliation were more incumbent upon us.

Tho' it has of late been difficult for us to advise, or even correspond as usual, with our Brethren, the Clergy of New York, we find that they have likewise in their Turn officiated to their Provincial Congress now sitting there, as M^r. Duché did both this year & the last, at the opening of the Continental Congress.

Upon this fair and candid state of things, we hope your Lordship will

think our conduct has been such as became us; and we pray that we may be considered as among His Majesty's most dutiful & loyal subjects in this and every other Transaction of our Lives. Would to God that we could become mediators for the Settlement of the unnatural Controversy that now distracts a once happy Empire. All that we can do is to pray for such a Settlement, and to pursue those Principles of Moderation and Reason which your Lordship has always recommended to us. We have neither Interest nor Consequence sufficient to take any Lead in the Affairs of this great Country. The People will feel and judge for themselves in matters affecting their own civil happiness; and were we capable of any attempt which might have the appearance of drawing them to what they think would be a Slavish Resignation of their Rights, it would be destructive to ourselves, as well as the Church of which we are Ministers. And it is but Justice to our Superiors, and your Lordship in particular, to declare that such a Conduct has never been required of us. Indeed, could it possibly be required, we are not backward to say that our Consciences would not permit us to injure the Rights of this Country. We are to leave our families in it, and cannot but consider its Inhabitants intitled, as well as their Brethren in England, to the Right of *granting their own money*; and that every attempt to deprive them of this Right will either be found abortive in the end, or attended with Evils which would infinitely outweigh all the Benefit to be obtained by it.

Such being our Persuasion, we must again declare it to be our constant Prayer, in which we are sure your Lordship joins, that the hearts of good and benevolent men in both Countries may be directed towards a Plan of Reconciliation, worthy of being offered by a great Nation, that have long been the Patrons of Freedom throughout the World; and not unworthy of being accepted by a People sprung from them, and by birth claiming a Participation of their Rights.

Our late worthy Governour, the Hon^{ble} Rich^d Penn, Esq^{re}, does us the favour to be the Bearer hereof, and has been pleased to say he will deliver it to your Lordship in Person. To him therefore we beg leave to refer your Lordship for the Truth of the Facts above set forth. At the ensuing Meeting of our Corporation for the Relief of Widows, &c., which will be the first week in October next, we shall have an Opportunity of seeing a Number of our Brethren together and consulting more generally with them upon the present state of our affairs and shall be happy on all occasions in the Continuance of your Lordship's paternal Advice and Protection.

(Signed)

RICHARD PETERS,
W^m. SMITH,
JACOB DUCHE,
THOMAS COOMBE,
WILLIAM STRINGER,
WILLIAM WHITE.

The preceding letter was enclosed, with a copy of Dr. Smith's recent Sermon on American Affairs, to the Bishop of London, in this one:

PHILADELPHIA, July 8th, 1775.

MY LORD,

The enclosed Letter signed by the Clergy of our Churches in this City was drawn up after frequent and serious Consultations with each other, and is dictated by Truth and a most dutiful regard to your Lordship as well as to the true Interest of the Mother Country.

The Sermon referred to in our joint Letter being now published is enclosed. No man has labored more earnestly than myself to avert the dreadful Calamity in which both Countries are now involved. God knows that my Endeavors to promote conciliatory measures were so strong during the meeting of our provincial Convention last Summer, whereof I was a member, that I was considered as one willing to sacrifice essential liberty for temporary safety and even as an advocate for the measures of Administration respecting this country. I persevered however to recommend moderation till we finished those Instructions to our assembly which were generally approved in England as a rational plan of accommodating our differences. But the Continental Congress did not wholly adopt them. Tho' I thus took a part while matters were under deliberation, I have since that time wholly declined being of any new Committee or taking any public part in affairs, lamenting the Evils which I saw approaching (as I verily believed), for want of that benevolent spirit of Christianity, mutual good will and Zeal for the Good of the whole Empire, which if they could prevail might easily compromise this unnatural difference, and as Years are now growing upon me and the Bustle of the World is now very little my passion, Nothing could have called me forth but the joint advice of my Brethren and the reasons set forth in our joint Letter to your Lordship. But having once consented to appear again in public I would not violate my principles nor be cold to the Interests of America or of the Mother Country which are inseparably connected, nor could I suffer our Church or Clergy in America to be under Imputations which I am sure as far as I know them they do not merit.

It is undoubtedly the wish (indeed too openly avowed), of some in this Country to have the Church Clergy considered as Tools of Power, Slavish in their tenets and privately Enemies to the principles of the Revolution. Could this notion once prevail it would give a deadly wound to the Church in this Country. Indeed I question whether we should have the appearance of a Congregation in it. Thus, my Lord, I have with the utmost Candor and Humility stated my views in this sermon, the composition of which was one trying Incident in my Life. Permit me to entreat your Lordship's perusal of it with a view benevolent to the Times and circumstances. I hope then it may appear to

have proceeded from the purest Intentions and to breathe that spirit of moderation and virtue wherewith I know your Lordship would wish those whom you honor with your protection to be distinguished. Neither the Church nor the credit of the Parent Country so far as we are considered to be its advocates can be promoted by any other conduct on our part. I trust that this unhappy contest will yet be settled upon a plan of mutual Interest and that no retrospect to our conduct shall hurt our future religious usefulness, or that we shall ever stand justly chargeable with widening the Breach or encouraging Hostilities, by any Misrepresentations of Facts so far as we are necessarily called to take any public part. I am, my Lord, your most

Dutiful Son and Servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

P. S.—I have taken the Liberty to refer my good friend, Dr. Hind, to this Letter and to our joint address to your Lordship; the purport of which I have briefly mentioned to him.

It would seem that at the coming on of these times the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel addressed something like circular letters to their missionaries. The gentlemen named in the second line of the letter below were in the Society's service :

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

PHILADELPHIA, July 10th, 1775.

REV^d & WORTHY SIR:

The several letters which you have directed to my care by the last Ships, viz. : to Mess^{rs}. Tingly, Battwell, Curry, Murray, Craig, & Magaw are duly forwarded. Their difficulties in their Missions are greatly increased by the present alarming state of things & never were men in a more trying or delicate situation. We had hitherto with one consent and one mind kept our pulpits wholly free^d from everything bordering on the present unnatural controversy. But now our people have all taken up Arms and entered into associations never to submit to the Parliamentary claim of taxing them at pleasure. We see nothing in our Churches but men in their uniforms, & tho' they excuse us on Sundays yet they are now everywhere requesting occasional sermons on the present situation of things. The case of the poor Missionaries is hard. To comply may offend their protectors and those that support them in the Parent Country. To refuse would leave them without Congregations everywhere; and perhaps it is more the wish of some that they should refuse than comply.

We intended to have held a general meeting to consult together on these difficulties but found that it might involve us in new difficulties by having it suspected we met for purposes of another kind. All these

difficulties increased from the necessity some of our Brethren apprehended themselves in of quitting their charges and going to England. I wish they could have stood their ground which I think might possibly have been accomplished without any unworthy compliances on their part; for when the Shepherds are out of the way the Flocks will be scattered. Some of Dr. Chandler's Congregation whom I have seen, do insist that he would have been perfectly safe in staying; but of that matter he and his family perhaps could only judge or at least in such a way as to satisfy his own mind. We have not been able of late to correspond with our Brethren in New York so that I have not the particulars of Dr. Cooper's case, but have heard that he was under an evident necessity of retiring for a time. It is a hard situation when such dangers arise from endeavors to support order, &c. But we are told that these matters do not belong to us or that we are not to be busy in them; or that the submission we would enjoy amounts to slavery. I hope & believe that those of our Clergy who are now with you will shew themselves Friends to America in the truest sense & yet convince their opponents that they mistook their principles or suffered themselves to be imposed upon. They have it now in their power to become mediators in this contest & to be entitled to the blessing of thousands on their return. I am about writing to them & suggesting what I think they might do; but cannot finish by this opportunity of which you will please to acquaint them when you see them. But to return from this digression. If our Clergy were generally to quit their people at this time I say we should not have the appearance of a Church or people left. A conduct, therefore, of the most prudent nature is required from us. We need not widen the breach & yet we may wish well to (nay, in all decency and firmness contend for) the just rights of America; & so far indulge our people as to convince them that the Clergy of our Church are as true Friends to liberty & as much devoted to the constitutional & just rights of their Country, as any other men in America, and upon this plan we have all judged it our duty to prepare for keeping the fast recommended by the *Congress* to be kept July 20th & also not to decline our turns of the occasional service required of us by our people at other times; hoping our prudence and consciences may lead us safely thro' the difficulties with which we are beset; indeed, exclusive of the recommendation, never was fasting and humiliation more our duties.

We have stated all these matters fully in a Letter to the Bishop of London, an exact copy of which is enclosed. The original is gone two days ago by the Honorable Richard Penn, Esq^r., our late Governor, who is to deliver it in person as you will see by the copy. I need not add therefore that this copy is only sent to you in case of an accident which I pray God to avert from a valuable man, viz^t: that if the original should not come to hand in any probable time after you receive this you will then in our behalf deliver the copy. For as Mr. Penn has undertaken

this business it would not be delicate to anticipate his kind intentions by delivering a copy before he may get up to London. I need say no more on this head, as your own prudence will direct the rest & lead you to make the proper use of the knowledge you will derive of our circumstances from these papers. I enclose you a copy of the Sermon referred to in the letter to the Bishop. I am sure you will read it with candour and a benevolent view to our situation at this time. Mr. Duché preached a similar Sermon last Friday. Mr. Coombe is next in turn. Our Missionaries are likewise preparing in their several Districts & Mr. Battwell and Mr. Barton, I hear, have preached to different bodies in their large Missions. Mr. Duché's Sermon is requested for the Press. How many more may be printed I cannot tell. I believe few of our Clergy are ambitious of that honor & seem willing the matter should rest as I have put it in my Sermon; wherein I had lead the way & travelled in an untried path. No man has labored more earnestly than myself to avert the dreadful calamities in which both Countries are now involved. I wrote to you the motives of my conduct last year when I assisted in preparing instructions for our Assembly which were generally thought in England to contain the most reasonable plan of reconciliation yet proposed.* From that moment I declined any further public concern in affairs; lamenting in private the evils which I saw approaching as I verily believed for want of that benevolent spirit of Christianity, mutual temper & zeal for the good of the whole Empire, which ought to have drawn Brethren to consult together before blood was spilt & coercive measures pursued. Had this been the case, I still hoped a happy reconciliation, & till it becomes the case, the day of our felicity cannot dawn. My exhortations and wishes have been so frequent on this head that I have ever been considered as willing to sacrifice essential liberty to temporary safety, and as an advocate for the measures of administration against the Colonies. But I am above paying any regard to the opinions of heated times. Tho' I wish for peace I would not make an undue sacrifice to obtain it. Tho' I wish not to be forward or busy in speaking & tho' I could have wished our Pulpits to have been wholly left for the usual purposes of the Gospel, yet when unavoidably called to speak from thence I could not appear cold to the interests of this or the Parent Country which appear to me inseparably connected. I could not betray the cause of universal liberty; nor suffer our Church or Clergy to labor under the imputation of departing from those principles which distinguished some of her brightest Luminaries near a century past. For my own heart not only dictates these principles; but I am sure also that they

* This is in allusion to the meeting on July 15th, 1774. The credit of drafting the instructions was given to John Dickinson, as Chairman, and a resolution of thanks made to him. As we have already said (*supra*, p. 496), the original draft is in Dr. Smith's handwriting.

are the principles of all our Brethren in these parts; and were we to suffer the contrary notion to prevail (and some indeed wish it may prevail), namely that the Church Clergy are tools of power, slavish in their tenets and secret enemies to the principles of the Revolution, it would, as I said, give a deadly wound to the Church in America.

But to conclude this long letter. I leave the Sermon to your own candor. Some thousands have been disposed of here in a day or two. It was my desire that there might not be one intemperate expression in it, or one sentiment that does not tend to a happy reconciliation upon any plan that does not require an absolute submission, which would deprive us of every right by which Britons ought to be distinguished. The Preface has fully set forth the design of the composition; & I verily believe if I had not stepped forth on this occasion, we should all have been viewed in a light we would not wish to merit.

You see, my dear Sir, that this is a long and free letter. I have no copy of it, & your own prudence will tell you that it is intended for no public use but only to satisfy you and enable you to satisfy others of the motives of our conduct. Much hurt has happened to individuals in this Country from Letters, and therefore I now write but seldom. The letter to the Bishop, if his Lordship pleases, may be read to the Society; but we think with all humility it ought not to be made any other public use of. If you think any thing from this letter necessary you will please to take memorandums of them, should you have occasion to mention any thing about it to the Society.

Excuse these little anxieties, as they are a testimony of the most perfect confidence in your goodness and Friendship. I must conclude,
And am, dear & worthy Sir, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

On the 20th of July, 1775, in pursuance of the recommendation of Congress which precedes, Dr. Smith preached a Fast Sermon, at All-Saints' Church, in Lower Dublin; a small church in the county of Philadelphia. This Fast was the first American Fast recommended by Congress. The Sermon was preceded by a Prayer composed by Dr. Smith. We give parts of it.

Father and Lord of all! Creator, Preserver and Judge of the world! Thou first and best of Beings! Glory, eternal glory, be ascribed to thee, who hast made us capable of knowing, seeking, and loving thee—calling us to fly to thy mercy, as children to a father, for aid and direction in all our undertakings, and for strength and deliverance in all our dangers.

When we contemplate thy Providence, we must confess that thou hast done wonderful things for us, and for our fathers of old! Thou gavest them a goodly heritage, and the power of thy goodness hath

often supported them and us in the days of danger! But our thankfulness has not followed thy mercies, and our transgressions have multiplied against thy goodness. "Thou hast visited us for these things, but we have not learned righteousness; and justly might thy soul be avenged on such a nation as this."

But spare us, Lord most holy! O! God most merciful! cast us not wholly off. Although we have sinned against thee, yet still we will trust in thee—and we know in whom we trust! "Thy hand is not shortened that it cannot save, neither thine ear heavy that it cannot hear." "The bruised reed thou wilt not break, nor quench the smoking flax." Suffer us, therefore, O God, through the merits of Christ, to seek refuge at thy mercy-seat; humbled under thy chastisements; confessing and bewailing our manifold offences, and steadfastly purposing to amend our lives; and striving to revive (each in ourselves and in others, as far as our influence extends) a spirit of primitive piety, virtue, and integrity.

As the true foundation of this, inspire us with an awful reverence of thy glorious majesty, with a prevailing love and deep veneration of the pure religion of Jesus, and that genuine liberty, both spiritual and temporal, with which the Gospel makes us free. For the support of this liberty, and this only, may all our efforts, public and private, be directed. By the true spirit of it may we be guided; and, at its sacred uncorrupted call, may we follow, whether to life or to death!

In compassion to a bleeding land, and through the intercession of thy blessed Son, hear the fervent and sincere prayers this day offered, or to be offered, unto thee, for a speedy, just and happy termination of this unnatural strife of death among brethren—children of the same parentage and blood! May our hearts be again knit together in the mutual bands of love, virtue, and common good; and may our Gracious Sovereign, as the Father of all his people, be endued with wisdom from thee, to reconcile and establish their mutual rights upon the most permanent foundation; regarding all his subjects with an equal eye, considering their joint happiness as his greatest glory; and after thy divine example, placing his supreme delight in mercy, peace, truth, righteousness, and doing good!

May all who exercise subordinate authority, whether derived from prince or people, consider the account they must give to thee; seeking, above all things, the maintenance of religion as the true way of restoring our lost peace, preventing the further effusion of kindred blood, and healing our country's wounds, upon a true plan of constitutional liberty, which can only stand upon that just subordination to the parent state, which is for the mutual interest both of parent and children. May every licentious thought be removed from our hearts; and may we still consider that government is of the appointment of God, for the terror of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well.

In mercy to a nation, that has long been thy peculiar care—in mercy to us their children too—grant that we may all regard the things that belong to our true peace and salvation, lest, for our offences, they should be finally, and forever, hid from our eyes! Hasten that happy time, when, in thy love and fear, we may all “sit quietly under our vine, and under our fig-tree, none making us afraid.” May this day’s humiliation before thee—our Godly sorrow and repentance, our tears, our prayers, our praises, be acceptable in thy sight, through the merits of Christ Jesus, in whose name we further pray—Our Father, &c.

The Text of the Sermon was from Isaiah lviii. 4, 5, 6, 7. The Sermon itself thus opens with political allusions:

In the present calamitous situation of public affairs, this day has been recommended, by those exercising the delegated authority of the people of these colonies, as a day of general fasting, humiliation and prayer.

Upon an occasion so interesting, when regular government is convulsed, and its branches or parts clashing together in dreadful conflict, I shall not seek to increase the general confusion or add to the distress, by any severe scrutiny, into the right of appointing special fasts for the church in general, or any particular church; especially as this day’s fast is not authoritatively enjoined, but only recommended.

I know that the members of the Church of England, to which we belong, feel as much as others for the calamities and divisions of our citizens and country on both sides of the Atlantic, and are equally concerned for the preservation of our just rights; nor averse to lament every danger to which they may be exposed, and to put up fervent supplication to the Almighty, “that they may be preserved inviolate, and transmitted safe, to our latest posterity!”

From the first origin of this unhappy strife, it has been my unfeigned wish and prayer that, in the dreadful conflict wherein this country seems about to engage with the great nation from which we sprung, a deep and solemn pause might be made, on both sides, for serious meditation; and that all of us, in the first place, might turn our thoughts to God and his Providence; consider the gracious purposes for which he seems to have planted us in this land; search our own hearts narrowly, and discover how far we conspire with, or counteract his will and ways, in the dissemination of human wisdom and human happiness!

I could not, therefore, so ill reward the confidence which these congregations have so long placed in me, as to decline meeting you this day, in order to assist your meditations, lest I might leave you under the necessity of seeking that assistance from those who might not, perhaps, improve the present opportunity for leading your thoughts into that channel in which I would wish them to flow at this trying time. For although our temporal calamities have called us to the

present duty, yet I propose to carry you beyond them, into a more extensive field.

Days of fasting have been in use among all nations professing a belief of God's overruling Providence. The Scriptures abound in examples of fasts, for deprecating the righteous visitations and impending judgments of the Almighty.

The preacher then gives different instances recorded in the Old Testament of fasts and fasting, and explains the nature of a true fast. "Even in an Old Testament Fast," he says, "all outward observances and ceremonies were only so far of any value before God, as they were the fruits of the spirit, the genuine mark of hearts loathing iniquity; striving to loose the strong bands of wickedness; ceasing from evil; learning to do well; and calling forth the soul in all actions of mercy, loving-kindness, and true benevolence." "And our Saviour himself," he continues, "confirms the doctrine, telling us that our fasting should not be like that of the hypocrites, consisting only in sad countenances, and disfigured faces; but in godly sincerity, not regarding the applause of men; but fasting in the secrecy of heart, considering ourselves only as in his presence, 'who seeing in secret will reward openly all those who come to him with souls thus sincerely penitent.'" He proceeds:

You have, I hope, turned your thoughts to Almighty God. You have beheld His hand lifted up over this prostrate and afflicted land—afflicted with the worst of evils—the demon of discord and civil distraction—You are all ready to cry out—"who will shew us any good? Lord, have mercy upon us, and deliver us—We repent of our sins, and seek Thy grace for reformation and amendment."

I would, therefore, cherish these good dispositions; and what may, peradventure, have begun through Fear, I would ripen into maturity by the more cheering beams of Love. Instead of increasing your afflictions, I would convey a dawn of comfort to your souls; rather striving to woo and to win you to Religion and Happiness, from a consideration of what God hath promised to the Virtuous, than of what He hath denounced against the Wicked, both through Time and in Eternity.

It hath always been a favourite theme with me, in my public addresses, to dwell much upon those Prophecies, and portions of holy Scripture, which predict that, God's own government, in the hearts of men through the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Grace of his Holy Spirit, shall be extended, among those that "sit in darkness and the shadow of death, even to the remotest ends of this habitable world;" and that although

God's gracious purposes may be counter-worked and stayed long, by the unworthiness of the instrument which he hath chosen—perverse Man—yet they cannot, finally, be frustrated!

I would now pursue this subject, and impress this strong hope, that notwithstanding the darkness that now hangs over us, the Lord (as the Prophet elsewhere expresses it) offers himself as “an everlasting Light to us”—that if we will obey His call, and follow where His divine Providence points our glorious way, our days of Mourning shall yet be turned into joy. “We shall yet become a righteous people and inherit “the land forever, as a branch of His planting, in which he may be “glorified—that a little one among us shall become a thousand, and a “small one a strong nation, and that He, the Lord, will hasten it in “his time.”*

This ravishing hope, my Brethren, if duly cherished, will lead us, better than a thousand arguments founded in Fear, to improve the design of our present meeting, by a view of our own situation in this country, the designs for which God appears to have planted us in it, and the part which it is our duty to act in this day of trial; so as neither to counteract our promised bliss by licentious Impatience, nor forfeit our hopes of it by unmanly Fears.

If we turn our thoughts to the ways of Providence, as recorded in history, profane as well as sacred, and consider the fate of Christian empires—how they have been alternately blessed with the enjoyment of Gospel-light, Liberty and Happiness, alternately lifted up and cast down, according to their due use, or corrupt abuse, of these blessings; if we mark their progress through the old world; and impartially examine the prophecies which relate to their gradual extension to the remotest habitations of the Gentiles; we shall find rays of Hope darting in upon us, which may yet help to cheer us, amidst all the gloom that now broods over us.

Like the Sun, these mighty blessings (Gospel-light, Liberty and Happiness) have still pursued their western course, since the birth of Christianity, till, in meridian splendour, they reached the utmost verge, the *ultima Thule*, of the old world; where they long illuminated the favoured land from which we sprung. And, while they shone in noon-tide glory there, their cheering rays extended with our ancestors across the vast Atlantic, dispelling the long, long, night of darkness in which these American regions lay involved; and opening upon Us a radiant Morn, which gave the joyous earnest of a future resplendent day. That Morn is now overcast; but our Sun, we trust, only hides his head from us for a time, and is not commanded, by an unappeasable Providence, to revert from his destined course, and measure back his former way.

If we make a due improvement of the present visitations of Heaven,

* Isaiah lx. 22.

the clouds will speedily disperse; our Sun will break forth with renewed vigour, and these "ends of the earth shall yet see the salvation of God." * * *

It is more than probable that the chief concern of the greatest part of us this day—the sentiment uppermost in our hearts—relates to our temporal salvation. This is not blameable, but only in the degree of our concern. Our temporal distress assembled us here, and has prostrated us at our Maker's feet; when, probably, had Prosperity surrounded us, we should have been forgetful of Him, and spending the precious moments in Vanity, and things of no Spiritual Profit.

Of this principle I will avail myself, therefore, in the first place. Would you be thought Patriots indeed? Do you profess yourselves, in good earnest, ready to sacrifice your blood and treasure for the temporal safety of your country? Have you lifted up your voices to God in fervent supplications, that he would strengthen your resolutions and prosper your endeavours? And in return for his expected deliverance, have you in his awful presence, deprecated your former sins, and (solemnly renouncing them) promised to devote yourselves to his will and ways, all the days of your lives? So far as you have done this, you have done well. So far you have kept a true Fast, considering it as something infinitely above all human Appointments.

But if any seeds of Ambition, Licentiousness or Revenge, are yet left to spring up in our hearts, to check those Fruits of Peace and Love, which the Gospel of Christ would cherish there; if we have brought to this solemn Fast any turbulent Desires, any secret views of fostering Party-Spirit, any Lust of unjust Dominion, any Impatience of lawful Government, or wish to weaken its bands, or intrench upon plighted Faith and the Sanctity of Laws—then let us be assured that we counterwork our own Salvation, not only in the next world, but in this. Our Fast, this day, is only a mockery of our almighty Creator!

If we come to God for a blessing on our temporal affairs, it must be with the conviction that all earthly happiness is derived from Him; that, in his sight, the best Christian is the best Patriot; that the Man who upholds the Purity and Majesty of Religion can best serve his country; and that where the Sense of Religion is once lost, the Sense of Liberty, and of everything else that is valuable in this world, must be immediately lost with it.

My Brethren, I am now upon a very serious subject, and in very serious times. I trust you will suffer and expect me to speak with the utmost freedom, as becomes one professing, from scripture, to speak the will and word of God among you.

If then we would seek true inducements for Heroism and Virtue in every time of danger, let us not consider this fruitful land which we possess, as given to us merely for advancing our own temporal interests; but also that we might be the means of diffusing the Knowledge and

Practice of Religion, as well as of civil Liberty and Happiness, to the nations that sit in Darkness round us.

Nay, we ought to view this design—(the planting and raising an Empire of Christian Knowledge here) as the first and greatest work we have to do.

A temporal Empire, however favourite a notion, is a secondary work, which can only spring from, and be supported by, the former; without which, all other blessings of nature or industry—the happiness and fertility of soil, zeal and struggles for Liberty, will be totally vain.

That this whole continent shall one day become a happy seat of knowledge and freedom, arts and polished life, and whatever can exalt or adorn mankind; is a hope which, as I said before, the voice of Scripture and Prophecy leads us fondly to cherish in our breasts. It seems the mighty purpose of God, in many predispositions of his Providence, to enlighten the dark parts of this new world; and He will raise up proper instruments, if not in us, at least in others more worthy, should we neglect the advancement of His divine purposes.

It becomes us, therefore, impartially to examine our own hearts and ways; to consider how far we are striving to embrace the opportunities offered us of becoming instruments in the hands of Providence for spreading Religion and Virtue through this immense country.

With what reproach would our names be transmitted to posterity, should we act as if we had come into this land flowing with Milk and Honey, only to eat and enjoy the fruits thereof; to wrest from the former Lords of the soil the possessions which they have held from age to age; without striving, in return, to better their condition, by Example, by Precept, by every means in our power; diffusing among them all the blessings which a pure Religion and a temperate System of Laws can give.

In this view of things, and on this solemn occasion, let me therefore sum up all I have to say by entreating you, in the name of God and by the love you profess for your country, to regulate all your conduct by the principles of Truth, Justice and Righteousness. Keep in view the divine Work in which you are called to be Instruments, so far as we seem capable to comprehend the Promises and Revelations of the Almighty. Strive in the first place to preserve your spiritual Liberty, and to resist the Dominion of Sin, adorning your profession by the Purity of your Lives; and then you may hope for a blessing in every effort for the support of your civil Liberty—Let no Acts of Violence, Rashness, Intemperance, or Undutifulness to the country from whence we spring, ever disgrace our cause. And be assured, as I said before, that he is truly the greatest Patriot, and the best man, who, in all his ways, supports the majesty of Religion, reverences the laws of his country, and keeps a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

While you act within this line; while you can carry with you a true

conviction that Religion, Justice, Laws divine and human, are on your side, in this great contest ; the worst events will not appall you too much ; nor the most prosperous elate you into forgetfulness of God. Your zeal will be enlightened, but temperate. The pulse of glory will beat high, but not with a Feverish heat.

May the almighty God, therefore, in this day of his visitation, direct you in all your ways, and speedily give you "Beauty instead of Sackcloth and Ashes, the Oil of Joy instead of Mourning, and the Garment of Praise instead of heaviness of Heart."

Amen.

Politically and ecclesiastically this was all unexceptionable so far as I see. It was, no doubt, *in generalibus*. But nothing else would in such times have been suited to the pulpit anywhere ; either in England or America. Such a prayer as was made for our "Gracious Sovereign" was not enough to constitute a Loyalist. It was quite unlike the prayers of the Liturgy, and was almost as much an *exprobatio* as an *oratio*. It was made more than a year before the Declaration of Independence, when prayers for the King, etc., were continued as usual, in all our churches ; and when the people of America, by their delegates in Congress, claimed only a redress of grievances ; expressed nothing but their former attachment to the government of Great Britain, and sought nothing but reconciliation with the mother country and their brethren there, on the constitutional terms of a restoration to, and the continuance of, equal rights and privileges.

Dr. Smith to the Secretary of the Propagation Society.

(EXTRACT.)

PHILADELPHIA, 28th Augst, 1775.

REV^d AND WORTHY SIR,

* * * The Americans continue firm in the measures they have adopted for opposing Parliamentary taxation and the Colony of Georgia has now joined the other twelve Colonies. Administration can expect nothing by hopes of disunion here. Would to God that a suspension of hostilities & a negotiation could take Place before either side have proceeded too far in measures so ruinous to both. For this I pray & for this I labor daily & in such a way perhaps as may subject me to the blame of the violent of both sides. But I look far beyond the present heated times. I know the dignity of the Parent state may be well supported without evading any essential right of the Colonies, & till a plan for this purpose is devised and executed we can never more expect a return of our former harmony. It was with a view to propa-

gate these principles that my Sermon was drawn up as I mentioned in my last. Whether it may be considered in that light on your side of the Atlantic I know not. But God knows my love is strong & my zeal ardent for the prosperity of both Countries.

Since I wrote you all our Clergy within my knowledge, two only excepted in four Provinces, have Preached on the fast of July 20th. Some of their Sermons are printed & more in the press. You will herewith receive two of M^r. Duché & one of M^r. Coombe's. Please to communicate them to the Lord Bishop of London. His Lordship will be pleased to peruse them. He will thereby be enabled to judge of us all as he has done that honor to mine; & the circumstances in which we are placed cannot be easily known by those who are at a distance. But we hope our present conduct will be justified from a recollection of that prudence and temper which we have endeavored to exercise on all former occasions; & the proper allowances for youth and riper years to be likewise made. I am more and more convinced that had our Clergy acted a different part on the late occasion we should have ruined the Church Interest here.

I am with great truth, Dear Sir, &c.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

POPULAR IMPRESSION AS TO DR. SMITH'S SERMON ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS—SKETCH OF GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY—ATTEMPT TO REDUCE THE CANADAS—GENERAL MONTGOMERY AND OTHER OFFICERS KILLED BEFORE QUEBEC—CONGRESS REQUESTS DR. SMITH TO PRONOUNCE A FUNERAL ORATION UPON THEM—HE PRONOUNCES IT—MUSICAL ACCESSORIES INTRODUCED IN IT—EXTRACTS FROM THE ORATION—JOHN ADAMS' CHARACTERIZATION OF IT—THEODORE SEDGWICK, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S CHARACTERIZATION OF JOHN ADAMS—HIS CENSURES OF NO VALUE.

THE effect of Dr. Smith's sermon on American affairs was, in *popular impression*, to place him among those who, like the "violent spirits" of Boston, wished, by an "immediate rupture" with Great Britain, to involve all the other colonies in the condition in which their own Governor Hutchison and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, by inciting the British ministry to illegal acts, had involved them. There was, however, nothing in the sermon which in good reason warranted or invited this idea. We have on previous pages stated its character fairly, and have made such extracts

from it as would enable the reader to judge of its character for himself.

We come now to another sermon of Dr. Smith's which attracted great public notice; that on the death of General Richard Montgomery. Our readers will recall the main events in the life of this gallant officer.

He was the son of an Irish baronet, and born at Conway House, in Ireland, A. D. 1738. After receiving a liberal education, he entered the British army at the age of eighteen, and served in it and on this continent, in what we call the French and Indian War (the Seven Years' War) of 1756, between England on the one side, and France, with other European powers, on the other, and which involved the colonists in war with the people of the Canadas and the Indian tribes; that war in which for the second time we became possessed of Louisburg. At the conclusion of that war Montgomery returned to Europe, where he remained nine years, "a close observer of the aspect of the times." In 1772, resigning his commission in the British army, he came to America. He bought a farm at King's Bridge, near New York, and soon afterwards married a daughter of Robert R. Livingston, then a Judge of the King's Bench, after which he went to Rhinebeck, still pursuing agriculture. The events of the day brought him, in 1775, into the first Provincial Convention at New York; and in June, 1775, Congress appointed him a Brigadier-General in the Continental army. By this time—a year and more before the Declaration of Independence—it was deemed a plain measure of prudence that the Colonies should hold the Canadas in such a state, that in the event an effort for independence, and of consequent war with Great Britain, becoming necessary, we should not be exposed to the atrocities which would follow an alliance of the Canada or frontier Indians with the English, as, while supporting England, we had been exposed to them, some years before, when the Indians allied themselves with the French. Accordingly it was resolved to invade the Canadas. This was done by two routes; the one by way of the Kennebec, through Maine; the other by the river Sorel. The command of the invading force, in consequence of the illness of General Schuyler, fell on Montgomery. The campaign was a winter campaign, and marked by the dreadful exposures incident to such an expedition into such high latitudes. Montgomery

had, of course, much sickness and great suffering in his camp. Notwithstanding which—while acting with the utmost humanity to his men—he steadily went on, reducing the fortresses of St. John's, Chamblee, and Montreal, and effecting a junction with the expedition (under Arnold) sent through Maine. The great matter to be effected was the capture of Quebec. This citadel was commanded by the brave, cautious, and accomplished General Guy Carleton. He had been the quartermaster of Wolfe. It could be neither invested nor taken by siege. If taken at all, it had to be by storm. On the last day of the last month of 1775, the movement of the troops commenced before daylight upon the Plains of Abraham. It was a night of terrific cold. Accumulated ice and snow blocked every passage; but the dauntless band pushed forward. When all was ready for the attack, "Men of New York," said Montgomery—waving in the air his sword, and beckoning for his men to come on—"follow where your General leads!" There is a rush, a death-like pause, a surging to and fro of armed men; the plume of the gallant leader sweeps the snow of the battle-field; Montgomery falls, pierced with deadly wounds. He was an able and an accomplished soldier. "Of Washington's thirteen Generals, elected by the Continental Congress,* two only," says General Cullum, "Schuyler and Greene, could be compared to him, and neither of these was his superior in character, attainments, or military experience." By the order of General Carleton, his body was buried with all the honors of war within the walls of the city of Quebec.

Among those killed in that storming of Quebec which concluded this terrible expedition were two young men of Pennsylvania—one Captain John MacPherson—the first Philadelphian of any note killed in battle—the other Captain Henricks, from the interior of the State; somewhere—though I know not exactly

* See "Washington and the Generals of the American Revolution," Vol. II., p. 187; an anonymous work, published A. D. 1847, by Carey & Hart, Philadelphia—quite a different book from one of Mr. Headley's with the same title. I use much of its language.

The person who desires to see a full and scientific account of Montgomery's expedition, and of him personally, will find it admirably presented by General G. W. Cullum, in a paper read at the great Centennial Commemoration of the Declaration of Independence, at the State-house in Philadelphia, July 2d, 1876, and now in print, and in an anonymous pamphlet printed in 1876, entitled, "Biographical Notes Concerning Richard Montgomery, together with hitherto unpublished letters."

where—upon the Susquehanna. He had gone through Maine with Arnold.

Captain MacPherson was the son of a gallant sailor, whose bravery in the older wars was conspicuous. The son had been educated partly at the College of Philadelphia and partly at that of Princeton. After being graduated, he studied law in Philadelphia with John Dickinson. A few days before his death he visited the spot where General Wolfe expired. As a reward for his services, he was appointed by the Congress a Major in a battalion to be raised in the Delaware counties; but at the time of his death, had received no account of this promotion. On the day before the assault on Quebec, he wrote to his father the following letter, intrusting it to General Schuyler, to be forwarded only in case of his death:

HEAD-QUARTERS BEFORE QUEBEC, 30th Dec., 1775.

MY DEAR FATHER:—If you receive this, it will be the last this hand shall ever write you. Orders are given for a general storm on Quebec this night; and Heaven only knows what may be my fate. But, whatever it may be, I cannot resist the inclination I feel to assure you that I experience no reluctance in this cause to venture a life which I consider as only lent, to be used when my country demands it.

In moments like these, such an assertion will not be thought a boast by any one—by my father I am sure it cannot. It is needless to tell that my prayers are for the happiness of the family and for their preservation in this general confusion. Should Providence, in its wisdom, call me from rendering the little assistance I might to my country, I could wish my brother did not continue in the service of her enemies.*

That the All-gracious Disposer of human events may shower on you, my mother, brothers and sisters, every blessing our nature can receive,

* The allusion, in Captain John MacPherson's letter, is to his brother, William MacPherson, who, before the commencement of hostilities, was an officer in the British army, and Adjutant of the Sixteenth Regiment of foot. This regiment was not then in service in the northern part of America. Captain MacPherson at that time presented his resignation, which was refused. When the regiment afterward arrived at New York, he again tendered his resignation to Sir Henry Clinton, declaring that he would never bear arms against his countrymen. It was then accepted, and in 1779 Captain William MacPherson joined the American army, and was made Major by brevet. After the Revolution he was a prominent citizen of Philadelphia, and commanded the fine legion called "MacPherson's Blues." It went in 1795 against the insurrection at Pittsburgh, known as "The Whiskey Insurrection." He married a daughter of Bishop White; a woman distinguished by dignity and sense. General MacPherson, as he had now become, resided at a place called Mount Pleasant, then described as being in the Northern Liberties, on the Schuylkill. It contained one hundred and twenty acres. It is now in the East Park.

is, and will be to the last moment of my life, the sincere prayer of your dutiful and affectionate son,

JOHN MACPHERSON.

General Schuyler despatched this letter to Captain John MacPherson, the father, with the following missive from himself:

ALBANY, 14th June, 1776.

Permit me, sir, to mingle my tears with yours for the loss we have sustained—you as a father, I as a friend. My dear young friend fell by the side of his General, as much lamented as he was beloved—and that, I assure you, sir, was in an eminent degree. This, and his falling like a hero, will console, in some measure, a father who gave him the example of bravery, which the son, in a short military life, improved to advantage.

General Montgomery and his corpse were both interred by General Carleton with military honors.

Your most obedient and humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

Of the death of Captain Henricks, Dr. Smith gives some interesting particulars.*

Captain Cheeseman, of New York, an associate and friend of both these young men, was killed in the same assault.

On the 25th of January, 1776, the official report having come from the army, the Congress

Resolved, That *Dr. Smith* be desired to prepare and deliver a FUNERAL ORATION in honor of General MONTGOMERY, and of those *Officers* and *Soldiers* who magnanimously fought and fell with him in maintaining the principles of *American Liberty*.

Dr. Smith could not decline this invitation. He was aware that he would have to address as great and respectable an audience as was ever assembled on this continent. He foresaw the difficulties incident to the undertaking. The death of such an officer as Montgomery, and the loss of two conspicuous and gallant youths, both from our own State, and of many privates belonging to it also, with the mortifying failure of the expedition, had wrought up public feeling to a great degree. He could hardly say anything, not breathing out threatenings and slaughter, which would satisfy the rage of some. Yet he did not mean to be either blown or drifted from the anchorage of his own intelligently fixed principles. He had no great time to prepare a Funeral Oration. The resolution

* *Infra*, p. 558.

asking for it could have hardly reached him before the 26th or 27th of January; and the oration was delivered on the 19th of February. The occasion was a military one. It was "a funeral oration," not a sermon, that he was about to deliver.

Dr. Smith had a great eye and ear for effects. Music, scenic decoration, dramatic art, pomp and circumstance—all entered largely into his ideas of what was requisite to give full impression to orations, commencement-days, the conferring of degrees, etc. An oration on a military hero and his brave associates presented of course a fine occasion for impressive accessories. The whole Congress, the Assembly of the Province, the Municipal Authorities, and whatever of the army had survived and was not in the field, away, would be there. Great preparations were made. The oration contained some poetical quotations. These, as the reverend orator began to quote them, would be taken up by the choir from his mouth, and a charming effect was, of course, produced.

In this connexion we must print a letter of Dr. Smith to his friend, Jasper Yeates, of Lancaster, which will give some idea of the trouble of such a celebration in those days.

Dr. Smith to Jasper Yeates.

PHILA, February 13th, 1776.

DEAR SIR: The Bearer* is sent express to request the favor of Eberhart Michael to set off immediately for Philadelphia to assist in the solemn music which is to accompany Gen. Montgomery's funeral oration on Monday next.

Messrs. Bremners, Peters, Beach, Hare, Hillegas, Franks, and all the gentlemen in Town, who are able, will assist in the music. But we shall want two violins, and have sent to New York for another. I write this by Direction of the Committee of Congress, who have the conduct of the solemnity, and Mr. Michael's declining would be thought *disrespectful to the cause* and to all of us who take our Part. I refer you to Mr. Barton's letter for some further account, & should be glad to see you here at the Performance. Let Mr. Michael set out with the Express on Thursday morning at farthest.

But we rather wish if he could that he might be here early on Friday. I beg a line by the bearer and am,

Affectionately yours,

WILLIAM SMITH.

To JASPER YEATES, Esq., Lancaster.

* This was Col. Timothy Matlack.

On Monday morning, February 14th, 1776, the persons who were to participate in the solemnities met at the State-house, from which place Congress, the Provincial Assembly, the City Corporation, the Mayor, the Committees of Inspection and of Safety, the four city battalions of Associators, and rifle companies, with the officers of the Pennsylvania Continental Battalions, moved in procession down Chestnut street to Fourth, and up Fourth on their way to the new German Calvinist Church, in Race street, below Fourth, where the oration was to be delivered. Dr. Smith joined them at the door of his own house, at the southwest corner of Fourth and Arch streets, with his brother clergy, and proceeded to the church, where he delivered the oration.

The opening part of the discourse was a grand review from classic poets and other authors, laying, in the customs of the Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, etc., a wide foundation for honors, after death, to heroes and statesmen; persons who might be said to live and to die not to themselves, but to others. This exordium is highly studied, and plainly could not have been first written for this oration. In welding it on and even in parts of the thing itself, it is a little turgid as we read it. It puts you in mind of one of David's large pictures in the Louvre, with lines of *tubicians* and long trumpets, of the Lictor and his *fascies*, of standards and S. P. Q. Rs and all old Rome in solemn procession. A fine dramatic manner, which Dr. Smith undoubtedly possessed, probably carried off well that which, differently delivered, would have seemed declamatory and have been flat. But all this exordium—and the musical part also of the body of the discourse—had, I apprehend, a purpose independently of exordium and musical sounds. The Provost was not preaching a sermon in Trinity Church, Oxford, nor at All Saints, Lower Dublin, where he could make his discourse just as long or as short as he pleased. He was bound to give the Congress a certain amount of oration; an hour or an hour and a half of discourse. He had been invited, perhaps, for the exact purpose of making him commit himself to some specific line of counsel. His task was very difficult. He would have to walk over burning plough-shares. No declaration of independence had yet been made. On the contrary, the same Congress had but a few months before expressed what might be called their abhorrence of the thought of independence.* But

opinion was divided. Violent men were on both sides. And Dr. Smith could say nothing—if he said much—which would not greatly incense one party or the other, and almost while he yet stood in the pulpit raise cries of “Hosanna” from one side and “Crucifigatur” from the other. He knew all this as well as any one; better, probably. And I rather suppose that his large classical and poetical exordium—which has been criticised by some good judges as feeble and declamatory—and his musical interludes were made by way of “fending off” from the main topic, or rather from too much of the main topic. They were arts of the drama; availed of with great effect in the resources of the stage. The solemnity would be a fine affair. A grand funeral oration would have been delivered. But no more would be said than, in a moment where a word might provoke the whirlwind, was proper to be said. Everybody it was hoped would thus be satisfied. And so, as far as I can learn, nearly everybody was.

The orator, after his array of classic scenes and authors, thus comes down to his more immediate topic:

Having now, my respected countrymen—and I hope I do not weary you—laid a wide foundation upon the practice of the wisest nations—in support of the present solemnity, I shall add but little more concerning the public utility of the thing itself.

Circumstanced as we now are, and perhaps shall long be, in building up a fabric for future ages, it would be a wise institution if, in imitation of the Genoese *Feast of Union*, we should make at least an annual pause for a review of past incidents, and of the characters of those who have borne an illustrious share in them; thereby animating our virtue, and uniting ourselves more closely in the bonds of mutual friendship.

The world, in general, is more willing to imitate than to be taught, and examples of eminent characters have a stronger influence than written precepts. Men's actions are a more faithful mirror of their lives than their words. The former seldom deceive; but the latter often. The deeds of old contract a venerable authority over us, when sanctified by the voice of applauding ages; and, even in our own day, our hearts take an immediate part with those who have nobly triumphed or greatly suffered in our behalf.

But the more useful the display of such characters may be to the world, the more difficult is the work. And I am not to learn that, of all kinds of writing, panegyric requires the most delicate hand. Men seldom endure the praise of any actions but those which their self-love represents as possible to themselves. Whatever is held up as an exam-

ple, if placed beyond the common reach of humanity, duly exalted by public spirit, will excite no emulation; and whatever is placed within the vulgar walks of life will attract no attention.

There is a further difficulty peculiar to certain times, particularly those of civil dissension, when the tempers of men are worked into ferment. Whence it happens, that they who have been the subjects of obloquy in one age, or in one state of party, have become the theme of praise in another. Such was Hampden—in the days of passive obedience, branded as a seditious disturber of his country's peace, and at the blessed æra of the revolution exalted into the first rank of *patriots*. Such was Sidney—condemned to a scaffold in the former period, and in the latter immortalized by the delegated voice of the nation!

What judgment posterity will form of the present mighty contest in which these United Colonies are engaged, I am at no loss to determine in my own mind. But, while the same actions are by one part of a great empire pronounced the most criminal resistance, and by another the most laudable efforts of self-preservation, no public character can be drawn alike acceptable to all. Nevertheless, as the faithful *historian* is the best panegyrist of true merit, he will not fashion himself to times and seasons, but exalt himself above them; and, conscious of his dignity as responsible to succeeding ages, will take eternal truth as his support, which can alone bear the impartial test of future examination. He knows that the divine colors of virtue, although they may give a temporary glare, will not blend or mellow into a ground-work of vice.

Whatever events, disastrous or happy, may lie before us, yet some degree of applause, even from an enemy, is certainly due to those illustrious men, who, led by conscience and a clear persuasion of duty, sacrifice their ease, their lives and fortunes to the public; and from their friends and country they are entitled to a deathless renown.

Perish that narrow pride, which will suffer men to acknowledge no virtue but among their own party. In this direful contest, the chief concern of a liberal mind will be that so much personal virtue as may be found on both sides, instead of being united in some great national object for the common good, should be dreadfully employed to the purpose of mutual destruction. And a man can as soon divest himself of his humanity as refuse the tribute of veneration due to actions truly magnanimous.

When once it becomes criminal to plead the cause of a suffering people, when their virtues can no longer be safely recorded—then tyranny has put the last hand to its barbarous work. All the valuable purposes of society are frustrated; and whatever other human fate remains will be wholly indifferent to the wise and good.

There are also many whose minds are so little that they can conceive nothing great, which does not court the eye in all the trappings of dress, titles, and external splendor. An *American-Patriot! a Blanket-*

Hero! a *General* from the *plough!* all these are terms of ridicule and reproach among many. Yet such was Cincinnatus, in the best days of Roman virtue; and a British poet, already quoted, hath boldly taught his countrymen this noble lesson—

“Some, with whom compar’d, your insect-tribes
Are but the beings of a summer’s day,
Have held the scale of empire, rul’d the storm
Of mighty war; then, with unweary’d hand,
Disdaining little delicacies, seiz’d
The *plough*, and greatly independent liv’d.”—THOMSON.

The same noble lesson is also taught by the well-known story of the two Spanish grandees, who were sent ambassadors to the Hague. Notwithstanding all the pride of their nation, they did not despise the Dutch deputies when they met them in a plain habit, and saw them on a journey sit down upon the grass to a frugal repast of bread and cheese out of their knapsacks. On the contrary, they cried out, “We shall never be able to conquer these people; we must even make peace with them.”

Should ambassadors honour us with a visit upon a like occasion, let us be prepared to meet them in the same majestic simplicity of garb and manners. Let us convince them that public virtue is confined to no class of men; and that although it sometimes basks in the sunshine of courts, it frequently lies hid in the shades of obscurity, like the latent fire in flint, till called forth by the collusive hand of oppression.

Adversity is the season which shews the spirit of a man in its full vigor; and times of civil calamity never fail to strike forth lights, sometimes single, and sometimes whole constellations, mingling their kindred rays to warm and to illuminate the genius of their country.

The sacred flame, thus enkindled, is not fed by the fuel of faction or party, but by pure benevolence and love of the public. It, therefore, soon rises above the selfish principles, refines and brightens as it rises, and expands itself into heavenly dimensions. Being inextinguishable in its own nature, the blood of thousands, on the scaffold or in the field, is but as oil poured into a conflagration, increasing its vehemence, till it consumes all before it, burning still clearer and stronger unto the full day of peace and civil happiness.

Those who enjoy a true portion of this divine flame, duly called forth into exercise, stand in no need of further titles or distinctions, either by birth or grant. For what can the world present greater to the sight of mortals, or even immortals, than a man who knows and courts the blessings of peace, who wishes to breathe out his last in its arms; and, keeping it still as his object, is nevertheless roused by the first pang of his suffering country; gives his whole illustrious spirit to her relief; rises above all human allurements; never remits his zeal; fears nothing; regards nothing—but the sentiments which virtue and magnanimity

inspire? What higher qualities can be required to entitle a man to the veneration and eulogies of his country? And these too will be his most durable monument. * * *

But whither am I borne? to what heights have I ascended? I look down with astonishment and tremble at my situation! Oh! Let your friendly arms be extended to save me as I fall. For in the idea I have of my subject, I have undertaken to guide the chariot of the sun; and how shall I steer through the exalted tract that lies before me? Considering myself as honoured with this day's office by the delegated voice of some millions of people through a vast continent, upon an occasion wherein their gratitude, their dignity, their love of liberty, nay even their reputation in literature, are all in some degree concerned; what language shall I use, or how shall I accommodate myself to every circumstance in the arduous work?

Truth alone must guide the hand that delineates a character. So far will I strive to imitate *him*,* who always animated himself with his subject, by thus accosting himself before he went forth to speak—

"Remember, thou art this day going to address men born in the arms of liberty, *Germans, Athenians!*"—Let no thought enter thy heart—let no word fall from thy tongue—unworthy of such an audience.

As to that hero, whose memory we are now met to celebrate as a *Proto-Martyr*† to our rights—for through whatever fields I have strayed he has never escaped my view—as to him, I say, if any thing human could now reach his ear, nothing but the great concerns of virtue, liberty, truth and justice would be tolerable to him; for to these was his life devoted from his early years.

He had received a liberal education in Ireland, his native country, before he went into the army, and was indeed endued with talents which would have led him to eminence in any profession. His own he studied with a felicity which soon distinguished his military abilities. But war and conquest having no other charms to him than as the necessary means of peace and happiness to mankind, he still found leisure, in the midst of camps, to cultivate an excellent taste for philosophy and polite literature. To these he added a careful study of the arts of government, and the rights of mankind, looking forward to that time when he might return into the *still scenes* of private life, and give a full flow to the native and acquired virtues of a heart rich in moral excellence.

Above eighteen years ago he had attained the rank of captain in the 17th British regiment, under General Monckton, and stood full in the way of higher preferment, having borne a share in all the labours

* Pericles.

† The author did not intend to appropriate this term so as to forget the merit of Dr. Warren and other brave men, who fell before in the same cause.

of our American wars, and the reduction of Canada. Ill-fated region ! short-sighted mortals ! Little did he foresee the scenes which that land had still in reserve for him ! Little did those generous Americans, who then stood by his side, think that they were assisting to subdue a country which would one day be held up over us, as a greater scourge in the hands of friends, than ever it was in the hands of enemies !

Had such a thought then entered their hearts, they would have started with indignation from the deed of horror. Their heroism would have appeared madness and parricide ! The lifted steel would have dropped from the warrior's arm ! The axe and the hoe from the labourer's hand ! America would have weeped through all her forests ; and her well-cultivated fields refused to yield farther sustenance to her degraded sons !

But far different were our thoughts at that time. We considered ourselves as co-operating with our British brethren for the glory of the empire ; to enable them to secure our common peace and liberty ; to humanize, adorn, and dignify, with the privileges of freemen, a vast continent ; to become strong in our strength, happy in our happiness ; and to derive that from our affection, which no force can extort from a *free* people ; and which the miserable and oppressed cannot give !

And these, too, were the sentiments of our lamented hero ; for he had formed an early attachment, amounting even to an enthusiastic love, to this country ! The woodland and the plain ; the face of nature, grand, venerable, and yet rejoicing in her prime ; our mighty rivers, descending in vast torrents through wild and shaggy mountains, or gliding in silent majesty through fertile vales ; their numerous branches and tributary springs ; our romantic scenes of rural quiet ; our simplicity of manners, yet uncorrupted by luxury or flagrant vice ; our love of knowledge and ardor for liberty—all these served to convey the idea of primæval felicity to a heart which he had taught to beat unison with the harmony of Heaven !

He therefore chose America, as the field of his future usefulness ; and as soon as the blessings of peace were restored to his country, and duty to his sovereign would permit, he took his leave of the army ; and having soon connected himself, by marriage, with an ancient and honourable family, in the province of New York, he chose a delightful retirement upon the banks of Hudson's river, at a distance from the noise of the busy world ! Having a heart distended with benevolence, and panting to do good, he soon acquired, without courting it, from his neighbours, that authority, which an opinion of superior talents and inflexible integrity never fails to create.

In this most eligible of all situations, the life of a country gentleman, deriving its most exquisite relish from reflection upon past dangers and past services, he gave full scope to his philosophic spirit, and taste for rural elegance. Self-satisfied and raised above vulgar ambition, he devoted his time to sweet domestic intercourse with the amiable partner

of his heart, friendly converse with men of worth, the study of useful books, and the improvement of his favoured villa. Nor from that happy spot did he wish to stray, until he should receive his last summons to happiness more than terrestrial.

But when the hand of power was stretched forth against the land of his residence, he had a heart too noble not to sympathize in its distress. From that fatal day—in which the first American blood was spilt by the hostile hands of British brethren, and the better genius of the empire, veiling her face in anguish, turned abhorrent from the strife of death among her children—I say, from that fatal day, he chose his part.

Although his liberal spirit placed him above local prejudices, and he considered himself as a member of the empire at large; yet America, struggling in the cause of Liberty, henceforth became his peculiar country;—and that country took full possession of his soul; lifting him above this earthly dross, and every private affection! Worth like his could be no longer hid in the shades of obscurity; nor permit him to be placed in that inferior station with which a mind, great in humility and self-denial, would have been contented. It was wisely considered that he who had so well learned to obey, was fittest to command; and therefore, being well assured of his own heart, he resigned himself to the public voice, nor hesitated a moment longer to accept the important commission freely offered to him; and with the firmness of another Regulus, to bid farewell to his peaceful retirement, and domestic endearments.

Here followed a scene of undissembled tenderness and distress, which all who hear me may, in some degree, conceive; but all cannot truly feel. You only who are husbands and fathers—whose hearts have been intimately blended with the partners of your bliss, and have known the pangs of separation, when launching into dangers, uncertain of your fate—You only would I now more directly address. Give a moment's pause for reflection! Recall your own former feelings, your inward struggles, your virtuous tears; even on a transient separation from a beloved family! Here bid them again freely flow while you listen to our hero's parting words—*

Ye scenes where home-felt pleasures dwell,
And thou, my dearer self, farewell!
"Perhaps the cypress, only tree
"Of all these groves, shall follow me"—†
But still, to triumph or a tomb,
Where Virtue calls, I come, I come.

* The choir then broke forth with the lines which follow in the text and which had been set to music; the orator at the last words, "I come, I come," advancing, and with all the impressiveness of a fine figure, well robed, taking the words from it and proceeding in his oration.—H. W. S.

† Hor. B. 2, Ode, 14, l. 22, 24.

"I COME, I come!" Nor were these the words of disappointed ambition; nor dictated by any sudden start of party zeal. He had weighed the contest well, was intimately acquainted with the unalienable rights of freemen, and ready to support them at every peril! He had long foreseen and lamented the fatal issue to which things were hastening. He knew that the sword of civil destruction, once drawn, is not easily sheathed; that men, having their minds inflamed and the weapons of defence in their hands, seldom know the just point where to stop, even when they have it in their power; and often proceed to actions, the bare contemplation of which would at first have astonished them.

It was therefore his desire rather to soften than enflame violent humours, wishing that America, in all her actions, might stand justified in the sight of God and the world. He foresaw the horrid train of evils which would be let loose by the stroke which should sever the ancient bond of union between Great Britain and us. It was therefore his wish that such a stroke should never proceed first from the hand of America. Nor did it so proceed.

The resistance made at Lexington was not the traitorous act of men conspiring against the supreme powers; nor directed by the councils of any public body in America; but rose immediately out of the case, and was dictated by self-preservation, the first great law of nature as well as society. If there was any premeditated scheme here, it was premeditated by those who created the dreadful necessity, either of resistance or ruin. For could it be expected that any people, possessing the least remains of virtue and liberty, would tamely submit to destruction and ravage—to be disarmed as slaves; stripped of their property, and left a naked prey even to the insults of surrounding savages?

Was this an experiment worthy of Great Britain? Where was the wisdom of her counsellors? Had their justice, their moderation quite forsaken them? Could they possibly expect obedience in such a case as this? Would they themselves, in a similar case, even under a legislative authority of their own free choice, submit to laws which would destroy the great end of all laws, self-preservation? Human nature says, no. The genius of the English constitution says, no. The nation itself hath heretofore said, no; and a great oracle* of its laws has given his sanction to the verdict—"In cases of national oppression," says he, "the nation hath very justifiably risen as one man, to vindicate "the original contract, subsisting between the king and the people." And—"If the sovereign power threaten desolation to a state, mankind "will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity, nor sacrifice "liberty to a scrupulous adherence to political maxims."

If the case of America does not come within the above description,

* Blackstone.

there seems to be no equity left upon earth; and whatever is exacted by *force* must be yielded through *fear*. But if justice be anything more than a name, it is surely a solecism in politics to say, that one part of a free country has a right to command that which the other "cannot *obey* without being *slaves*, nor *resist* without being *rebels*." Yet to such a sad dilemma does the parliamentary claim of a "right to bind us in all cases whatsoever," reduce America; involving in it a total surrender of our liberties; superseding the use of our own legislatures, marking us with such a badge of servitude as no freeman can consent to wear; and subjecting us to burdens laid by those who are not only unacquainted with our circumstances, and bear no part of the weight, but ease themselves in proportion as they load us. If this be *law*, if it be *equity*, it has no example among any other people, possessing the least glimmerings of virtue or native freedom.

But although this claim be so repugnant to every idea of natural as well as legal justice, that the guilt of blood which it may occasion can be chargeable only on those who attempt to enforce it; yet I am well assured that when compelled, at last by hard necessity, either to avert the dagger pointed at our breast or crouch to unconditional servitude, our hero's heart bled for the dreadful alternative.

His principles of loyalty to his sovereign (whom he had long served, and whose true glory consists in healing those streaming wounds) remained firm and unshaken. Love to our brethren whom we must oppose; the interchange of good offices, which had so intimately knit the bonds of friendship between them and us; the memory of those better days in which we fought and triumphed together; the vast fabric of mutual happiness raised by our union, and ready to be dissolved by our dissensions; the annihilation of those numerous plans of improvement in which we were engaged for the glory of the empire—all these considerations conspired to render this contest peculiarly abhorrent to him and every virtuous American, and could have been outweighed by nothing earthly, but the unquenchable love of liberty, and that sacred duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity.

Hence, as appears from his papers, even in the full triumph of success, he most ardently joined his worthy friend * General Schuyler in praying that "Heaven may speedily re-unite us in every bond of affection and interest; and that the British Empire may again become the envy and admiration of the universe, and flourish" till the consummation of earthly things.

This part of his character I dwell upon with particular satisfaction; and indeed had he evidenced a contrary sentiment, or gone forth in the rage of conquest, instead of the spirit of reconciliation; not all his other virtues, nor yet the respect which I owe to the appointment wherewith

* In his letter of Nov. 8th.

I am now honoured, could have induced me to appear in this place, on this occasion.

God forbid that any of the profession to which I belong should ever forget their peculiar character, exercise a turbulent spirit, or prostitute their voice to enflame men's minds to the purposes of wild ambition or mutual destruction. * I am happy in knowing that nothing of this kind is wished from me; nay, that the delegated voice of the continent, as well as of this particular province, supports me in praying for a restoration "of the former harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies "upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by "any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries."*

Indeed this matter rests in safe hands, and is clear in itself. If redress of grievances, essential liberty and security against future oppression can be obtained, according to our own desires; then neither consistency, dignity, nor a regard to our illustrious British friends, who have defended our cause, pledged themselves for our sincerity, and hope by our aid to restore and perpetuate the glory of the whole empire, can suffer us to hesitate. To say, let them look to their own safety, and we will look to ours, would be unworthy of the liberal soul of any American, truly animated in our present cause, and with the love of universal liberty.

But suppose these terms cannot be obtained? Why then, there will be no need of further arguments, much less of aggravations. Timid as my heart perhaps is, and ill-tuned as my ear may be to the din of arms and the clangor of the trumpet; yet, in that case, sounds which are a thousand times more harsh—"even the croaking of frogs in the uncultivated fen," or the howling of wild beasts around the spot, where liberty dwells—would be "preferable to the nightingale's song," in vales of slavery, or the melting notes of Corelli in cities clanking their chains!

If this be a digression, pardon it as the last, and due to my own principles and consistency. I now hasten to attend our hero through the remainder of his career—short indeed! but crowded with scenes of virtuous activity, which would have dignified the longest life; and the best achievements of ancient renown.

The Canada expedition is one of those measures, which the enemies of American peace having first rendered necessary, will now strive to misconstrue into hostility and offence. But when authentic proofs were obtained that a people professing a religion, and subjected to laws, different from ours, together with numerous tribes of savages, were instigated and preparing to deluge our frontiers in blood, let God and the world judge whether it was an act of offence; or rather, whether it was not mercy to them, to ourselves, to the whole British empire, to use the means in our power for frustrating the barbarous attempt.

Indeed there was benevolence in the whole plan of this expedition.

It was to be executed not so much by force as by persuasion; and appearing in the country with such a respectable strength, as might protect the inhabitants from the insults and vengeance of those who were striving to make them lift up their reluctant arm to the shedding fraternal blood. It was further wished to kindle up the expiring lamp of liberty among them; to open their eyes to its divine effulgence; and enable them to raise their drooping head, and claim its blessings as their own.

This was a work, in all its parts, suited to the genius of a MONTGOMERY. He had a head and heart which equally pointed him out as a fit guide in such an undertaking; for he understood and could well explain the blessings of a free government. Persuasion dwelt upon his tongue. He had a soul, great, disinterested, affectionate, delighting to alleviate distress, and to diffuse happiness. He had an industry not to be wearied out; a vigilance not to be imposed upon; and a courage, when necessary, equal to his other abilities.

But still, with a few new-raised men, of different colonies, and perhaps different tempers; ill supplied with arms and ammunition; worse disciplined; unaccustomed to look cannon in the face; to make or to mount a breach—in such circumstances, I say, and in the short space of an autumnal and winter campaign, in rigorous northern climes, to achieve a work which cost Great-Britain and the colonies the labour of several campaigns, and what was a sacrifice of infinitely more value—the life of the immortal Wolfe—this certainly required a degree of magnanimity beyond the ordinary reach, and the exertion of the highest abilities of every kind.

The command and conduct of an army, were but small parts of this undertaking. The Indians were to be treated with restraint and kept in temper. The Canadians were likewise to be managed, protected and supported: And even his own army in some degree to be formed, disciplined, animated, accustomed to marches, encampments, dangers, fatigues, and the frequent want of necessities.

Camps, of all worldly scenes, often exhibit the greatest pictures of distress. The sick and the wounded—the dying and the dead—as well as the wants and sufferings of the living—all these call forth the most tender feelings, and require of a general, that, to the courage of a soldier, he should unite the utmost benevolence of a man!

Our general possessed these united qualities in their highest lustre; of which there are numerous testimonies not only from his own army, but from the prisoners, English as well as Canadians, now amongst us.

When his men laboured under fatigue, wanted bread and other necessities, had their beds to make in snow or deep morasses, they were ashamed to complain, finding that he was willing to share in the execution of whatever he commanded. And the example which he thus set to others, did more to inspire patience, obedience, love of order and

discipline, than the most rigid exercise of power could have done. The influence of this example was still stronger, as it did not appear to be the effect of constraint or political necessity; but the amiable expression of a sympathizing soul; leading him to condescend to all capacities; exact in his own duties, and great even in common things. His letters, confidential as well as official, are a full proof of this.

"Our encampment is so swampy, I feel," says he, "exceedingly for the troops; and provisions so scarce, it will require not only dispatch, but good fortune, to keep us from distress—Should things not go well, I tremble for the fate of the poor Canadians, who have ventured so much. What shall I do with them, should I be obliged to evacuate this country? I have assured them that the United Colonies will as soon give up Massachusetts to resentment as them."—

These sentiments were worthy of a heroic soul, and of the faith he had pledged to those people. Nor is he less to be venerated for his tender regard towards his own army—Instead of making a merit of his difficulties (which were indeed more than ought to be mentioned in this place) he often seeks to conceal them; ascribing any little faults or tardiness, in his young troops, to their want of experience in forming; to their hard duty, the constant succession of bad weather and the like—still encouraging them to nobler efforts in future. And if any impatience of discipline appeared, he nobly attributes it to "that spirit of freedom, which men accustomed to think for themselves, will even bring into camps with them."

His own superior military knowledge he has been known to sacrifice to the general voice, rather than interrupt that union on which success depended; and when a measure was once resolved upon by the majority, however much contrary to his own advice and judgment, he magnanimously supported it with his utmost vigor; disdaining that work of low ambition, which will strive to defeat in the execution, what it could not direct in planning.

His perseverance and conduct in gaining possession of St. John's and Montreal, have already been the theme of every tongue, and need not be mentioned in this place. His abilities in negotiation; the precision with which the various articles of treaties and capitulations are expressed; the generous applause he gives, not only to every worthy effort of his own officers, but to the commanding officer and garrison of St. John's; his noble declaration to the inhabitants of Montreal, "that the continental armies despise every act of oppression and violence, being come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security"—all these, I say, did honour to himself, and to that delegated body, under whose authority he acted. * * *

Having approached those plains which the blood of Wolfe hath consecrated to deathless fame, our hero seemed emulous of his glory, and animated with a kindred spirit. The situation of his army pressed dis-

patch! snows and frost only quickened his motions. He hoped by one successful stroke, before the arrival of succours to the garrison, to complete his plan, and save the future effusion of much blood. He further flattered himself, that his success, if speedy, might have some influence upon parliament, in hastening a reconciliation. He understood that maxim of Folard: "No obstacle should break our resolution, when there is but a moment between a bad situation and a worse." This sentiment he expresses in his last letter with a spirit of modesty, and a sense of duty, as well as the danger attending it, which ought to be forever recorded to his glory: "I shall be sorry to be reduced to this mode of attack; because I know the melancholy consequences. But the approaching severity of the season, the weakness of the garrison, together with the nature of the works, point it out too strong to be passed by. Fortune often baffles the most sanguine expectations of poor mortals—I am not intoxicated with the favours I have received at her hands—But I think there is a fair prospect of success."

Poor mortals indeed, if nothing was to remain of them after death; for while he was courting this success, and gloriously leading on his troops in the front of danger, he received the fatal stroke, which in an instant released his great spirit, to follow and join the immortal spirit of Wolfe!

O thou swift-winged messenger of destruction, how didst thou triumph in that moment! the stroke that severed Montgomery from his army, deprived them of more than a member. It reached the vitals, and struck the whole body with a temporary death. As when the forked lightning, darting through the forest, amid the black tempests of night, rends some towering oak, and lays its honours in the dust, the inferior trees which it had long sheltered from the storm, stand mournful around, so stood the astonished bands over their fallen chieftain!

Dr. Smith now speaks of the Pennsylvania officers and of their brave companion-in-arms, young Cheeseman.

Here, ye Pennsylvanian youths, second to none in virtue, let a portion of your tears be sacred to the *manes* of Macpherson! You remember his generous spirit in his early years, for he drank of the same springs of science with many of you now before me; and we who reached the cup to your lip, rejoice that it contributed to invigorate both him and you into wisdom and public spirit. Having finished his scholastic education, he studied the laws of his country, under a lawyer and patriot of distinguished name; and animated by his example, as well as precepts, had become eminent in his profession, at an age when some have scarce begun to think of business. The love of liberty being his ruling passion, he thought it his duty in the present struggle, to offer himself to the service of his country, and he had soon an opportunity of attaining that military pre-eminence, of which he was laudably ambitious.

Enjoying a hereditary bravery, joined to a well-cultivated understanding, and an active spirit, he soon became the bosom friend of General Montgomery, was his aid-de-camp, was entrusted with a share in the management of his most important negotiations, stood by his side in the attack upon Quebec, and being, as it were, animated by one common soul, and dear to each other in life—in death, they were not a moment divided!

Here, likewise, fell Captain Cheeseman, of the New-York forces, covered with honour, and lamented by all who knew him, as an active and gallant officer. His particular merits, as well as the merits of some others, who shared his fate, ought to be more fully commemorated on this occasion, if proper accounts of them could be collected.

I must not, however, omit the name of the brave Captain Hendricks, who commanded one of the Pennsylvania rifle-companies, and was known to me from his infancy. He was indeed prodigal of his life, and courted danger out of his tour of duty. The command of the guard belonged to him, on the morning of the attack; but he solicited and obtained leave to take a more conspicuous post; and having led his men through the barrier, where his commanding officer, General Arnold, was wounded, he long sustained the fire of the garrison with unshaken firmness, till at last, receiving a shot in his breast, he immediately expired.*

Such examples of magnanimity filled even *adversaries* with veneration and esteem. Forgetting the *foes* in the *heroes*, they gathered up their breathless remains, and committed them to kindred dust, with pious hands “and funeral honours meet.” So may your own remains, and particularly thine, O! Carlton, be honoured, should it ever be your fate to fall in hostile fields! Or if, amid the various chances of war, your lot should be among the prisoners and the wounded, may you be distinguished with an ample return of that benevolence which you have shewn to others. Such offices of humanity, softening the savage scenes of war, will entitle you to an honour which all the pride of conquest cannot bestow—much less a conquest over fellow-subjects, contending for the common rights of freemen.

By such offices as these, you likewise give a gleam of comfort to those mourners, who mix their tears without our † Schuylkill and Susquehannah; and to her ‡ especially, on Hudson’s river, pre-eminent in woe!

* These particulars were certified by General Thompson and Colonel Magaw, his commanders in the Pennsylvania rifle-regiment, and they give me this further character of him in their letter, viz.: “No fatigues or duty ever discouraged him. . . . He paid the strictest attention to his company, and was ambitious that they should excel in discipline, sobriety and order. His social and domestic virtues you were well acquainted with.”

† The rivers on which the parents of Major Macpherson and Captain Hendricks live.

‡ Mrs. Montgomery.

Ye angels and ministers of grace, complete her consolations. Tell her, in gentlest accents, what wreaths of glory you have entwined, to adorn the brows of those who die for their country; and hovering for a while, on the *wing of pity*, listen to the mournful strain, flowing to a deceased husband.*

Sweet ivy twin'd with myrtle, form a shade
Around the tomb where brave *Montgomery's* laid!
Beneath your boughs, shut from the beams of day,
My ceaseless tears shall bathe the warrior's clay;
And injur'd "Freedom shall a while repair,
To dwell, with me, a weeping hermit there."

The choir having sung with pathetic grace these lines—slightly altered from those well known of Collins—

"Wind, gentle evergreen, to form a shade
Around the tomb where Sophocles is laid"—

the orator concludes:

Having now paid the honors due to the memories of our departed friends, what need I add more? Illustrious, though short, was their race! "But old age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor is measured by number of years. Wisdom is the gray hair to man, and an unspotted life is old age."

To such men Rome in all her glory would have decreed honors; and the resolve of Congress to transmit the memory of their virtues is worthy of that magnanimity which ought to characterize public bodies. Jealous and arbitrary rulers are sparing of honors to those who serve them, lest their own should be thus eclipsed. But your lustre, gentlemen, can suffer no diminution in this way, and the glory you justly bestow on others will only be reflected to increase your own.

Strange to say, this fine oration was not well received by that portion of the Congress led by John Adams and his more special friends. "*Sink* or swim, survive or *perish*," they were determined on a rupture and a war. From one of those letters written by this singular man, and left by him to be published when the persons whom he calumniated could not disprove his statements, he says: †

The oration was an insolent performance. A motion was made [in Congress] to thank the orator and ask a copy; but it was opposed with great spirit and vivacity from every part of the room, and at last withdrawn, lest it should be rejected, as it certainly would have been with

* The choir here, in pensive strains, broke in again.

† "Forces' Archives," Fourth Series, Vol. III.

great indignation. The author then printed it himself, after leaving out and altering some offensive passages. . . . The appointment of him to make this oration was a great oversight and mistake.

There is no evidence known to me but this statement of Mr. Adams, that the oration was altered in any important parts of it. It could not, I should think, have been altered in any such parts without being recast. There would have been a plain incongruity between its parts, which, as it stands, there is not. Dr. Smith, in printing it, says expressly that two or three quotations have been transferred from the text to the margin; that a few alterations, chiefly *verbal*, have been made upon the recommendation of some friends, and a paragraph which was forgotten in the delivery is printed in its place. The paragraph which is supposed to have offended Mr. Adams is one which in this volume is printed on page 554, near the upper part of the page, and is included between two stars. It is a quotation from the petition made by the Congress of 1775—the very Congress which was sitting, and in which Mr. Adams was—on the 8th of July, 1775, to “the King’s Most Excellent Majesty”—the last petition which had been made.* Referring to that paragraph, which is found in the first as in all other editions of the oration, Dr. Smith says, that having it “either misrepresented or misunderstood by some, the author does not think himself at liberty to make the least alteration of it, even if he judged any to be necessary.”

He says further and rightly:

The quotation from the last petition of Congress, as well as the reference made to the instructions of our assembly, both point to a past period; and the author cannot be considered, from thence, as taking upon him to make the least declaration concerning the present sentiments of either of these bodies; nor is there a word which can preclude the taking into the terms of accommodation, so far as may be thought reasonable, the redress of whatever grievances or losses we may have sustained, since that period. Upon the whole, it is presumed that a single sentiment is not to be found in the oration, which is not fully consonant to every declaration of Congress which has yet appeared. And to impute to them, or even suspect, the least change of sentiment, before they themselves have declared it, would not only be indecent but very injurious to our cause. The author is also consistent with himself, and

* See *supra*, p. 514.

if the same doctrines which he has been told were well received in his late publication [Sermon on American Affairs] should now be disagreeable to any, the fault is not his.

Upon the whole, the author hopes he has done justice to the memory of those *brave* men who are the subjects of the oration ; and with respect to those reflections upon public affairs which must rise out of public characters, and are intimately connected with them, he is so far from wishing them retrenched, that (on a careful review) he is willing to rest upon them, whatever claim he may have to the appellation of a *good Citizen*, or *friend to Liberty*, so long as it may be remembered that he either lived or wrote in America.

There is another matter in the sermon which may have caused a dissatisfaction. A part—commanded by a Colonel Enos—of that division of the army which went with General Arnold—the division that went through Maine—had not gone on. They were popularly charged with desertion, and in the oration Dr. Smith says: "About a third of the army of the latter—deserted shall I say—or use the more courteous language—returned home." No name was mentioned. In point of fact, at the time the oration was delivered, an inquiry had been made into the reasons of the return of this part of the army, and the commanding officer had been acquitted. Dr. Smith was not aware of the fact; though in printing his sermon he made every *amende*.

A great-grandson is not likely to be the most impartial judge of his ancestor's acts. But so far as I can myself see in regard to this one, the case is with Dr. Smith, and not with John Adams.

The truth is, as I have said, that if there was any mistake anywhere, it was in making discourses in times of high political and military excitement, before political and military bodies of any kind. The Rev. Mr. White—afterwards the well-known Bishop—speaks of the matter, and mentions that "one of the warmest spirits of the day," Colonel Timothy Matlack, "whose ardor in the American cause," he says, "cannot but be still remembered by many," invited *him* to preach before a battalion, but that he would not do it. This, perhaps, was the wiser course. But Mr. White was never in the least a popular orator, as Dr. Smith always was. Neither had Mr. White ever entered upon the political questions of the day, as Dr. Smith, by an instinctive disposition towards public subjects, had more or less done from his first coming to America. Mr. White could decline such invitations without an

inconsistency with his previous action. Dr. Smith hardly could. And his refusal might be misconstrued, and as he supposed would immediately subject his College, dearer than himself, to wrong and injury. Moreover, an invitation by Colonel Matlack to preach before a battalion was a thing of a different sort of weight from an invitation by the Congress of America to deliver a funeral oration upon General Richard Montgomery and the brave companions who had died at his side. The former might be declined by Mr. White. The latter hardly could be by any one.

This sermon on General Montgomery and the other officers who fell at Quebec was printed in Philadelphia soon after its delivery. It was reprinted in Burlington, New Jersey, in the city of New York, and in London. I do not think that Mr. Adams' censure of it as "an insolent performance" was sustained by any intelligent class of readers. His statement is to be classed among those "wild and irregular starts"—as Mr. Theodore Sedgwick, of the Senate of the United States, called some of Mr. Adams' acts—"of a vain, jealous and *half-frantic* mind;" one of that sort which entitled him to the last trait of the character given of him by Dr. Franklin, "a man always honest, sometimes great, but often *mad*;" a character to the justness of which Alexander Hamilton said that *he* subscribed, "adding to the *first* trait of it this qualification—as far as a man excessively vain and jealous, and *ignobly* attached to *place*, can be!" *

CHAPTER XXXV.

COMMENCEMENT AT THE COLLEGE; THE LAST FOR SOME TIME—JAMES ABERCROMBIE, D. D.—THE REV. JAMES MADISON TO DR. SMITH—A DAUGHTER BORN TO DR. SMITH—DR. SMITH BUYS LAND WHERE NORRISTOWN NOW IS—OBSERVES A TRANSIT OF MERCURY IN 1776, AND AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN IN 1777—THE COLLEGE EDIFICE AND GROUNDS OCCUPIED BY TROOPS—THE FACULTY REMONSTRATE—DR. SMITH VISITED BY COLONEL DELANY—PASSAGE IN BISHOP WHITE'S MEMOIRS EXPLAINED—SIR WILLIAM HOWE CAPTURES PHILADELPHIA—DR. SMITH LEAVES THE FALLS OF SCHUYLKILL, AND GOES WITH HIS FAMILY TO BARBADOES ISLAND, HIS PLANTATION IN THE SCHUYLKILL.

DARK days were soon to come upon the College of Philadelphia. Its halls were shortly to be occupied by our own soldiers;

* See "Hamilton's Works," Vol. V., p. 217; and Vol. VI., p. 448.

its charity schools disturbed, its teachers left without lodging-rooms, its grounds crowded with wagons and horses of the army. But we will not anticipate these sad times, nor those worse which soon followed, when the College was wholly closed to the purposes for which it was founded; when British troopers were desecrating its halls, and its Provost and its Professors sent exiles from their offices and homes.

It had yet *one* commencement. This took place in June, 1776. We give the names of all the graduates:

James Abercrombie, John Leeds Bosman, John Claxton, William Cock, Jacob Hall, Thomas Duncan Smith, William Thomas, Ralph Wiltshire. The graduate who became best known in Philadelphia is the one who, in alphabetical order, heads the list—*James Abercrombie*. This gentleman was born in Philadelphia, January 26th, 1758, and was the son of a Scotchman who had formerly been an officer of the British navy, who came to America in 1753, and was resident in Philadelphia. After his arrival here, he still adhered to his profession, and was lost in 1760 by shipwreck in the German ocean. His son James—at that time but two years of age—was brought up by his mother. He was instructed in the city at a private school kept by Dr. Gardiner, and afterwards was entered at the College. Shortly after being graduated, he began the study of divinity under the Rev. William White. After two years' attention his eyesight became so much affected that he was compelled to relinquish study. In 1780 he went into mercantile life, and in 1783 into partnership with the late John Miller, Jr. During this time he engaged in political life, and in 1792 was elected a member of Common Council of the city. In 1793 he resumed his theological studies, and was ordained deacon at St. Peter's, December 29th, 1793. In June, 1794, he was appointed one of the "ministers" of the united churches, of which St. Peter's was one; and so became junior minister, Dr. Robert Blackwell, who had been appointed in 1781, being the senior.* He was useful in other parishes, his services being frequently given to the rural churches in the neighborhood of the city—notably to Trinity, Oxford, and All-Saints', Lower Dublin, parishes in which Dr. Smith had pre-

* The ministers of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's were popularly called Assistant Ministers. The chief minister was a "Minister"; the head of the corporation not being called a "minister" of any sort, but "the Rector."

ceded him. Dr. Abercrombie preached at each once a month for three years. His salary not being sufficient for his support, he founded, in 1800, the Philadelphia Academy, in connection with Rev. Dr. Magaw, of St. Paul's, and in 1803 became sole director of the institution. In 1817 he resigned this charge. He continued one of the ministers of the united churches until November, 1832; a space of more than thirty-eight years, and died June 26th, 1841, aged eighty-three years. As we learn by Mr. Hildeburn's valuable book of epitaphs in St. Peter's church-yard, he is interred on the south side of that church, in which he so long ministered. Dr. Rufus Wilmot Griswold, in his work called "The Republican Court," thus describes Dr. Abercrombie:

Educated for the liberal professions, he had been engaged in commerce in Philadelphia; and though in relinquishing a lucrative business for "the order of poverty," as well as by the general course of his life, he had given unquestionable proofs of his earnestness, a certain fondness for convivial pleasure, and a high tone both of ecclesiastical and political sentiment, caused his sincerity to be sometimes doubted by persons who looked no deeper than the surface of things. Following the occasional practice of the English clergy of the last century, he had once or twice visited the theatre on "the author's night," which caused scandal among many who every day of their lives may have done something much worse. Then his aversion to the infidel sentiments suspected to be held by Mr. Jefferson made him at a later period very reluctant to read the prayers for the President of the United States, prescribed in the Episcopal ritual; and when informed by his Diocesan that it was not a matter in the least discretionary with him, he comforted his Federal friends with the assurance that he had not "prayed," but only "read" them. Not content with provoking the Democrats, he had, on more than one occasion, involved himself in trouble with the aristocracy of his parish, by his strict and manly adherence to what he deemed his duty, prescribed by the canons and rubrics of his church. His celebration of the marriage of William Penn, an eccentric great-grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania, attracted a great deal of attention. This gentleman took a fancy to address a woman celebrated for her beauty, but whose course of life, not less than her origin and associations, rendered it impossible for his friends of either sex to recognize her as his wife. Almost any other of the clergy would have refused, on grounds of prudential regard to their own interests, to perform the marriage office under circumstances so peculiar; but Dr. Abercrombie, having used in vain all suitable endeavors to persuade Mr. Penn from so fatal a connection, and finding that there was no legal or canonical

impediment, married them, considering himself bound as a Christian minister to do so. The excitement, however, became so great, and his popularity was so much in danger of being affected by it, that he was obliged to defend himself in a pamphlet—"Documents Relative to the Celebration of a Late Marriage"—to the principles of which Bishop White gave his entire approval. There can be no doubt, I think, that Dr. Abercrombie was right, and evinced that a sense of duty was the controlling influence of his conduct; and the approval of what he had done by Bishop White is a fact worth recording, as the clergy are often called on to act in cases like that here referred to, though not often in quite as strong ones.

Bishop De Lancey, who succeeded him in officiating at St. Peter's, says of him, "that he was admired for his excellence as a reader of our liturgy, for his ability as a writer and eloquence as a speaker; and exhibited, in his long-continued, active, and steady discharge of ministerial duty, an unbroken attachment to the cause of Christ and of his church." Dr. Abercrombie was a great reader of the works of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and a correspondent of his biographer, as will be seen by a reference to Boswell's life of this great author.

We now approach the great—the eventful—4th of July. The last communication of Dr. Smith which I have found to any English correspondent is a note to Lady Juliana Penn. That bears date March 14th, 1776. In it he says:

The times are such that I have long declined correspondence with England; but I propose soon to write, when I see what situation affairs are likely to be in upon the arrival of the Commissioners expected from England. God grant that they may have proper terms to offer, and reconciliation may yet take place. If the terms are otherwise, I need not say what will be the consequence.

The Provost Stillé calls attention to "the perfect harmony of tone" of this note with the reasons given in the Report of the Committee of the Assembly, of which Mr. Robert Morris was one, for releasing the Delegates of Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress from the instructions previously given to them to resist all measures looking to Independence. The Committee say:

The happiness of these Colonies has, during the whole course of this fatal controversy, been our first wish; their reconciliation with Great Britain, the next. But if we must renounce the one or the other, our choice must be determined by the overruling law of self-preservation.

The following letter from James Madison, afterwards Bishop of Virginia, but at this time a Professor in William and Mary College, attests in part the respect with which the College at Philadelphia was held at the outbreak of the Revolution.

The Rev. James Madison to Dr. Smith.

WILLIAM & MARY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA, Sept. 25, 1776.

DEAR SIR: Agreeable to your request I have now y^e Pleasure of sending you y^e Extract from y^e *Recueil pour les Astronomes, par M. Jean Brémoulli, Astronome Royai, &c.* That I may do no Injustice to y^e Author, I shall send you his own words; but as y^e first Part contains little more than y^e History of your Society,* I shall pass over it.

Lorsque la Société jugea avoir reçu un nombre suffisant de Mémoires pour former un Volume, elle nomma des commissaires pour assister les Secretaires dans le choix des meilleurs pièces. Ce sont celles-ci qui composent le volume dont il est question, & qui est divisé en les sections. La première consiste, pour la plupart, en mémoires astronomiques relatifs au passage de Venus en 1769. La Pensylvanie étant un pays bien mieux situé pour observer ce phénomène que ne l'étoit l'Angleterre, la Société nomma des commissaires pour observer ce passage en differens endroits. Ils eurent bien de la peine à en venir a bout; ce n'étoit pas leur seul embarras de déterminer avec exactitude les longitudes & les latitudes; mais encore il falloit les instrumens nécessaires et principalement de bons telescopes. L'Assemblée Provinciale et M. Thomas Penn, supplièrent généreusement à ce défaut. Il'étoit impossible de répondre mieux à tout d'encouragements qu'ont fait ces Astronomes, qu'en considérant soit le soin & la diligence avec laquelle ils ont entrepris leur Observations, soit la fidelité de leur récits, & la netteté & la justesse de leur raisonnemens sur ce sujet ainsi curieux que difficile.

Les écrits de M. Rittenhouse et du Dr. Smith sont à cet egard bien de l'honneur à cette nouvelle société. Dans le relation de leur procédés les différentes commissions qui avoient été envoyées à Philadelphie à Norriton et au Cap. Henlopen sont [part of the MS. gone] donner non seulement les resultats de leur observations, mais aussi les matériaux qui les ont fournis, afin que d'autres puissent examiner et juger pour eux-mêmes; un exemple digne d'imitation pour ces Astronomes Européens, qui sont si retenus dans le détail et qui ne parlent de leurs instrumens & de leurs observations qu'en termes généraux.

Outre les Mémoires sur le passage de Vénus il y a encore une relation du passage de Mercure du 9 Novembre, 1769. Des Observations sur la Comète en Juin et Juillet en 1770; Une Amélioration de la Construction du Quartier de Godfrey (appelé communément l'Octave de Hadley) & une tres bonne méthode pour déduire le tems du passage du soleil, des hauteurs correspondantes, sans l'aide des Tables de correction relatives au changement du soleil en déclinaison.

Voila beaucoup d'éloges qu'on donne à nos Astronomes Américains, mais ils sont bien mérités.

What follows is mostly relative to y^e dispute between Mr. Ludlam & Mr. Ewing, but as y^e author has taken no part in it, it is scarcely worth transcribing.

* Meaning the American Philosophical Society.

Our worthy President, Mr. Page, had resolved to send you his Papers upon y^e last Transit, which he observed at his seat, but y^e hurry of Business at present prevents him from putting y^e finishing hand to them.

You will find enclosed a few (MS. torn) of which you will best know how to dispose. I believe there is no doubt of y^e accuracy of y^e Observations upon y^e Longitude & Latitude of y^e places mentioned. I might add y^e Longitude of Williamsburg, which I have found by a Mean of several Observations = $5^{\circ} 6' 22''$.

There is nothing here of a Public nature worth sending you. The only Dangers that seem to threaten us with disagreeable consequences, are y^e Elements themselves, as it is thought, one-half of us must become Adamites thro' necessity; we have been improvident in laying up Winter Clothes. The approaching Assembly is to new-model our College. They w^d fain have it beneficial to y^e Country, and I wish y^e Means to obtain so desirable an End, may be weighed with that attention which they deserve. But there are many difficulties in y^e way. Not only, perhaps y^e want of a Revenue, but of a proper Plan, especially such a one as w^d suit this country the best. I had resolved to beg y^e Favour of you, if it be not too troublesome to send me a Sketch of your's, as many here are fond of putting this upon your Plan, without knowing scarcely what it is; and if you will favour me also with the expected Time of Conjunction for Mercury in November, at Philadelphia, as soon as possible, I shall be much obliged.

I am, D^r Sir, with much respect,

Y^r most Obed^t Serv^t & Friend,

JAMES MADISON.

On the 26th of October, 1776, another daughter having been born to Dr. Smith, and Dr. Peters, who baptized some of his other children, having died on the 10th of July, 1776, she was baptized by the Rev. Mr. William White, with the name of Elizabeth; Miss Williamina Bond* and Miss Elizabeth Lynch being sponsors.

Four days after this, Dr. Smith bought of Colonel John Bull between five and six hundred acres of land, including a beautiful island in the Schuylkill, called Barbadoes Island, in what was then Philadelphia county, but is now called Montgomery. Norris-

* Miss Williamina Bond was the daughter of Dr. Phineas Bond, of Philadelphia. She was born in that city, February 26th, 1753, married to Gen. John Cadwalader (being his second wife) on the 30th of January, 1779. Two of their children reached maturity—Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, and Frances, who in the year 1800 married Lord David Montagu Erskine, of Restormel Castle, Cornwall county, England; she died, March 25th, 1843.

town is at present on the mainland thus purchased.* It was upon this tract, called the Norriton Manor, that David Rittenhouse was living in 1769, when with him, Dr. Smith and Mr. Lukens observed the Transit of Venus. I have the original agreement of Colonel Bull with Dr. Smith for the sale of the tract to him. "Wm. White," afterwards the Bishop, is a witness to it. It may serve as a variety upon the topics largely treated of late, if I give it to my readers.

MEMORANDUM of an agreement had, fully made and agreed upon the 30th day of October, 1776, between the Rev. Dr. William Smith, of the City of Philadelphia, of the one Part, and John Bull, of the County of Philadelphia, Esquire, of the other Part, Witnesseth that it is mutually agreed between the said parties to these presents in manner following, viz.: the said John Bull for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, doth covenant and agree to and with the said William Smith, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, that the said John Bull, his heirs, executors or administrators shall and will on or before the 5th day of November next, for the consideration herein after mentioned, grant and convey unto the said William Smith, in fee simple, all that messuage or tenement, grist-mills, saw-mill, powder-mill and tract of land situate in Norristown, in the County of Philadelphia aforesaid

* It was not until some time after the Revolution that Norristown became a place of importance. Immediately below the borough may be seen the place where the Americans, under Washington, on their way to Valley Forge, crossed the river Schuylkill. Here also the earth was thrown up to secure their protection against the threatened attack of the British. The little stone tavern, which sheltered Washington on his march to Valley Forge, still stands, and looks as strong as though it were built but yesterday. Where now stands that beautiful and costly edifice, the Oakland Institute, lived and died James Wilson, one of the signers both of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States; afterwards appointed by Washington a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Immediately to the east of Norristown is Whitmarsh, where once lay the army of Washington, and where works may be seen to this day that were thrown up by his men, to secure themselves against a surprise from the enemy. Away to the north lies Skippack; and right in view, with her hills high above us, is the Valley Forge. This celebrated place is connected with the most gloomy period in the history of our country, when Conway and his friends were plotting the destruction of Washington. The sufferings our men endured had well nigh driven them to despair; but Washington, undismayed, held together, by his power and influence, the little band, and soon after achieved the independence of the nation. The house which Washington made his head-quarters still stands, and with the entrenchments and forts erected by the army may be seen to this day. It is most agreeable to me to add that through the efforts of the Ladies of the Valley Forge Centennial Association, presided over by the amiable and engaging Mrs. Anna Holstein, aided by the energetic and accomplished Mrs. Aubrey Smith, it is likely that the Head-Quarters of Washington at the Valley Forge will be preserved forever as a monument of the nation's gratitude to the great and good commander.

(being the same premises which the said John Bull purchased of Mary Norris, widow, containing about six hundred acres, including *Barbadoes Island*, in the River Schuylkill (certain part thereof, containing between forty and sixty acres or thereabouts, which the said John Bull heretofore conveyed to a certain Josiah Wood, with a privilege of said mill and a foot-path to and from the same only excepted). Together with a lime-rock and kiln containing about one acre of land, and all the appurtenances unto the premises belonging. In consideration whereof he, the said William Smith, doth hereby promise to pay unto the said John Bull, his heirs, executors or administrators on that day when the said conveyance shall be completed, the sum of £6,000 lawful money of Pennsylvania aforesaid. The Title to be such as Counsel learned in the law shall approve. . . . And it is further agreed by and between the said parties to these presents, and the said John Bull doth hereby agree to accept of a lease from the said William Smith, his executors, administrators or assigns for all the remaining part of the premises not now under lease to Josiah Wood, along with the mill. For which he, the said John Bull, doth agree to pay to the said William Smith, his executors, administrators or assigns, the yearly rent of £160 for the term of three years and six months, to commence from the 6th day of November next, the rent of £130 for the grist-mill now under lease to the said Josiah Wood, to be paid unto the said William Smith, his executors, administrators or assigns, as it accrues and becomes due from the said 6th day of November next.

In Witness whereof the said parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals hereunto, dated the day and year first above written.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us,

PETER MILLER,
JAMES RANKIN.

JNO. BULL. [L. S.]

Received the day of the date of the above Articles £500 in part of the consideration money above mentioned.

Witness, }
PETER MILLER. }

JOHN BULL.

Received, November 2d, 1776, of the Rev. Dr. Smith the further sum of £2,300, in part of the consideration money mentioned in the foregoing article—which, with the preceding sum of £500, are included in the receipt on the Conveyance to the said William Smith.

Witness, }
WM. WHITE. }

JOHN BULL.

On the 2d of November, 1776—undisturbed by the political and military events around him, and while our brave associators—Gen.

John Cadwalader, Col. John Bayard, Major William Bradford, Col. Clement Biddle and other well-known Philadelphians—were arming for the fields of Trenton and Princeton—so soon to become immortal—the Provost, at this time the Professor of Astronomy in his college, with his old friends of the Transit day in 1769, David Rittenhouse and John Lukens, were observing the Transit of Mercury over the sun, which took place at this time. Again on the 9th of January, 1777—Trenton and Princeton having been fought and gained—we find Dr. Smith, along with Mr. Rittenhouse, again engaged in the study of the celestial phenomena. He is now taking observations on an eclipse of the sun. A full account of these observations will be found in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society.

By the 23d of January, 1777, the College property and grounds had come under the calamities of war. We have on that day an application made by Dr. Smith and other members of the Faculty of Arts to the Council of Safety, for relief against all unnecessary invasion of the military force into precincts where they were so little in keeping with the proper duties of the place.

COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA,
January 23d, 1777.

GENTLEMEN: The Interruptions which we have met with in the important Business of Education committed to our Charge, compel us once more to make our earnest Application to you for Relief. This Seminary was founded, and has been hitherto supported (with scarce any public Assistance) by the private Benefactions of the Generous Friends of Literature, from various Parts of this Continent, as well as from Great Britain & Ireland. It can boast of having raised up Numbers of Youth who now, in the Day of Trial, fill many of the Highest Offices, Religious & Civil, as well as Military; and who, by their public Spirit & distinguish'd Abilities, do Honor to their Country & the Place of their Education. These Considerations, we humbly hope, should entitle us to that Protection, and those Exemptions, which in all civilized States, are given to such Institutions, unless in Cases of the most clear and urgent Necessity.

But we have to complain that, as if it were intended particularly to distress us, contrary to the General Orders respecting Schools and Places of Worship; and without any Necessity which we could see, without any written Authority, without giving us a moment's previous Notice to remove Books, Papers or Furniture, or even allowing Time to send for the Keys, the Doors of the Schools, Lecture Rooms, and even Bed

Rooms have been forced open by some violent young Men calling themselves Deputies of the Barrack Master; and some Hundreds of Soldiers quartered upon the College at a Time, who have burnt our Wood and done other Damage, when we have offered to shew, and have actually shewn, Empty Houses, where they could have been far better accommodated. This has been repeated upon us three or four Times within so many Weeks, so that before we could well clear away the Dirt and Filth left by one Set of Soldiers, and meet again in our Places, another Set has been forced upon us; owing to which, we have scarce yet been able to collect together a third Part of the former Number of our Youth: And unless we can be placed upon some more certain Footing, the Schools must either be wholly broken up, or removed to some other Place.

This is a matter of very serious Concern to us, not only on account of the present Set of Youth, who may be thereby deprived of their Opportunity of Education, but on our own Accounts also, whose Livings depend on the Execution of our Duty, and cannot expect to be supported without Service done.

We are persuaded that none who know us, or the Gentlemen concerned in the Trust of this Seminary, will think that these Complaints are groundless, or proceed from any Desire to retard the necessary public Service. We only Pray that we may not be particularly distressed; that if any Emergency shall arise, when we cannot have that Exemption which is due to Seminaries of Religion and Learning, you yourselves will judge of that Emergency, without leaving us every Moment at the arbitrary Disposal of any Officers under you, or their Deputies; that when any Requisition is to be made, you will be pleased to give us timely Notice, laying no greater Burthen upon us than upon other Places in Proportion; considering the College & its different Schools and Houses, to be duly inhabited and furnished in the same Manner as other Houses are, according to the Purposes for which it was intended and erected. We request your speedy Consideration of the Premises, and are with due Respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Humble Servants,

WILLIAM SMITH,
FRANCIS ALISON,
JAS. DAVIDSON,
JAMES CANNON.

P. S.—We are now actually incommoded with about one hundred and fifty Soldiers; our Yard crowded with Horses & Wagons, the Charity Schools disturbed, & the Schoolmistress forced out of her Lodging Rooms.

On the 30th day of June, 1777, the College was closed.

On the 31st of August, 1777, Sir William Howe now advancing towards Philadelphia with a view of capturing it, the Supreme Executive Council, in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress that "all persons who have in their general conduct and conversation evinced a disposition inimical to the cause of America should be apprehended and secured," issued a general warrant "to secure the persons" of forty-one well-known citizens of Philadelphia by name, Dr. Smith being one of them. But expressing its wish "to treat men of reputation with as much tenderness as the security of their persons and papers will admit," it desired the officers who were to execute the warrant, in case the persons (with the exception of seven, Tories outright, I believe) "would promise in writing to remain in their dwellings ready to appear on demand of Council, and, meanwhile, to refrain from doing any act inimical to the United States of North America, by speaking, writing or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, or any other person concerning public affairs," to dismiss them from confinement of their persons. Twenty-six of the forty-one persons named—seventeen being Friends—refused to make the promise required or any promise equivalent to it, and were apprehended and confined in the Free Masons' Lodge; a large edifice used for oratorios, concerts, etc. A few days before the entry of Sir William Howe, the number of the prisoners being now reduced to twenty—seventeen being Friends—these twenty were sent to Winchester, in Virginia, and kept for some months, when they were liberated; no judicial accusation having ever been at any time made against them. As Dr. Smith was never taken into custody and was only asked to give parole—from which, on the evacuation of the city, he was discharged—it is probable that he gave the required promise, except as to keeping himself within his own house, which it would seem he did not give. His papers were examined by Col. Sharpe Delany, who was the officer detailed to wait upon him. But nothing was found that implicated him in offence, and nothing was taken away. He had taken the oath of allegiance several months before.

The battle of Brandywine, fought on the 11th of September, and the nearer approach of the British army to Philadelphia, soon made the Supreme Executive Council much more concerned

about themselves than they were about Dr. Smith. He was now free to do what he pleased. He did not, however, communicate with the British army. On the contrary, disposing of some of his children with his relatives, and taking his wife and others with him, he went quietly to his Barbadoes Island, near to the American army; and there, close by the Valley Forge, remained during the occupation of the city.*

I am ignorant of any sufficient ground for this proceeding against Dr. Smith. I believe that on the 11th of March, 1776, that is to say, nearly four months prior to the day when the Declaration was ordered to be made, he printed a small pamphlet containing essays, signed Cato, showing the impolicy of separating ourselves from the mother country. In the opinion that to do so—and especially to do so before we were better prepared for war than Pennsylvania then was—would be impolitic, he was supported by the opinions of many of the most upright and intelligent men of the State—Robert Morris, James Wilson, Thomas Willing, John Dickinson, by a large part of the Congress of 1776 itself, and by almost the whole of old Philadelphia. But I have myself no knowledge of anything that he wrote after July 4th, seeking to show that the Declaration ought not to have been made, or to oppose the measures which it required to make it effective. He probably suffered to some extent in reputation as a *Patriot* by his family connexion. His father-in-law, William Moore, of Moore Hall, Chester county, now an old man, was indisposed in common with nearly every one in that county towards independence,

* His oldest son, William Moore Smith (my grandfather), was sent to his grandfather, William Moore's, at Moore Hall, in Chester county. His sister, Williamina, Dr. Smith's oldest daughter, then sixteen years old, was with her aunt, Mrs. Phineas Bond, who remained in Philadelphia during the occupation. Being a beautiful and sprightly girl, she soon attracted the notice of young British officers and especially of the accomplished André, who induced Mrs. Bond to let her figure as one of the ladies in the *Mischianza*. The matter produced an unpleasant feeling between Dr. Smith and Mrs. Bond. But young girls, in such circumstances—who could control them? Mr. William Moore Smith, becoming acquainted with Michael Rudolph, an officer of our army at Valley Forge, used sometimes to accompany him on expeditions in search of grain and cattle for the suffering army. On one of these the two young gentlemen stopping at the house of Col. Joseph Rudolph, who had removed his family from Darby, Delaware county, to Skippack, Montgomery county, Mr. W. M. Smith became acquainted with a daughter of Col. Rudolph's—Miss Ann Rudolph. The acquaintance became one of attachment, and she became Mr. Smith's wife some years afterwards, June 3d, 1780.

war and separation.* His wife's nephew, Phineas Bond, was a Loyalist outright, who remained in the city during the occupation.

Moreover, there were two other William Smiths arrested with him, both of whom were sent off to Winchester. They were Tories undoubtedly. In a time of general civic alarm and confusion, when every kind of story is propagated and what is told at one place is distorted, magnified and even completely changed before it gets to another; it is not impossible—in view of the fact that nothing was done to Dr. Smith except to ask a parole from him—that acts or conversations of one or the other or of both of these gentlemen—Tories, undoubtedly, as I have said—may have been improperly attributed to him. This, however, is conjecture merely.

The charge of Dr. Smith's having been a Loyalist—that is, a supporter of British supremacy after the 4th of July, 1776—rests, I think, chiefly upon a misinterpretation of a passage in Bishop White's *Memoirs of the Episcopal Church*.† The Bishop is speaking of the Convention of 1785, at which a form of Common Prayer-Book, suited to our new and independent state, was to be considered; and he states that one of the matters before it came up on a motion for framing a service of thanksgiving to be used in each year upon the 4th of July. The Bishop, in the convention, opposed the introduction of such a service; and he says that he was greatly surprised that there was but one person beside—a gentleman who (like himself) had belonged to the Revolutionary side—that was opposed to introducing it; and that accordingly it was voted in by a large majority. He then says:

* Mr. S. W. Pennypacker, to whose agreeable narratives in his "History of Phoenixville," I have been often much indebted, gives the following anecdote about Mr. Justice Moore. He says: "At this time it was important that all Tories should be deprived of arms. A party from the American army visited *Moore Hall* at a time when its high-spirited and haughty occupant was confined to his easy chair with the gout. They searched the house carefully, and among other things found, hidden away in a closet, a beautifully wrought sword. The blade was of finely tempered steel, and the handle was inlaid with gold and silver. The old man expressed much attachment for the weapon, which had probably been an heir-loom, and asked permission to examine it once more. To gratify him, they handed him the sword. No sooner was it in his possession than, in a twinkling, with his foot, upon the floor, he broke the blade from the handle. Then clenching tightly the hilt, he threw to them the useless blade, and with a gesture of contempt said, 'There, take that if you are anxious to fight, but you have no business to steal my *plate*.'"

† Pages 104, 105, 2d Edition. New York, 1836.

Bodies of men are more apt than individuals to calculate on an implicit submission to their determinations. The present was a striking instance of the remark. The members of the convention seem to have thought themselves so established in their station of ecclesiastical legislators, that they might expect of the many clergy who had been averse to the American Revolution, the adoption of this service; although, by the use of it, they must make an implied acknowledgment of their error in an address to Almighty God. What must further seem not a little extraordinary, the service was principally arranged, and the prayer alluded to was composed, by a reverend gentleman (Dr. Smith) who had written and acted against the declaration of independence, and was unfavourably looked on by the supporters of it, during the whole revolutionary war. This conduct, in the present particular, was different from what might have been expected from his usual discernment; but he doubtless calculated on what the good of the Church seemed to him to require, in consequence of a change of circumstances; and he was not aware of the effect which would be produced by the retrospective property of the appointment. The greater stress is laid on this matter, because of the notorious fact, that the majority of the clergy could not have used the service without subjecting themselves to ridicule and censure. For the author's part, having no hindrance of this sort, he contented himself with having opposed the measure, and kept the day from respect to the requisition of the convention; *but could never hear of its being kept, in above two or three places besides Philadelphia.* He is thus particular in recording the incidents attached to the matter stated, *with the hope of rendering it a caution to ecclesiastical bodies, to avoid that danger into which human nature is so apt to fall, of governing too much.*

The Bishop did not mean to make any *charge* against Dr. Smith. The fact that he states about that gentleman, and which he assumes as a certain and known fact, is a mere incidental remark, tending to give a little more point to his general counsel to persons assembled in Ecclesiastical Conventions—of the folly of some of whom, at the time he was writing, he had seen a good deal—in thinking that because they were assembled in convention, they could force upon the people of the Church anything that they chose to put upon them. And this incidental fact which the Bishop assumes as undeniable, to wit, that Dr. Smith did write against the Declaration of Independence, is fully satisfied by the publication of the letters of Cato, on the 11th of March, 1776. Both the word “declaration” and the word “independence,” in the Bishop's memoirs, are printed, at the beginning of them, not with capital letters, but with those which printers call lower case. And I infer that he means

that at the time when we were considering whether we would or would not declare ourselves independent of Great Britain, Dr. Smith had both written and acted against our doing it. The Bishop is not speaking of the *document* which we call the Declaration of Independence, but of doing or not doing the thing, for the having done which that document sets forth to the world the reasons.

To oppose, prior to July 4th, 1776, the declaring of independence, was no fault of any kind.

To do it afterwards was treason against the government *de facto*, which became a government *de jure*; and exposed the party to the penalties of treason and to a public reproach. In addition to which, as, after July 4th, 1776, till his death, Dr. Smith was living under the allegiance of the United States, and could, after the date named, have only written and acted covertly against the Government, it would imply double-dealing and falsehood. Bishop White was among the last men on earth—among the rearmost of the last—to leave a *charge* on the memory of any one, unless morally bound to leave it; least of all would he have left it on the memory of a venerable person deceased, under whose care as a preceptor he had been almost from infancy to manhood;—from the time that he was seven years old to the time when he was seventeen; with whom, in adult life, he had been connected as a trustee of the College, and to which he over and over again declared that high-handed wrong had been done in abrogating its charter; an abrogation made in part on the allegation that Dr. Smith had been disloyal to the State of Pennsylvania; an offence which could not have been committed prior to July 4th, 1776.

Indeed we have Bishop White's own declaration, when, in writing some account of the Church, he adverts to the fact that in "recording transactions in which the Rev. Dr. Smith bore a conspicuous part," there should be so little said in the narrative concerning his agency in them. The Bishop declares that it was because, in some matters connected with the Church, he had had "frequent collisions" with Dr. Smith, and therefore "ought not to claim the commendation of an impartial narrator."* The Bishop notes, however, that after these were over, their relations were "very amicable:" and that Dr. Smith had shown confidence in him by associating him with his brother† and Judge Yeates in a trusteeship of

* Wilson's Life of him, p. 19.

† The Hon. Thomas Smith, Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

lands conveyed for the benefit of his younger daughter, and by his last will had "bequeathed him a ring." It is impossible to suppose that Bishop White meant by the passage above spoken of to reproach the memory of his deceased brother; and as the only interpretation of the remark, which to some degree does not reproach it, is the one which refers to a writing and action before July 4th, 1776, it follows that that was what the Bishop meant.

While, therefore, we may admit all that Bishop White says, no such conclusion follows from it as some have sought to draw. The Bishop's statement is wanting in precision as to time, only because the whole matter is but an unimportant incident to his general purpose, and the time when was not important for the purpose for which he referred to the fact.

We here end our first volume. The College Academy and Charity Schools have been closed. The students and the scholars are scattered wide. The Provost is an exile from the halls of science. All that we need here add is the condition of the College at the time when these events occurred. This the Provost Stillé properly describes as follows:

The large fund collected by Dr. Smith in England had been increased by contributions in Jamaica, in Carolina, and in this city. The reputation of the institution had never been higher; the number of pupils in all the departments being in the year 1773 nearly three hundred. Its financial concerns were at last upon a sound footing, and their condition was constantly improving, one proof of which is found in the ability of the Corporation to erect in the year 1774 the large house still standing at the southwest corner of Fourth and Arch streets for the residence of the Provost. The high standing of the College was maintained by the instructions of Professors of well-established reputation throughout the Colonies, and of long experience in this particular institution. Dr. Smith gave lectures in the Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Rhetoric; Dr. Alison, in Logic, Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy, besides having charge of the instruction in the higher Classics; Mr. Davidson was the Professor of Ancient Languages; Mr. Kinnersley, who for twenty years had been Professor of English and Oratory, had just resigned, and Mr. Paul Fooks was Professor of French and Spanish. Besides, there was a Medical School, even then giving promise of its future reputation, under Drs. Morgan, Shippen, Kuhn, Rush and Bond.

APPENDIX.

NO. I.—PAGE 77.

The Rev. Thomas Barton.

THE REV. THOMAS BARTON was a native of Ireland, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. After coming to this country he was employed as an assistant in the College of Philadelphia for more than two years. He married, in 1753, the sister of David Rittenhouse, the celebrated astronomer, and went in 1754 to England, where he received Holy Orders and was appointed a Missionary of the Church in the then frontier counties of York and Cumberland, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He resided in Reading township, near York, from 1755 to 1759, and was Chaplain to General Forbes's expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758. He afterwards removed to Lancaster, where he resided as Rector until 1778. In consequence of his attachment to the Royal cause, and some allegations that he had been privy to a plan to destroy the public magazines at Lancaster, he was obliged to remove to New York, where he died, May 25th, 1780, aged 50 years.

William Barton, author of the "Life of Rittenhouse," and Benjamin Smith Barton, well known as a Botanist and as a Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, were his sons. During the French and Indian war upon our western frontiers, Mr. Barton rendered signal service to the people by his personal bravery. John Penn, the Proprietary of Pennsylvania, speaking in a letter of this part of his history, says:

He deserves the commendation of all lovers of their country. . . . Had others imitated his example, Cumberland county would not have wanted men enough to defend it. Nor has he done anything in the military way but what hath increased his character for piety, and that of a sincerely religious man and zealous minister. In short, he is a most worthy, active, and serviceable pastor and missionary; and as such please mention him to the Society.

Dr. William Smith writes, in 1755, of him to the Bishop of Oxford :

Poor Mr. Barton has stood it upwards of a year at the risk of his life; like a good soldier of Jesus Christ, sometimes heading his people in the character of a clergyman, and sometimes in that of a captain, being often obliged when they should go to church, to gird on their swords and go against the enemy. . . . I ventured out three weeks ago to visit him and some of our German schools in the neighborhood, and found him universally beloved of his people; but then love is the most they can give him in their present distressed state; and, therefore, I wish your Lordship would move the Honorable Society to make him some gratuity above his salary in these troublesome times. I am sure he both wants and deserves it.

The history of what he encountered in this way is told in a letter of his own to the Rev. Richard Peters, Rector of Christ Church :

HUNTINGTON, April 11th, 1758.

REV. DEAR SIR :

I have the misfortune to acquaint you that we are all confusion. Within twelve miles of my house, two families, consisting of eleven persons, were murdered and taken. And in the counties of Lancaster and Cumberland, the people are daily alarmed with fresh ravages and murders. The poor inhabitants are flying in numbers into the interior parts. I prevailed yesterday upon the inhabitants of Canawago and Bermudian to assemble themselves together, and forming themselves into companies, to guard the frontiers of this county, till we see what will be done by the troops, who are going upon the Western expedition. And I hope by this means we shall be able to keep these settlements from breaking up.

Mr. Alricks tells me that he is determined (provided he can obtain the Governor's permission) to go out to the Ohio a volunteer in defence of his King and country. As he is certainly a man of resolution and valor; a man who can undergo hardships and fatigues; and moreover, a man who has an interest with, and an influence upon the country people, and is as likely to raise a number of them as any man I know, I think he stands well entitled to a commission. And as I make no doubt but his honor the Governor will have these qualifications in view in the disposition of the commissions now to be given out, I hope this gentleman will not be forgot. I well know that the least representation from you in his favor, will do the business for him: and he and his friends will ever gratefully acknowledge your friendship upon this occasion.

I am, worthy Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate

Friend and servant,

THO. BARTON.

We give now one or two letters after his removal from the frontiers :

MR. BARTON TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY.

(EXTRACT.)

LANCASTER IN PENNSYLVANIA, January 23d, 1766.

REV. SIR,

I have the pleasure to assure you that the young people in my congregations show a seriousness and warmth in matters of religion not common in persons of their years—several of them came to the Lord's table at Christmas and *presented their souls and bodies* with so much devotion and contrition of heart as not only pleased but affected the whole congregation. Many more are now preparing to follow their example at

Easter. May I humbly desire the favor of the venerable society to encourage these good dispositions by granting them some of the tracts called the *Reasonable Communicant*?

Having so lately wrote to you by Mr. Wilson I shall take the liberty to defer sending you any particular accounts till after Easter. The churches at Whiteclay Creek and New London are now entering into subscriptions, etc., which I shall send you as soon as they come to my hands. They are a religious, good sort of people, and I make no doubt will exert their best endeavors to encourage and support a missionary.

Permit me to inform the venerable society that in the month of September last I paid a visit to Sir William Johnson in the Mohawk country, about 350 miles from this place. There I had an opportunity of making myself acquainted with the state of the Mohawk Indians; and of enquiring into the best methods of carrying the gospel into the Indian country in general. The Mohawks, I found, are very desirous to have an opportunity to receive instruction. There are several families still residing at their castles, one of which is on the Mohawk river and now called Fort Hunter, the other at Canajoheri. They complain that they have been much neglected since the removal of Mr. Ogilvie; and would be glad to be supplied with the means of knowledge. A society of gentlemen in New England have set up an *Indian School* under the direction of one Mr. Wheelock, a dissenting preacher. They send young men from their colleges received as *probationers* into the woods, where they stay till they have prevailed upon the Indians to send some of their children to this school with which they return; and then others are sent. I saw one of these missionaries at Sir William Johnson's, returning from the Indian country with five or six Indian boys. This appears to be the most plausible method to civilize these rude and barbarous creatures, and to prepare them for the reception of knowledge and religion, and is highly worthy of imitation. Sir William Johnson, who is a worthy member of the Church of England, and universally esteemed for his goodness of heart, seems desirous to interest himself in this good cause. * * *

I am sincerely concerned at the present turbulent and disturbed situation of the colonies. Every day presents us with indecent and inflammatory papers. It is hoped the mother country will be able to discover who the people are that first raised and encouraged these disturbances, that the innocent may not be involved with the guilty. But this is a subject on which it is not *safe* for a man who has not virtue enough to make him a martyr to speak or write freely here.

A paragraph has been lately published in our American papers that orders were sent to the agents of the colonies to remonstrate against the introduction of Episcopacy in America as a thing that would be highly disagreeable to the people in *general*. Suffer me to assure you, sir, that this is a report founded in falsehood. Certain I am that the introducing Episcopacy into America would not *at present* be disagreeable to any Protestant society in it except *one*, which one no doubt made use of this opportunity when they knew the minds of many were inflamed to propagate this report. I have often wished that *Keith's Presbyterian and independent churches* brought to the test could be sent over to every mission. Nothing but the good providence of God could preserve anything like the National Church here. For "many there be that would swallow it up." But in spite of every obstacle and discouragement thrown in its way, it gains ground, and will I hope one day be the great ornament and blessing of this immense continent.

Rev. Sir, etc.,

THOS. BARTON.

In the year 1767 Mr. Barton printed a Book of Family Prayers. Its title was as follows :

THE FAMILY PRAYER BOOK,
CONTAINING MORNING AND
EVENING PRAYERS,
For Families and Private Persons;

To which are annexed directions for a devout
and decent behavior in the Public
Worship of God.

More particularly in the use of the
COMMON PRAYER appointed
by the
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
together with the
CHURCH CATECHISM.

Collected and published chiefly (of) the
Episcopal Congregations of
Lancaster, Pequea, Carnarvon,
Ephrata (printed), for
THOMAS BARTON,
1767.

MR. BARTON TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY.

LANCASTER IN PENNSYLVANIA, June 20th, 1771.

REV. AND VERY WORTHY SIR :

Mr. Stuart is most usefully employed at Fort Hunter. He has already made himself so far master of the Mohawk language, as to be able to read in church about half of the morning service; which he does every Sunday to the Indians. Besides this duty he officiates constantly in English to the white inhabitants. This gentleman, by all accounts, is a most zealous and faithful laborer in the vineyard. It is hoped that by his means under God an effectual door will at last be opened for the introduction of religion into the heathen country. Sir William Johnson, in a late letter to me, gives the testimony in his favor: "Mr. Stuart has been some time at his mission, where he is much esteemed not only by the Indians, but by the English and Dutch inhabitants who constantly resort to his church. I have great hopes from his appointment." . . .

Canada, it is true, "has not been totally neglected." I know there are three chaplains supported there by government. But these gentlemen, who are confined to particular regiments and garrisons, can be of little service in promoting the Protestant religion in that country. Mr. Delisle, chaplain to the garrison at Montreal, is very

sensible of this, and has, I am told, constantly complained that some hardy and faithful missionaries of the Church of England have not been established in Canada. You have however sufficiently accounted for this *seeming* neglect with regard to the Society. The matter rests with the government, and wisdom will one day, and we trust ere long, point out the necessity of giving it due attention.

I am, Rev. and worthy Sir, &c.,

THOS. BARTON.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(EXTRACT.)

LANCASTER IN PENNSYLVANIA, July 1st, 1774.

REVEREND SIR: My mission gains such ground as to require greater duties than it is in the power of one person to perform. The churches are generally full. That at Pequea in particular is much increased. Besides the stated duties claimed by these churches, I am often obliged to itinerate to a considerable distance to serve others who are continually soliciting a share of my labors.

Your obed't, &c.,

THOS. BARTON.

NO. II.—PAGE 81.

Henry Antes.

FOR the following account of Henry Antes, one of the testes whose name appears to the petition at the top of page 81, I am indebted to the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, published by the Moravian Society at Nazareth.

The name of Henry Antes is one of frequent occurrence in the meagre records come down to us, touching the state of religion among the early Pennsylvania Germans. As far as we have been able to ascertain, he emigrated with his father from Fraentzheim, in Rhenish Bavaria, prior to 1725, and settled in the region of country lying back of Pottstown, including the present townships of Hanover and Frederick (since 1784 in Montgomery county), then called Falckner's Swamp. Here he farmed and followed his trade, which was that of a wheelwright. In February, 1726, he was married to Catherine De Weesm, at White Marsh, by the Rev. J. Philip Boehm, an ordained clergyman of the German Reformed Church, of which the Anteses were members. Excepting this item, we know nothing of the man prior to 1736, in the spring of which year he became acquainted with Spangenberg, who was sojourning among the Schwenkfelders of Towamensing Township, in Skippack. Mr. Antes's subsequent intimate relations towards the Moravians date from this acquaintance. Deeply concerned about the religious destitution of his fellow-countrymen in the province, we need not be surprised at learning

that, as he was a man of earnest piety, his Christian sympathy and activity were enlisted in their behalf. Although but a layman, he accordingly undertook to instruct them in the way of life, calling them together in their houses for singing, for prayer, for reading the Scriptures, and for exhortation. Thus we find him employed in the populous district of Oley, Berks county, as early as 1736. When, in that year, John Adam Gruber, of Germantown, sent out a call to his awakened countrymen in the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, to meet in convention for the purpose of ratifying a religious union or alliance on the basis of evangelical truths, Antes seconded the movement by issuing, in December of 1741, a circular which led to the formation of what was called the Synod of Pennsylvania, in which most of the denominations and sects in the province were duly represented. Next to Count Zinzendorf, Henry Antes was the most prominent member of this body. It met seven times in 1742, and subsequently. Through these meetings Antes was brought into closer relations with the brethren, and when their different elements one by one withdrew, leaving them exclusively under Moravian control, Antes felt moved to attend them as heretofore, and to attach himself to the people, with whose religious spirit his own was in sympathy. In June of 1745, accordingly, he became a resident of Bethlehem, and for five years rendered eminent services at that place and at the adjoining settlements—in superintending the temporal concerns of the Moravian Economy, the labors of its farms, and the erection of its mills. The grist mill at Bethlehem, that at Friedensthal, and the grist and saw mills at Gnadenhütten, were the works of Henry Antes. In October of 1749 he was made a *censensor civilis*—an officer to whom pertained the legal care of the community's estates and property. In the capacity of a justice of the peace in the county of Bucks, Mr. Antes furthermore did the Moravians many timely services. In September of 1750 he retired to his home in Frederick Township, and although he had been moved to this step in consequence of a disagreement with the brethren respecting their ritual, he approved himself their friend and counsellor to the end of his life. In August of 1752 he accompanied Bishop Spangenberg to Western North Carolina, the latter's errand being the selection of a tract of land for a projected settlement in that colony on the part of the Moravians. This was Mr. Antes's last act in the interest of the church to which he was strongly attached. He died on his farm on the morning of July 20th, 1755, and next day his remains were buried in the family graveyard, close by his father Frederic, who had preceded him to the eternal world on the 28th of November, 1746. Bishop Spangenberg delivered a consolatory address on the occasion, Abraham Reincke read the Moravian burial service, and ten pall-bearers from Bethlehem con-

veyed the remains of "the pious layman of Frederick Township" to their final resting-place. In June of 1854 this deserted place of sepulture was still discernible on the old Antes farm, then owned by a Mr. Reif; but saving fragments of soapstone, inscribed occasionally with a few letters, there was nothing to remind the visitor that the ground on which he stood was hallowed by the ashes of the dead.

Mr. Antes was the father of eleven children, six sons and five daughters. Ann Catharine was born November, 1726, and in 1809 was residing in Bethabara, N. C. Ann Margaret was born October, 1728, went to England and married — La Trobe. She was the mother of the late B. H. La Trobe, Esq., C. E., of Baltimore. Died in London, in 1794. Philip Frederic was born July, 1730, and died in Lancaster, September, 1801. His daughter Catharine was the wife of Governor Simon Snyder. William was born November, 1731, and in 1809 was residing in Genesee county. Elizabeth was born February, 1734, and married Philip Dotter, of Oley. John Henry was born October, 1736, was some time sheriff of Northumberland county, and in 1804 resided at Nippenose, Lycoming county. Jacob was born September, 1738, and died in infancy. John was born March, 1740. He entered the service of the Moravian Church, became a missionary, and died at Bedford, England, in 1810. Mary Magdalene was born October, 1742, went to Germany, married Ebbing, and died at Hernhutt, April, 1811. Joseph was born January, 1745, died at Bethlehem, August, 1746. Benigna, born September, 1748, died at Bethlehem, December, 1760.

NO. III.—PAGE 148.

Conrad Weiser.

CONRAD WEISER, whose name occurs continually during the middle of the last century, whenever the subject of our intercourse with the Indians is concerned, was of German origin. His father emigrated from that country to Schoharie county, N. Y., about the year 1712, under a proclamation of Queen Anne, which allowed settlers not only to take up land free of cost, but also to be exempted from taxes. The Queen's agent, Nicholas Bayard, afterwards coming to record the metes and bounds of the land which they had settled on, the settlers got alarmed and offered resistance. Strife ensued. Upon the invitation of Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, Weiser came to this State

with his family. Conrad early became an interpreter between the Indians and the whites. He acted as such in nearly every treaty effected in his time, and was regarded with great confidence by both sides. He became a Colonel in the French and Indian war of 1756. His residence was at Womelsdorf, a town situated between Reading and Harrisburg.

NO. IV.—PAGE 165.

Ebenezer Kinnersley.

[By Hon. Horatio Gates Jones.]

THE Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, A. M., was born in the city of Gloucester, England, November 30th, 1711. His father, William Kinnersley, was a Baptist minister, who migrated to America in 1714, when his son was three years of age, and settled in Lower Dublin township, Philadelphia county, Pa., where he united himself with the Pennepek (now called the Lower Dublin) Baptist church, the first permanent society of the Baptists in Pennsylvania. On the 6th of September, 1735, about a year after his father's death, young Kinnersley was baptized, and united himself with the Pennepek church. About the year 1739 he became a resident of the city of Philadelphia, where there was also a Baptist church, with which he was accustomed to worship. His abilities as a man and his excellence as a speaker led the church to call him to the ministry, and he was ordained in 1743, but he never became a pastor. He was a conservative in his religious opinions, and hence did not approve of the measures of the celebrated Whitfield, nor did he hesitate to protest against them from the pulpit of the Baptist church. This he did, July 6th, 1740, and so great was the excitement produced that he was forbidden the privilege of communion by the church, and for some time afterwards attended the Episcopal church. The difficulty, however, was settled ere three years had elapsed, as he was ordained in 1743, and on May 5th, 1746, when the Philadelphia church was organized as a distinct church from that at Pennepek, Mr. Kinnersley was one of the members, and remained so until his death. Mr. Kinnersley is entitled to notice and received in his day great honor, because of his attainments as an electrician. He began in 1746 the study of the electric fluid, and was associated with Dr. Franklin in his experiments which finally led to the discovery of the lightning rod. His devotion to this subject was only equalled by that of Franklin, and he was the first person in America

who publicly delivered lectures on Electricity, and illustrated the effects of that fluid by wonderful and ingenious experiments. The discoveries which he made and communicated to Dr. Franklin, and the knowledge which he attained, justly entitled him to be regarded as THE AMERICAN ELECTRICIAN.

In 1753 Mr. Kinnersley became head master of the English school connected with the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), and in 1755 was chosen Professor of English and Oratory in the college. He held that position until October 17th, 1772, when failing health compelled him to resign it. In 1757 the trustees of the college conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and in 1769 he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society. After his resignation as professor he visited the Bermudas on account of his health, and on his return removed to Lower Dublin, and there, amid the scenes of his youth, passed the few remaining years of his life. He died July 4th, 1778, aged 68 years.

His remains now lie in the burial ground of the Pennepek church, marked by a simple head and foot stone of marble.

Professor Kinnersley married, in 1739, Sarah Duffield, who died November 6th, 1801, aged 81 years. He left two children—a son, William, who graduated at the college of Philadelphia in 1761, studied medicine, settled himself in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, and died, unmarried, in April, 1785. The other child was a daughter, Esther, who was married to Joseph Shewell, a merchant, and became the mother of three children.

Among the memorial windows in the University of Pennsylvania, in West Philadelphia, is one placed there by Alumni of the Institution, and others, to the honor of the subject of this notice.

NO. V.—PAGE 344.

Protest Against the Appointment of Dr. Franklin as our Colonial Agent.

A. D. 1764.

WE whose names are hereunto subscribed do object and protest against the appointment of the person proposed as an agent of the Province for the following reasons:

First. Because we believe him to be the chief author of the measures pursued by the late Assembly, which have occasioned such uneasiness and distraction among the good people of this Province.

Secondly. Because we believe his fixed enmity to the proprietors will preclude all accommodation of our disputes with them, even on just and reasonable terms, so that for these two reasons we are filled with the most affecting apprehensions that the petitions lately transmitted to England will be made use of to produce a change of our Government, contrary to the intentions of the petitioners, the greater part of whom, we are persuaded, only designed thereby to obtain a compliance with some equitable demands. And thus, by such an appointment, we and a vast number of our most worthy constituents, are deprived of all hope of ever seeing an end put to the fatal dissensions of our country ; it being our firm opinion that any further prosecution of the measures for a change of our Government at this time will lay the foundation of unnecessary feuds, and all the miseries of confusion among the people we represent and their posterity. This step gives us the more lively affliction, as it is taken at the very moment when we are informed by a member of this House that the Governor has assured him of his having received instructions from the Proprietors, on their hearing of our late dispute, to give his assent to the taxation of their estates in the same manner that the estates of other persons are to be taxed, and also to confirm for the public use the several squares formerly claimed by the city, on which subjects we make no doubt the Government would have sent a message to the House if this had been the usual time of doing business, and he had not been necessarily absent to meet the Assembly of the lower counties. And therefore we cannot but anxiously regret that at a time when the Proprietors have shewed such a disposition, this House should not endeavor to cultivate the same, and obtain from them every reasonable demand that can be made on the part of the people, in vigorously insisting on which we would most earnestly unite with the rest of this House.

Thirdly. Because the gentleman proposed, as we are informed, is very unfavorably thought of by several of his Majesty's ministers, and we are humbly of opinion that it will be disrespectful to our Most Gracious Sovereign, and disadvantageous to ourselves and our constitution, to employ such a person as our agent.

Fourthly. Because the proposal of the person mentioned is so extremely disagreeable to a very great number of the most serious and reputable inhabitants of this Province, of all denominations and societies (one proof of which is, his having been rejected, both by this city and county, at the last election, though he had represented the former

in Assembly for fourteen years), that we are convinced no measure this House can adopt will tend so much to inflame the resentments and embitter the divisions of the good people of this Province as his appointment to be our agent. And we cannot but sincerely lament that the peace and happiness of Pennsylvania should be sacrificed for the promotion of a man who cannot be advanced but by the convulsions of his country.

Fifthly. Because the unnecessary haste with which this House has acted in proceeding to this appointment (without making a small adjournment, though requested by many members to consult our constituents on the matters to be decided, and) even before their speaker has been presented to the King's representative, though we are informed that the Governor will be in town the beginning of next week, . . . may subject us to the censures and very heavy displeasure of our most gracious sovereign and his ministers.

Sixthly. Because the gentleman proposed has heretofore ventured, contrary to an act of Assembly, to place the public money* in the stocks, whereby this Province suffered a loss of £6,000; and the sum added to £5,000 granted for his expenses, makes the whole cost of his former voyage to England amount to *Eleven Thousand Pounds*; which expensive kind of agency we do not choose to imitate, and burden the public with unnecessary loads of debt. For these and other reasons, we should think ourselves guilty of betraying the rights of Pennsylvania if we should presumptuously commit them to the direction of a man against whom so many and just objections present themselves.

Lastly. We being extremely desirous to avert the mischiefs apprehended from the intended appointment, and as much as in us lies to promote peace and unanimity among us and our constituents, do humbly propose to the House, that if they will agree regularly to appoint *any* gentleman of integrity, abilities, and knowledge, in England, to assist Mr. Jackson as our agent, under a restriction not to present the petitions for a change of our government, or any of them, to the King or his Ministers, unless an express order for that purpose be hereafter given by the Assembly of this Province, we will not give it any opposition. But if such an appointment should be made, we must insist (as we cannot think it a necessary one) that our constituents, already labouring under heavy debts, be not burthened with fresh impositions on that account; and therefore in condescension to the members, who think another agent

* The money here meant was a sum granted by Parliament as an indemnification for part of our expenses in the late war; which, by act of Assembly, was ordered, for its better security, to be placed in the bank.

necessary, we will concur with them, if they approve of this proposal, in paying such agent at our own expense.

October 26th, 1764.

JOHN DICKINSON,
DAVID McCANAUGHY,
JOHN MONTGOMERY,
ISAAC SAUNDERS,
GEORGE TAYLOR,

WILLIAM ALLEN,
THOMAS WILLING,
GEORGE BRYAN,
AMOS STRETTELL,
HENRY KEPPELE.

NOTE.—DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL, of London, was mentioned by the subscribers to this paper as a proper person to represent the Province.

Dr. Fothergill, in the years 1773, 1774 and 1775, so conspicuous for his excellent efforts to induce Great Britain to grant reasonable terms to the Colonies, was otherwise so excellent a character, that a short sketch of him will be in place.

He was born at Carr-End, the family estate in Wensleydale, Yorkshire, England, of a preceding generation, March 8th, 1712. His father was a member of the Society of Friends. His mother, of the family name of Hough, was a woman of fortune. Young Fothergill was put at school near Frodsham, in Cheshire, where he remained till he was twelve years old. He was then transferred to Ledburgh school, in Yorkshire, at that time and since, famous for classical literature and mathematics, and where he made great progress in his studies. About his sixteenth year he was placed with Benjamin Bartlett, an eminent apothecary at Bradford, Yorkshire. He soon afforded such instances of superior sagacity in this business as induced his intelligent master to permit him, at an early date, to visit and prescribe for patients. After his apprenticeship ended, he moved to Edinburgh to study physic in the colleges there, and was a pupil of the great anatomist Monro. In 1736 he was graduated and came to London, where he attended lectures in St. Thomas's Hospital. Before fixing himself in practice he visited the Continent. On his return, A. D. 1740, he established himself in practice in London, and soon became eminent not only in England and on the Continent, but in America also; and not only as a physician and as a writer on *materia medica*, and other branches of medical science, but as a good man and a benefactor of his race in every way and everywhere. His correspondents were very numerous. On Dr. Franklin's first going to England, he became acquainted with him, and an intimacy existed between the two persons for the residue of their common lives. He greatly interested himself in the concerns of our country, seeking to advance its interests; and in 1773, 1774 and 1775, when Dr. Franklin fell into bad favor with the British Ministry, he, with David Barclay, an eminent banker and merchant of London, was much with him, concerting measures to avert the coming revolution and the dismemberment

of the then great British Empire of which the Colonies were so great and dignified a part. "Our excellent friend," says Dr. Franklin, speaking of him, "was always proposing something for the good of mankind. If we may estimate the goodness of a man by his disposition to do good, and success in doing it, I can hardly think of a better man." He died December 26th, 1786, in the summit of celebrity; surrounded with the caresses of a numerous acquaintance; deeply and universally regretted. Dr. Franklin thus wrote soon afterwards to David Barclay:

PASSY, Feb. 12th, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

I condole with you most sincerely on the loss of our dear friend, Dr. Fothergill. I hope that some one who knew him well will do justice to his memory, by an account of his life and character. He was a great doer of good. How much might have been done and how much mischief prevented if his, your or my joint endeavors in a certain melancholy affair had been attended to.

With great respect and esteem I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

The "certain melancholy affair," referred to by Dr. Franklin, is the miscarriage of the effort of himself, David Barclay and Dr. Fothergill, to bring about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies, and to prevent the war for Independence, which subsequently took place.

NO. VI.—PAGE 10.

THE history of Benjamin West is very well known in Pennsylvania, though somewhat less well, perhaps, elsewhere. He was born in the autumn of 1738, in Chester county. His family were Friends—among the strictest of that respectable society in the county just named, where scarce any other religious society prevailed. One of the first persons who encouraged him to paint and assisted him with some materials, was Mr. Penington, a well-known merchant of Philadelphia; and Samuel Shoemaker, both, like the family of West himself, of the Society of Friends. His efforts, thus far, were confined to painting portraits, flowers, etc.

"Among those," says his biographer, John Galt, "who sent to him in this early stage of his career"—he being at this time, as I suppose, from twelve to fourteen years old—"was a person of the name of William Henry. Henry," says Galt, "was indeed in several respects an extraordinary man, and possessed the power generally attendant upon genius

under all circumstances—that of interesting the imagination of those with whom he conversed. On examining the young artist's performance he observed to him that if *he* could paint as well, he would not waste his time on portraits, but would devote himself to historical subjects, and he mentioned the death of Socrates as affording one of the best topics for illustrating the moral effect of the art of painting. The painter knew nothing of the history of the philosopher, and upon confessing his ignorance, Mr. Henry went to his library, and, taking down a volume of the English translation of Plutarch, read to him the account given by that writer of this affecting story. The suggestion and description wrought upon the imagination of West, and induced him to make a drawing, which he showed to Mr. Henry, who commended it as a perspicuous delineation of the probable circumstances of the event, and requested him to paint it.* West said that he would be happy to undertake the task, but having hitherto painted only faces and men clothed, he should be unable to do justice to the figure of the slave who presented the poison, and which he thought ought to be naked. Henry had among his workmen a very handsome young man, and, without waiting to answer the objection, he sent for him into the room. On his entrance he pointed him out to West, and said, 'There is your model!' The appearance of the young man, whose arms and breast were naked, instantaneously convinced the artist that he had only to look into nature for the models which would impart grace and energy to his delineation of forms."

"When the death of Socrates," continues Mr. Galt, "was finished, it attracted much attention, and led to one of those fortunate acquaintances by which the subsequent career of the artist has been so happily facilitated. About this period the inhabitants of Lancaster had resolved to erect a public grammar school; and Dr. Smith, the Provost of the College at Philadelphia, was invited by them to arrange the course of instruction, and to place the institution in the way best calculated to answer the intention of the founders. This gentleman was an excellent classical scholar, and combined with his knowledge and admiration of the merits of the ancients that liberality of respect for the endeavors of modern talent with which the same kind of feeling is but rarely found connected. After seeing the picture and conversing with the artist, he offered to

* The accuracy of this account—with a small exception of circumstance—is confirmed to me in conversation with Mr. John Jordan, the senior Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a great-grandson of William Henry, spoken of in the text. The volume taken down from the shelves of Mr. Henry's library was not Plutarch's Lives, but Rollin's Ancient History. The engraving and young West's picture copying it, are yet preserved at Nazareth, by Mr. William Henry, another great-grandson of West's early patron; a cousin of course of Mr. Jordan.

undertake to make him to a certain degree acquainted with classical literature; while at the same time he would give him such a sketch of the taste and character of the spirit of antiquity, as would have all the effect of the regular education requisite to a painter. When this liberal proposal was communicated to old Mr. West, he readily agreed that Benjamin should go for some time to Philadelphia, in order to take advantage of the Provost's instructions; and, accordingly, after returning home for a few days, Benjamin went to the capital."

"Provost Smith," continues the biographer, "introduced West, among other persons to four young men, pupils of his own, whom he particularly recommended to his acquaintance as possessing endowments of mind greatly superior to the common standard of mankind. One of these was Francis Hopkinson, who afterwards greatly distinguished himself in the early proceedings of the Congress of the United States. Thomas Godfrey, the second, died after having given the most promising indications of an elegant genius for pathetic and descriptive poetry. He was an apprentice to a watchmaker, and had secretly written a poem which he published anonymously in the Philadelphia newspaper, under the title of 'Temple of Fame.' The attention which it attracted, and the encomiums which the Provost in particular bestowed on it, induced West, who was in the poet's confidence, to mention to *him* who was the author. The information excited the alert benevolence of Smith, and he lost no time until he had procured the release of Godfrey from his indenture, and a respectable employment for him in the government of the State." *

"Provost Smith was himself possessed of a fluent vein of powerful eloquence; and it happened that many of his pupils who distinguished themselves in the great struggle of their country appeared to have imbibed his talent; but none of them more than Jacob Duché, another of the four youths whom he recommended to the 'artist.'

"There was something," Mr. Galt further proceeds, "so judicious in the plan of study which Provost Smith had formed for his pupil, that it deserves to be particularly considered. He regarded him as destined to be a painter, and on this account did not impose on him those grammatical exercises of language which are usually required from the young student of the classics; but directed his attention to those incidents which were likely to interest his fancy, and to furnish him at some future time with subjects for the easel. He carried him immediately to those passages of ancient history which make the most lasting impression on the imagination of the regular bred scholar; and described the pictur-

* See *supra*, pp. 187, 389.

esque circumstances of the transaction with a minuteness of detail which would have been superfluous to a general student."

This was all in the year 1754; before West had reached his sixteenth year. In 1756 West established himself as an artist in Philadelphia.

In October, 1757, as we have mentioned in the body of our book,* *The American Magazine* was established, Dr. Smith being made the editor. In the February number of 1758 we have among the Poetical Essays these—

VERSES UPON SEEING THE PORTRAIT OF MISS **———**,
BY MR. WEST.

Since Guido's skilful hand, with mimic art,
Could form and animate so sweet a face,
Can Nature still superior charms impart,
Or warmest Fancy add a single grace?

The enlivened tints, in due proportion, rise;
Her polished cheeks with deep vermilion glow;
The shining moisture swells into her eyes,
And from such lips nectareous sweets must flow!

The easy attitude, the graceful dress,
The soft expression of the perfect whole,
Both Guido's judgment and his skill confess,
Informing canvas with a living soul.

How fixt, how steady, yet how *bright* a ray
Of modest Lustre beams in every smile!
Such smiles as must resistless charms convey,
Enlivened by a heart devoid of guile.

Yet sure his flattering pencil's unsincere;
His Fancy takes the place of bashful Truth,
And warm Imagination pictures here
The Pride of Beauty and the Bloom of Youth.

Thus had I said, and thus deluded, thought,
Had lovely Stella still remained unseen,
Where grace and beauty to perfection brought,
Make every imitative Art look mean.

LOVELACE.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 15th, 1758.

Dr. Smith, the editor, in introducing the verses, says: †

We are glad of this opportunity of making known to the world the name of so extraordinary a genius as Mr. West. He was born in Chester county, in this Province, and without the assistance of any master has acquired such a delicacy and correctness of expression in his paintings, joined to such a laudable thirst of improvement, that we are persuaded when he shall have obtained more experience and opportunities of viewing the productions of able masters, he will become truly eminent in his profession.

* See *supra*, p. 165.

† American Magazine, p. 238.

In another place, Mr. Smith says : *

We communicate the little poem upon one of Mr. West's portraits with particular pleasure, when we consider that the lady who sat, the painter who guided the pencil, and the poet who so well describes the whole, are all natives of this place, and all very young.

The whole world knows who "the painter who guided the pencil" was. Can any one upon the footstool tell us who was "the lady that sat?" or who "the poet who so well describes the whole?"

Of the particular portrait of West which I had the pleasure to present to the Historical Society, and for which there is a companion-piece of Mrs. Smith, *née* Moore, in the possession of one of my cousins, Mr. Galt gives this account. It will explain the several characters of the picture, and particular attitude of the subject of the portrait :

Among the pictures of Governor Hamilton was a St. Ignatius—a fine piece of Murillo—which had been found on board of a Spanish prize, and which Mr. West obtained leave to copy. The copy was greatly admired by his valuable friend, the Provost Smith, to whom it suggested the notion that portrait-painting might be raised to something greatly above the exhibition of a mere physical likeness; and he in consequence endeavored to impress upon the mind of his pupil that characteristic painting opened a new line of art only inferior in dignity to that of history; but requiring, perhaps, a nicer discriminative tact of mind.

The portrait in the Historical Society—a grateful offering from the artist to the Provost—was made in this idea.

* American Magazine, p. 237.





